

**THE
ROLL OF HONOUR**
— ANECDOTES OF INDIAN MARTYRS —

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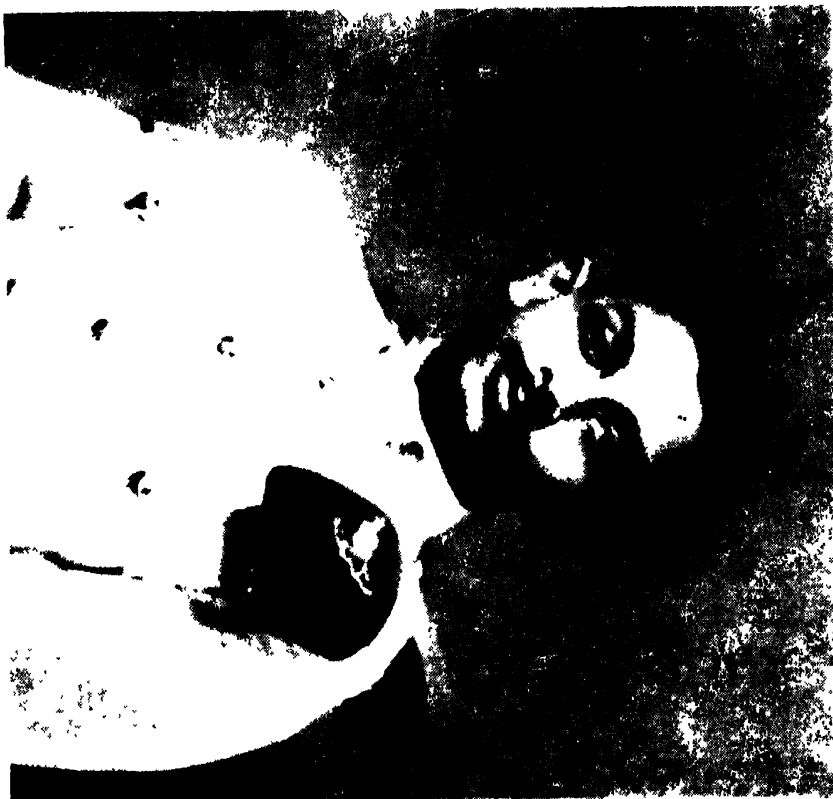


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CHAPTER ONE

**RESISTANCE
AND
RESURGENCE**

RESISTANCE
(1757-1775)

The Battle of Plassey and After

Due to sanguinary squabbles for the possession of the throne of Delhi and the hard blows dealt by the Mahrattas and other war-lords of the South "the authority of the Great Moghul, though it might still continue to be formally recognised even in distant provinces, was fast ceasing to have any real existence" in the middle of the 18th century.

In Europe, war was declared between England and France on May 21, 1744, and their respective interests in India could be maintained by the servants of the Companies concerned "by making alliances with India's Princes, besieging each other's commercial settlements" and fighting their battles quite frequently to secure a firmer foothold on the soil of India for territorial domination and consolidation of commercial and diplomatic interests.

In the meantime, dame chance had been playing her pranks in arranging the political stage of Bengal for events of far-reaching consequences. On the death of Ali Verdi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, on April 10, 1756, the inheritance fell on his young grandson Siraj-ud-daula, a boy of mere twenty. Siraj was badly equipped, both intellectually and morally, to cope with the

stratagem of the seasoned veterans, both Muslim and Hindu, most of whom were trying to gain upperhand in the affairs of the State and use him as a mere pawn in the game with a hand stretched towards the foreign traders for a warm grasp.

The servants of the Company did not hesitate to take full advantage of this troubled situation and started active participation in the faction and intrigue with those who were more susceptible to their overtures. Through bluff, bribery, treachery and fraud, they mustered sufficient courage to meet the Nawab's troops in an open encounter and gained a decisive victory in the Battle of Plassey on the fateful day of June 23, 1757.

Amongst the several hundreds of soldiers who died fighting for the Nawab was Mir Madan, one of the Generals. He was hit by a cannon ball and hurriedly removed to the camp just to expire in the presence of the Nawab himself. Mir Madan is the first sacrifice and therefore occupies the top place in the Roll of Honour in the battle for driving away the British from Bengal.

The next place goes to another General of the Nawab. Mohan Lal came to know "of the fatal order that had been issued in the name of the Nawab to retire within the camp." He was terribly suspicious of the motive "which dictated the advice and foresaw the inevitable consequences." He openly declared "that the very attempt to retire would spread a universal panic and throw the army into confusion." His remonstrances proved unavailing. As a great patriot and faithful soldier, he stood fighting with the enemy forces almost single-handed and gave up his life in upholding the highest honour of a warrior confronted with a powerful adversary.

The Nawab was brutally murdered on July 2, 1757.

The victors of Plassey played the game of king-making with consummate skill, not without great blemishes on honesty and decorum of human behaviour, and the plebians and patricians of conquered Bengal were reduced overnight to the position of mere serfs having no voice in the momentous changes that had been bringing a free country under foreign domination.

Those who could see through the veil of wiles and nasty political games realised very soon the ultimate aim of the foreigners. The battle of Wandiwash in the South fought between the English and the French on January 22, 1760, left the

former completely without any European rivals in India. It must be a bold conception of fighting the British when victory had been waiting to do their bidding. But courageous hearts, though not many, were not lacking who thought of resorting to force of arms for holding the growing influence of the foreigners in check.

The reverberations of the booming guns of Plassey had not completely died down when distant echo of military preparations became faintly audible in the air. Thus, the war with the British continued with occasional breaks by individuals and groups, big or small, at diverse localities from north to south and west to east, including Burma. Though not quite close to each other in point of time and place, the skirmishes went on right up to August 15, 1947, when India secured the status of an Independent State from the white man's domination roughly after two centuries of relentless fight for freedom.

A period of resistance soon started after the Battle of Plassey by the Rajas, Zemindars with large estates and big stakes in the country. The revolt was more against the economic exploitation, the ruin of traditional trade and industry and shrinkage of power and privileges hitherto enjoyed by them than political influence. The Rajas of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bishnupur, Ramgarh, Dacca, etc., individually tried to test the authority and military strength of the British usurpers from time to time, but never collectively and without much success.

Mir Kasim

The first man who had the courage and stamina to rise in arms against a powerful enemy flushed with victory at Plassey was Mir Kasim, the Nawab of Bengal from September 27, 1760 to July 7, 1763. The dissension started with the claim on the part of Company's servants to internal trading duty free, a condition which the Nawab refused to accept. Matters took an ugly turn and Mir Kasim was bold enough to seize some arms meant for the Company's troops on February 19, 1763. He refused to deliver them up when demanded to do so.

The Rubicon was crossed and "the quarrel was now irreconcilable and nothing but the sword could decide it." War broke out and on July 19, 1763, the Nawab sustained a heavy

defeat between Calcutta and Murshidabad. The fight was continued and at Gheria (Murshidabad) on August 2, and Udhuanala, six miles south of Rajmahal, on September 5, misfortune followed his track. On November 6, with his acquiescence about half a dozen prominent English residents and prisoners numbering about 125, were put to death at Patna where he had retired after his last reverse.

Mir Kasim was determined to drive out the feringhis lock, stock and barrel, from Bengal. History (Marshman, J. C.: *The History of India*, Vol. I, p. 297) records that he "observed the strictest economy by which he discharged all his obligations to the English." Then "he gave his entire attention to the great object of emancipating himself from the pressure of their authority, and restoring freedom to the soobah." Unfortunately he was finally defeated in the Battle of Buxar on October 23, 1764, and the one blazing light in the thickening gloom faded out.

Army Revolt—Patna

There was a terrible mutiny in the Indian Army stationed at Patna in May 1764. Munro on arrival from Bombay "found the troops, Europeans as well as Sepoys, extremely mutinous deserting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers, demanding higher pay." Munro noticed that "a whole battalion of Sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, went to join the enemy." These deserters were pursued and some of them captured and brought back as prisoners.

Munro ordered a field court-martial to be immediately held. The prisoners were found guilty of mutiny and desertion, and sentenced to suffer death in any manner which the commander should direct. He ordered not a few of them to be forthwith tied to the guns and blown away. (Mill J. and Wilson H. H.: *The History of British India*, 1858, Vol. III, p. 246).

Army Revolt—Bengal

In 1765, the revolt of the 15th Battalion of the Bengal Army assumed serious proportions. They were ordered to proceed to Tamruk, Midnapore, to board a ship, which, as they were told,

would carry them to an unknown destination with the object of fighting the Dutch. A rumour gained currency that they were to fight the French. On September 3, 1765, the leaders with their men disobeyed the order with the result that Raghunath Singh, Umraogir and Yusuf Khan were tied to cannon mouth and blown away. The Army was completely disbanded.

• Sannyasi Rebellion

The Sannyasi Rebellion (1762-1774) carried on by a combination of Sannyasis and Muslim Fakirs, who to Hastings were "the gipsies of Hindustan, . . . hardy, bold and enthusiastic to a degree passing credit." They were regarded at least for some time "the stoutest and most active men in India." They, according to official records, "inhabit or rather possess the country lying south of the hills of Tibet from Cabul to China."

In 1763, they infested the countryside round Backergunj and took possession of the English Factory at Dacca. In 1768, they had a sanguinary conflict with the British in the Saran District, Bihar. In 1770, they appeared in Dinajpur and then in Dacca and in the northern part of Rajshahi. They extended their depredations far and wide and were able to create serious trouble to the ruling authorities

"carrying incursions to Bengal near Purnea, Tirhut, and Dinajpur culminating in a remarkable victory in 1772 in Rangpur over the United British and Mussalman forces, a success which was not followed up."

The Sannyasis became a real menace and but for a change in the attitude, so it is alleged, in the leader or leaders, they would have been able to hold sway for long over a vast tract of territory then held by the British.

The Mahrattas

The Mahrattas (1765-1818) engaged with powerful hostile neighbours, were not very much concerned with the growing strength of the foreigners. However, they encountered a fight with the British on May 3, 1765, with indecisive results.

They next attacked the British troops with some strength at Vadgaon on January 9, 1779. In the next year they marched on Dabhoi on January 1, and occupied Ankleswar and a few other

places of no great importance. They had to retreat from the place on April 19, 1780.

The camp at Khandala was attacked by the Mahrattas on February 8, 1781, and the British General had to beat a hasty retreat.

The Mahratta fleet captured a British General, Col. Macleod, and two other officers together with some men on April 7, 1783, at Vijaydrug and put all of them to death.

Reverses now visited the Mahratta Army at Koli, near Aligarh, on August 28, and Asai on September 23, 1803. The last battle was fought at Rampura on January 10, 1818.

There was not much left of the people of the Great Shivaji's territory to cause any headache to the British generals or administrators in India thereafter.

Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan

Haider Ali became alert with the spread of influence and military strength of the British and came into open conflict with the forces under the British on June 11, 1760, at Tiyyagar in South Arcot. In 1780 (October 31), Haider occupied Arcot. The English fleet attacked Haider's new shipping and destroyed it at Calicut and Mangalore in October 1781. Haider risked a general engagement with the English army at Porto Novo on July 1, 1781, and was completely defeated when he retired to Arcot. In May 1782, he carried Permakoil and on June 2, 1782, attacked the British General and forced him to retire.

War-weary Haider died in a camp near Chittoor on December 7, 1782.

Tipu carrying on the fight with the assistance of the French sustained defeat in November 1782, at Paniani. He was forced to evacuate Arcot and proceed towards Bednore which capitulated on February 16, 1783. He appeared before Bednore on April 19, and took three neighbouring places and invaded Mangalore on May 4.

In July 1789, Tipu was faced with a combination of the Nizam, the Peshwa and the English. He met a contingent of the forces in May 1790. In October, Tipu retook Erod and Dharampur but his generals were defeated near Calicut on December 10, 1790. The Malabar coast was freed of Tipu's troops on December 17. A siege was laid of Seringapatam, his stronghold, on April 5, 1799,

which surrendered on May 4. Tipu was wounded and finally shot dead by a grenadier.

Cheit Singh

In the meantime Raja Cheit Singh of Benares, rather his people, rose against the administration of Warren Hastings. His ultimate refusal to pay "the increased tribute", to supply "three bodies of Sepoys" and alleged disrespect to British officers precipitated a military action against him.

The brief story has been narrated by British historians (Mill J. and Wilson H. H., Vol. III, p. 258 *et seq*) as it occurred in 1774. The Council of the Hon'ble Company made Cheit Singh independent in his Government at Benares, "under no condition but the payment of a fixed and invariable tribute" and "no more demands should be made upon him of any kind; nor on any pretence whatsoever, should any person be allowed to interfere with his authority."

In 1778, a requisition was made on Cheit Singh "for the maintenance of three battalions of sepoys, estimated at five lacs of rupees per annum." Secret presents were also demanded and received by Hastings from the Raja through confidential agents. His greed was for bigger amounts of hard cash and Hastings, in his own words, "had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency," which according to impartial historians "consisted, exclusively, in a reluctance to submit to the imposition of a very heavy burthen, from which the Raja considered that he ought to be free."

Cheit Singh tried various ways, but nothing would satisfy the Governor General. Hastings started for Benares on July 7, 1781, from Calcutta "with the intention of inflicting a severe vengeance on the Raja." He arrived in Benares on August 14, 1781, declined to see the Raja, sent his demands and a formal accusation to Cheit Singh and almost forthwith put him under arrest on August 15, 1781, in his own palace under a military guard.

The arrest was regarded as the "deepest disgrace and injury" and it was taken as "an excess of punishment to a very considerable degree beyond the line of justice and humanity."

The confinement of their prince was viewed by his men as

an "outrage of the most atrocious description." The two companies of sepoy who were placed on guard were overwhelmed in no time. Two additional companies were ordered to their support. A furious engagement between the people and the troops ensued in which the sepoy and their officers were all destroyed.

Further troops were sent to suppress the rebellious people of Benares and a large number proceeded to Ramnagar to attack the palace. In a fierce counter-attack the Commanding Officer, Popham, was killed; considerable loss was inflicted on the Company's forces.

Cheit Singh, when released by his people, crossed the river to the other bank to safety. The whole people of the country was highly infuriated against the English. "The contagion of revolt and hostility flew with unusual rapidity and strength." Not only Cheet Singh's territory, "but one half of the province of Oudh was in a state of as complete a rebellion as Benares."

Hastings reckoned the situation as extremely grave and made good his escape secretly after it became dark to Chunar, leaving the wounded sepoy behind completely unattended.

Cheet Singh's men fought the Company's sepoy at different places but luck ultimately favoured Hastings and the rising was quelled with unusual ferocity in the course of the next three months.

Malabar Ferment

The Malabar was in a state of ferment and Pyche Raja (Kerala Verma Raja) raised the banner of revolt in 1792 which was solely aimed against the British.

Wazir Ali

In Oudh, Wazir Ali adopted a desperate course (January 14, 1799) murderously attacking Mr. Cherry, the British Resident, in Benares. He entered Oudh at the head of a strong force supplied by a group of disaffected zemindars.

Dhundia Wagh

Dhundia Wagh, Chief of Bednore, Mysore, a Mahratta by birth, rallied a strong force, mainly drawn from Tipu's forces, around him and successfully ravaged the Karnatak under both

the British and the Mahratta troops and killed Dhondu Pant Gokhale. He remained a real terror to the British forces for a fairly long time but was defeated in the battle fought on the right bank of Malprabha. Ultimately he was overcome and killed on September 9, 1800, at Kongal.

Army Revolts

Two other Army revolts, viz., Madras (Vellore) in 1806 eclipsed by the mutinous attitude of the 47th Bengal Native Infantry which refused to proceed to Burma, show the degree of discontent prevailing in sections of the army men. The spirit had not died down and the last in the series before 1857, the great upheaval, was the outbreak in the Bengal Army when seven battalions rose in open revolt over the question of allowance for men in garrisons in newly acquired territories.

Wahabi Movement

The great Wahabi Movement was started by one Syed Ahmad of Rae Bareilly with the principal object of re-establishing Mahomedan domination. Gradually its operations were directed against foreigners and later towards Hindus and the Sikhs when it lost much of its national character. The Wahabis began to organise secretly from Patna, with its headquarters at Sittana (North Western Frontier Province) with centres distributed far and wide. In 1863, they met in great strength the British forces in Swat country and suffered a serious setback though seldom relaxing their activities.

In the course of hearing of the case against Amir Khan, one of the accredited leaders detained under Regulation III of 1818, the Chief Justice J. P. Norman of the Calcutta High Court was stabbed to death on September 20, 1871, by a Wahabi named Abdulla. The assassination of Lord Mayo, the Viceroy of India, in the Andamans by Sher Ali, a Wahabi, on February 8, 1872, is alleged to have been taken as a revenge against the adverse decision in Amir Khan's case. The communal character of the movement overshadowed their actions against the British with whom they had principally to contend for political power.

Titu Mir

Amongst those who had the courage to rise against the ruling authorities, Titu Mir occupies a distinct place. Possessed of great physical strength, he collected a large number of insurgents around him and with their help he exercised undisputed sway (1831-32) over a very large tract north and east of Calcutta together with nearly the whole of 24-Parganas, Nadia and Faridpur. Narkelbaria in 24-Parganas was turned into a 'fort' whence he would carry out his depredations far and wide.

Tribal and other Insurrections

Stray uprisings of more or less serious nature were rather frequent. Tribal revolts were many, of which the Chuar (inhabitants of a territory between Ghatsila and Barabhum) in 1770 and 1779, Khasis (1783), Ganjam Rising (1798), Nair Battalion (1804), Faradi Movement (1804-1838), Khandesh Tribals under Velu Tampi, Dewan of Travancore (1808), the Jats (1809), Gujar Revolt of Shaharanpur (1813), Bhils of Khandesh (1818), Bundelkhand Clan under Gopal Singh and Divakar Dixit (1824), Kittur (Belgaum) Rising (1824), Kols (1831-32), Bhumij of Manbhum (1832), the leaders of Vizianagram (1794-1834), Naga Revolt (1839), Kohlapur under Anna Sahab (1844), Khonds of Orissa (1846), the most troublesome of all, the Sonthals under Sindhu, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairab (1855), and the Mundas (1857) deserve distinct mention amongst many others of a minor nature.

Amongst other less known individuals who rose against the British were: the Raja of Dhalbhum (1766-67), Poligars of the Ceded Districts of Bellary, etc. (1802), Narasingha Dattatreya of Nizam's territory, Raja of Vizianagram (1794), a Singpoh Chief of Assam (1839), Talukdar of Bareilly (1866) etc., etc.

For Whom Death had no Terror

While memories of more recent events have been slipping out into haziness, the case of Maharaja Nanda Kumar ('Nuncomar' in foreign records) after a lapse of nearly two centuries still stirs up a poignant remembrance in the minds of millions of

Indians of the present age to whom the pages of history 'did ne'r unroll' their precious contents for illumination of the dark corners of their unlettered mind.

The Maharaja (a title conferred upon him by the Emperor Shah Alam in May 1764) brought certain charges of corruption against Warren Hastings before the Board of Directors for investigation. "Instead of choosing to confront his accuser," as Mill J. and Wilson, H. H. (*The History of British India*, 1858, Vol. III, p. 446 *et seq*) say, "and to avail himself of the advantage of innocence, in hearing and challenging the pretences of a false accusation," Hastings with immaculate shrewdness evaded and blocked all enquiries against him.

To save countenance, Hastings "took the extra-ordinary resolution of prosecuting, with all the might of his authority, the man by whom he was accused." The charge was that Nanda Kumar was a party to a conspiracy of forcing a man "to write a petition" against Hastings and his henchmen in March 1770. Subsequent enquiry proved this to be a base lie. The Maharaja was held to bail on a charge of forgery.

The accused was arrested on May 6, 1775, and thrown into the common jail. In a trial lasting from June 6 to June 18, the outcome of which was a foregone conclusion, Nanda Kumar was sentenced to be hanged on August 5, 1775.

The country was aghast. Wilson wrote in 1858:

"No transaction, perhaps, of this whole administration more deeply tainted the reputation of Hastings, than the tragedy of Nuncomar. At the moment when he stood forth as an accuser of the Governor-General, he was charged with a crime, alleged to have been committed five years before; tried, and executed; a proceeding which could not fail to generate the suspicion of guilt, and of an inability to encounter the weight of his testimony.... The very fact that Hastings fully knew the sinister interpretation which the destruction of an accuser of Nuncomar's eminence would expose him, and still from which he would not desist, leads to a fair inference that from the accusations he dreaded something worse than those suspicions.

"The crime for which Nuncomar was made to suffer, was not a capital offence, by the laws of Hindustan. It was affirmed that this atrocious condemnation and execution were upon an *ex-postfacto* law, as the Statute which created the Supreme Court and its powers was not published till 1774, and the date of the supposed forgery was in 1770;.. that the evidence adduced was not sufficient to warrant condemnation."

It is remarkable that the most salutary provision of staying execution till the Privy Council had given its verdict was blatantly ignored in this case.

With the removal of Nanda Kumar from his way, Hastings secured comparative peace from public accusations. Francis said before the House of Commons that

"it impressed a general terror on the natives with respect to preferring accusations against men in great power...they (the accusers and their co-adjutors) were unwilling to expose themselves to what appeared to them a manifest danger."

In spite of some involvement in inescapable state intrigues of the day, Maharaja Nanda Kumar at the time of the prosecution enjoyed a unique social standing and financial position in Bengal. According to Busteed:

"Though his life had not been free from some adverse vicissitudes, his talents and experience gained him wealth, and his services to the Government at Murshidabad, and to that of the Company at Calcutta, raised him to the position of a very influential and conspicuous personage in Bengal."

For his many qualities of head and heart he was held in high esteem by all classes of his countrymen enjoying confidence of friends, and at times, even of some of his detractors who had to grapple with him in many other fronts. His great attachment to social customs and conventions, his devotion to religious faith and on the top of everything, his complete resignation to the Will of God secured for him a unique position not attained by many people coming before or after him. Moreover, he was about seventy when the evil eye of Hastings and Impey fell upon him and consecrated him to an unmerited death and perennial sympathy of the millions of his contemporaries and of generations of his countrymen to come.

If, in life Nanda Kumar was great, in death he left a legacy of name that will never tarnish, never vanish. He proved the strength of his inner self ignoring the stings and horror of death raising himself to a higher level of human existence.

Placed under circumstances prevailing at the time, he fought his way as best as he could ultimately ascending the steps to the gallows in a manner that astonished the whole world. His soul might find some comfort over the events that were enacted after

the lapse of a little over a century within the boundaries of his Motherland.

His followers to the gallows have even surpassed him in certain respects. The Maharaja had crossed the nature's span of life—the proverbial three score and ten—and was not aware that his endeavours would end so disastrously for him. His example of facing death with exemplary fortitude and complete resignation has been copied or even surpassed with a spirit of banter towards death by much younger men of after-age.

His was a case of diabolical, calculated political and judicial murder, perpetrated in the name of the State. Almost unto the last days of British rule in India, his fellow countrymen had been victims of worse conspiracy on the part of the executive, may also be of the judiciary, without any impeachments as those of Hastings and Impey, with more easy convictions resulting in death or incarceration in the distant Indian 'Bastille', the Andamans, and elsewhere. His spirit infused the future generations with fortitude worthy of the cause. About these intrepid fighters and the way they looked at the gallows, Beveridge (*Ibid*, p. 383) wrote, "The stoicism which existed only in theory among the Greeks has been reduced to practice by the Hindoos." In the face of danger,

"when they are convinced that the inevitable hour is come they often seem as if a new soul had been breathed into them and view death in its most terrific forms with an apparent unconcern, which if not apathy, is heroism."

Such was the spirit displayed by Nanda Kumar and his countrymen starting with the Chapekar brothers in 1897 and ending with Udham Singh in London in 1940. Let their troubled spirits enjoy eternal peace in the thought that India attained independence over their scattered skeletons strewn all along the way to the ultimate goal.

APPENDIX

The following is the account (Busteed, H. E.: *Echoes from Old Calcutta* 1888, p. 87) of the execution written by Alexander Macrabie, the Sheriff, whose distasteful duty it was to see it carried out:

Friday evening the 4th August. After we were both seated, he spoke with great ease and such seeming unconcern that I really doubted whether he was sensible of his approaching fate. I therefore bade the interpreter inform him that I was come to show him this last mark of respect, and to assure him that every attention should be given the next morning which could afford him comfort on so melancholy an occasion.....

He said that fate was not to be resisted, and put his finger to his forehead.... God's will must be done.... His composure was wonderful, not a sigh escaped him, nor the smallest alteration of voice or countenance, though I understood he had not many hours before taken a solemn leave of his son-in-law, Roy Radicum. I found myself so much second to him in firmness, that I could stay no longer. Going downstairs, the jailer informed me that, since the departure of his friends he had been writing notes and looking at accounts in his usual way. I began now to apprehend that he had taken his resolution and fully expected that he would be found dead in the morning; but on Saturday, the 5th, at seven, I was informed that everything was in readiness at the jail for the execution. I came here about half an hour past seven. The howlings and lamentations of the poor wretched people who were taking their last leave of him are not to be described. I have hardly recovered the first shock while I write this about three hours afterwards....

There was no lingering about him, no affected delay. He came cheerfully into the room.... Seeing somebody look at a watch, he got up and said he was ready, and immediately turning to three Brahmins who were to attend and take care of his body, he embraced them all closely but without the least mark of melancholy or depression on his part, while they were in agonies of grief and despair.... Upon it being recommended to him, that at the place of execution he would give some signal when he had done with the world, he said he would speak.

We sat about an hour longer during which he addressed himself more than once to me;...but without any seeming anxiety; the rest of the time, I believe, he passed in prayer, his lips and tongue moving and his hands hanging upon his knees. He then looked to me and arose,...then walked cheerfully to the gate and seated himself in his palanquin, looking around him with perfect unconcern.... The Rajah sat in his palanquin upon the bearers' shoulders and looked around at first with some attention. I did

not observe the smallest decomposure in his countenance or manner at the sight of the gallows or any of the ceremonies passing about it. He was in no way desirous of protracting the business, but repeatedly told me that he was ready. . . . When he was not engaged in conversation he lay back in the palanquin, moving his lips and tongue as before.

I then caused him to be asked about the signal he was to make, which could not be done by speaking, on account of the noise of the crowd. He said he would make a motion with his hand; and when it was represented to him that it would be necessary for his hands to be tied in order to prevent any involuntary motion, and I recommended his making motion with his foot, he said he would. Nothing now remained except the last painful ceremony. I ordered his palanquin to be brought close under the gallows, but he chose to walk, which he did more erect than I have generally seen him. At the foot of the steps which led to the stage he put his hands behind him to be tied with handkerchief, looking around at the same time with the utmost unconcern. Some difficulties arising about the cloth which should be tied over his face, he told the people that it must not be done by one of us. . . . The Rajah pointed to a servant of his own, who was lying prostrate at his feet, and beckoned him to do it. He had some weakness in his feet, which, added to the confinement of his hands, made him mount the steps with difficulty; but he showed not the least reluctance, scrambling forward to get up. He then stood erect on the stage, while I endeavoured. . . . to see if I could observe the smallest symptom of fear or alarm; but there was no trace of it. My own spirits sank, and I stepped into my palanquin; but before I was seated he had given the signal, and the stage was removed. I could observe, when I was little recovered, that his arms lay back in the same position in which I found them first tied, nor could I see any contortion on that side of his mouth and face which was visible.

In a word, his steadiness, composure, and resolution throughout the whole of this melancholy transaction were equal to any examples of fortitude I have ever read or heard of.

Later Ventures

(1857-1900)

The Great Upheaval

British power had been proceeding apace towards consolidation but not without a solemn warning. In a letter written on August 11, 1825, Ram Mohan Ray wrote to J. S. Buckingham that

“Enemies to liberty, and friends of despotism have never been and never will be successful.”

It was^a a lone voice to which no serious thought was lent. With the cessation of Burmese and Sikh wars, no other power within or outside India having had the courage to get involved in hostilities, the British Imperialists expected a quiet rule over the whole of the sub-continent. But the most serious threat to British occupation in India came in the shape of Sepoy War in 1857, “to oust the foreign devil”. To say that it was simply a mutiny of Indian sepoys is to present a portion of the whole picture. “It was a combination of military grievance, national hatred and religious fanaticism against the English occupation in India” and all these combined “converted a military mutiny into a national religious war.”

The first shot was discharged by Sepoy No. 1446, Mangal Pande, belonging to the 5th Company of the 34th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry, on March 29, 1857, at Barrackpore. The discontent manifested in the act of Pande spread like wild fire amongst the sepoys of widely separated areas. From the nature and trend of events it does not take much time to notice that the object of the conflagration was not simply to protest against the use of greased cartridges and for their withdrawal but it was something more. It was a desperate violent outburst of the discontent that had accumulated in the minds of the people due to divergent reasons which might individually be political, economic, social and religious, or a combination of two or more of them. The situation was nicely put by Justice Macarthy when he said that it was a War of Independence with at least some of the leaders who either directly took part in the outbreak or actively supported

the insurgents with resources of every kind. With at least a few the aim was the overthrow of the British, first and foremost; on the same plane met diverse forces that had never occurred before with the common object of putting an end to a political domination that had been spreading its tentacles on the very existence of Indian nationhood.

Ordinarily in a fight for freedom, a few, just a very small percentage of the whole populace, get prepared for any sacrifice; a larger number extend their support openly or in secret; a still larger number take sympathetic interest; and the main bulk remain idle spectators. Of the last group, the majority is afraid of any change, the prevailing administration being always accepted by them as tolerable if not good.

The man who throws the first stone at any object representing foreign authority, with a patriotic motive, inspires the contemporary or the future generation of his country to send a bullet or a bomb along its course. Undoubtedly he sows the initial seed of armed revolution.

The essence of waging war against the Government consists in the intention with which any of the offensive components of the crime is applied. The Mutiny of 1857 forthwith affected a large section of the military personnel all over the country because of a common grievance entertained individually or collectively by all of them. The discontent amongst the civil population for reasons characteristic of each class was widespread and the spark started by the mutinous troops touched off the heaps of gunpowder of discontent dumped all over the land.

The 19th Bengal infantry mutinied at Berhampore on February 26, 1857, which was promptly suppressed. The 3rd Bengal Cavalry stationed at Meerut on April 24, and the 7th Infantry at Lucknow on May 3, refused to obey their respective officers.

On May 10, the Meerut prisoners were released by their comrades; the European officers and a large number of civilians were murdered. Flushed with apparent success a large section of the rebels marched off to Delhi. The next day the bulk of the soldiers reached Delhi and attacked the Europeans killing a large number of them. The troops at Delhi rose in revolt on May 11, and murdered the European Officer proclaiming Bahadur Shah the Emperor of Hindustan.

On May 16, about fifty Europeans, so far held captive, were murdered.

Now things began to assume serious proportions. On May 13, the 47th and the 57th Infantry stationed at Ferozepore mutinied and their attempt to rifle the magazine was timely frustrated. The men of the 45th Infantry were pursued for twelve miles some of whom were mercilessly killed and a large number was imprisoned.

Sepoys at Aligarh, Jullundur, Philawar, Lahore, Nowshera, Hansi, Hissar, Harina, Bareilly, Moradabad, Shahjahanpur, Neemuch, Aurangabad, Fyzabad, Hamirpur, Jubbulpore, Peshawar and other places rebelled on different dates close to one another with considerable damage to most of these places and loss of lives of many Europeans. In some places the mutiny was suppressed before long with shooting of a large number of the mutineers and hundreds taken as prisoners.

A few of the Native Chiefs such as Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, and Kapurthala pledged their support to the Britishers which was tested to the extreme.

On May 29, two regiments of Nasirabad started for Delhi with their arms. On the same day troops at Lucknow rose in revolt. On May 30, a rebel force was attacked by British troops at Ghaziuddinnagar and was badly defeated.

Delhi became the centre where the mutineers converged from different parts of the country. The sepoy at Muttra killed some of their European Officers and marched towards Delhi.

The 37th Infantry was disarmed at Benares on June 4.

The activities of Nana Saheb now came to the fore. On June 4, he captured about 130 Europeans fleeing from Fatehgarh and as a reprisal for European atrocities committed on disarmed sepoy, put all of them to death. The treasury at Cawnpore was completely plundered.

The Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi took the lead in her territory and the 12th Infantry attacked the European Officers and killed almost all of them on June 5. Mutiny soon spread to areas hitherto free from contagion. At Allahabad mutiny broke out on June 6, and several European Officers were attacked in a mess and all of whom were killed.

Two infantry and cavalry divisions revolted at Jullundur on

June 7, ransacked Ludhiana and started for Delhi. In a fight at the same place the rebels lost several guns on June 8, where the first serious reverse took place.

On June 12, the 5th Irregular Cavalry stationed at Rohini, Deogarh, turned recalcitrant and had to be handled roughly.

The Gwalior Contingent joined the mutiny and slaughtered several Englishmen on June 14. The sepoy of the 10th Native Infantry mutinied on June 18, at Furakkabad. Between June 17 and June 30, the British troops successfully attacked many important strongholds of the mutineers with significant success.

At Cawnpore the English residents experienced the severest ordeal. There was a serious loss of life between June 6 and June 27. The Lucknow Residency was attacked on July 1, and the defending British General was killed.

Mutiny spread to Holkar's Army on July 1, and a number of British troops and civilians were killed at Indore. The Mhow soldiers joined the band of rebels.

It was now a conflagration that scattered its ravages to distant zones. Agra, Bijnor, Ambala, Azimgunge, Bara Banki, Budaun, Muttra, Banda, Begungunge, Najafgarh, Maharajpur, Dhar, Mandisore, Sehora, Rahtgarh Fort, Gurrukota Fort, Malthoor, etc., were severally attacked. The Kotah Contingent mutinied on July 4; the cantonment was attacked and the city thoroughly ransacked. On the same day the Rohilkhand rebels attacked the British forces at Delhi with very little success.

The 9th Native Cavalry and the 6th Infantry mutinied at Sialkot on July 9, but were put to flight before any great mischief could be done.

Nana's forces proved to be the most daring amongst the rebels attacking 3,500 British soldiers on July 12, with signal success. He was in turn defeated on July 16, and had to leave the field on July 19. His palace at Bithur was burnt to ashes.

Delhi became the centre of attack and counter-attack by July 14, and by the end of the month the mutineers' loss was remarkably heavy. More mutineers joined the fray from different quarters. Three regiments started for Delhi from Dinapore on July 25. The 12th Irregular Cavalry revolted at Segauli, Champaran. The treasury was stormed and the resisting British troops suffered heavily. The General was killed.

By July 31, 1857, the South showed signs of extreme unrest. Places like Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, etc., were severely affected, but the ravages were negligible compared with the North.

From July 29, the War took a bad turn for the mutineers. At Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Peshawar, Bundelkhand, Fatchpur, Arrah, Furakkabad and a few other places, the rebels greatly suffered by the death of the fighting units and loss of guns. Gaya was an exception where the British troops, had to surrender with great loss. The sepoy prisoners were released and the European residents somehow managed to escape with their lives. The soldiers stationed at Deogarh, Hazaribagh and Sonthal Parganas rebelled and refused to obey the orders of their respective officers.

Delhi was again stormed by the rebels on September 14. Severe loss was sustained by both sides, the mutineers' share being the larger. The Emperor's palace was overtaken. Bahadur Shah and his wife and a son were taken prisoners from Humayun's tomb on September 21. Two sons and a grandson of the old King were captured and mercilessly put to death.

Execution took place of Shankar Shah, a Gond Raja and his son on September 18, 1857, at Jubbulpore. Serious unrest that needed firm handling were noticeable at Chota Nagpur (July), Hazaribagh (30th July), Ramgarh (1st August), Lohardaga (2nd August), Palamau (21st October), Sambalpur and other places.

The rebellion was nearing its end by November though the dying embers would flare up into flame here and there. The 34th Infantry rose in revolt in Chittagong on November 18, which was followed by mutiny at Dacca on November 22. At both the places the rebels were defeated and a large section was forced to fly to Jalpaiguri.

The last fight which deserves a separate mention was between the forces of Muhammad Hussein, a rebel Talukdar of Majhauri, and the British troops on December 26, the latter coming out victorious. The end of the memorable year 1857 saw the post-war reprisals of the remnant rebels and their leaders of the most ferocious type till the government of Canning intervened and changed the course of events.

It must be admitted that the demand of the troops, at least of a very large section, was to find out an alternative authority that would be accepted as a challenge to the British administra-

tion of the country. The spirit of winning freedom at any cost was there. Bahadur Shah in his trial (January 27 to March 9, 1858) was found guilty of siding with and abetting the mutiny of troops; waging war against the British Government by encouraging and assisting various persons for the purpose of assuming sovereignty of Hindustan. He was found guilty of complicity in the Mutiny, and was transported *via* Calcutta to Rangoon in December 1858, where he died on November 7, 1862.

The credit for starting the mutiny goes to the Indian Sepoys no doubt. A considerable section of the Princes, landed aristocracies, Chieftains, Talukdars and peasants, etc., lent to the 'mutiny' another hue. Rani Lakshmi Bai (Jhansi), Kunwar Singh, Umer Singh (Shahabad), Reza Ali Khan, Hyder Ali Khan (Rajgir), Jeodhur Singh (Bihar), Peer Ali Khan, Ahsaf Hussein (Patna), Surendra Sahee (Sambulpur), Bishonath Sahee (Lohardaga), Arjoon Singh (Singhbhum), Neelmony Singh (Bankura), Bindabun Tewaree (Midnapore), Rao Bhopal Singh, Ahmad Khan (Multan), Mahtab Singh (Aligarh), Naniram Dutta (Assam), Man Singh (Shahagunge), Muhammad Bakht Khan (Rohtak), Muhammad Khan (Bijnor), Prince Feroze Shah (Delhi), Raja of Satasi, Begun Hazrat Nahal (Rohilkhand), Muhammad Sasan (Gorakhpur), Hyder Ali Khan (Gaya), Subadar Ali Baksh (Hamirpur), Raja of Banpur, Raja Sankar Shah (Jubbulpore), Waris Ali (Patna), Nilambar and Pitambar Sahee (Palamau), Maulvi Sarfaraz Ali (Shahjehanpur), Muhammad Ahmadulla (Lucknow), Narpat Singh (Ruyia), Khan Bahadur Khan (Bareilly), Raja of Mitauli, Raja of Sel (Sitapur, Oudh), Rajas of Beapur and Shahgarh (Saugor and Narbadda Territories), Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope (hanged on April 18, 1859), Bakhtwar Khan, Jwala Prasad, Azimullah (Cawnpore), etc., etc., were some of a large number of other influential men who had participated in the great upheaval.

Vasudeo Balvant Phadke

The revolt of 1857 suppressed by ruthless reprisals was followed by a lull but the spirit of resistance did not die out completely. Extreme economic distress and recurrent famines kept the smouldering fire alive. People became desperate and began to think of adopting measures leading to violent action.

The Mahratta country, because of its undimmed recollection of independence, was simmering with discontent and in the language of Wedderburn, troubles

"began with sporadic gang robberies and attacks on the money-lenders until the bands of dacoits, combining together, became too strong for the police; and the whole military force at Poona, horse, foot and artillery, had to take the field against them. Roaming through the jungle tracts of the Western Ghats, these dispersed in the presence of military force, only to re-unite immediately at some convenient point "

The leadership of this band fell upon a young man, Vasudeo Balvant Phadke, who tried to "lead a national revolt upon the lines on which Mahratta power had originally been founded." The miseries of the people became too much for him to bear and he thought of preparing the country with the help of the educated class, if possible and without them, if necessary, for an armed revolt. Failing in the former, he diverted his attention mostly towards the uneducated class, the Ramoshi tribe, which once formed a part of the Mahratta army and rose in revolt against the British in 1826. He was eminently successful in his efforts and was able to recruit a valiant band of comrades around him.

Assured of selfless, sacrificing and brave 'soldiers', he turned his mind towards organising a secret society of youth drawn from various quarters and enthused them with lectures and examples of suffering and sacrifice that he enjoined upon himself. Arrangements were made for military training in the neighbourhood of the Ferguson and Gultekdi Hills. He used to organise meeting and deliver fiery lectures to the masses whenever possible. He wrote in his diary: "From morning to night, bathing, eating, sleeping, I was brooding over this (ruining the British) and I could get no proper rest." This paramount thought came out in language which could inflame the minds of his audience.

With the expansion of his organisation he was worried over paucity of funds.* He approached the rich people and promised repayment of the loan on attainment of independence. He was looked upon as a crazy fellow gone off his head. He had to take resort to the methods of plundering properties not only of the people but also of the Government preferably of the latter.

His 'army' grew in size as well as in strength. In the matter of recruitment he secured the assistance of a most devoted friend

in Daulatrao Ramoshi who had boundless influence over the people of his own tribe. There was another, Govindrao Davare, who had been a great source of strength to his elbow. Amongst his followers, Davare was known as 'the General' and Phadke himself, "Shivaji II".

Phadke conceived the idea of attacking the enemy simultaneously at a large number of points so that people would gradually come to think that Phadke was irresistible as he had a big army at his command. He would strike at the system of communications, the post, telegraph and the railways, plunder Government treasuries and break open the jails and release the prisoners who would most gladly join his army. In the meantime he would try to engage the Rohillas and the Pathans from the Nizam's territory. If funds were available, he would think of raising a regular army. He is attributed to be the first Indian who conceived the idea of an Indian Republic.

He began his depredations far and wide and it was well nigh impossible to arrest him, even to get information of his whereabouts. He put a price of Rs. 500 on the head of Sir Richard Temple, the Governor of Bombay.

In 1879, he attacked the village Dhamari followed by such places as Valch, Palaspe, etc. The districts around Poona became the playground of the Ramoshi heroes and on May 10, 1879, Phadke's men, under Daulatrao Ramoshi after plundering Dirur, appeared at Neri near Panewal in the Konkan and disappeared with a large booty. They were more successful at Palaspe where the booty amounted to Rs. 60,000. Unfortunately, in one of these encounters, Daulatrao lost his life and the morale of the Ramoshis was severely shaken.

In 1879, Phadke himself was captured on July 3, in a temple of Kaladgi, a district in Hyderabad, and was charged under Sections 121, 124 and 395 I.P.C. and awarded a sentence of transportation for life. He was kept fettered in a prison in Aden, India including the Andamans not being deemed safe place for such a resourceful enemy. Even then, he managed to escape from prison but before long he was arrested again and kept under a more rigid watch. The bravest fighter for freedom of India, after some of the Mutiny martyrs, breathed his last in Aden on February 17, 1883.

Kuka Rising

In 1879, Ram Singh, leader of the Kukas, raised an insurrection on January 11, at Malerkotla, near Ludhiana and came into open clash with the British forces on January 27, 1872. Ram Singh was defeated and deported to Burma where he died in 1885.

The followers of Ram Singh, between January 15 and 17 (1872), rushed Malod Fort at Sirhind and tried to take Malerkotla and seize the treasury there. Unfortunately, both the attempts proved abortive and forty-nine prisoners were ordered to be blown away from the mouth of the guns. A few others were executed and the movement was suppressed with the utmost severity.

Manipur Revolt

With the ruthless massacre of 1857, the effects of which continued up to some later years, there were very few signs of organised revolt against the ruling authority.

The even tenor was badly affected by the revolt of the people of distant Manipur in the North-eastern corner of India under Senapati Tikendrajit Singh in September 1890. In March 1891, the British forces arrived at Manipur and demanded Senapati Tikendrajit to surrender which he peremptorily refused to do. On the other hand, the Senapati successfully contrived to induce three generals of the British army to meet him; and as a measure of reprisal against the killing of Manipur fighters, they were assassinated. The Manipur Fort was attacked by British forces which were repulsed.

A second attack on the fort at midnight failed and the Senapati was looked upon as the saviour of Manipur. Forces from Burma were requisitioned to meet the emergency but with no better result. With the help of heavy guns which were brought in later, serious damage was caused to the fort but the Senapati managed to escape. Unfortunately for him his most intimate associate General Thengal fell into the hands of the enemy (May 8, 1891). The success was followed up and within a fortnight of the storming of the Fort, Senapati Tikendrajit Singh was captured after a desperate fight.

The Senapati, a younger brother Agnes Sena and General Thengal were given the farce of a trial charged with the crime of

an attempt to free the homeland from the occupation of foreigners and were sentenced to death. On August 13, 1891, the three great defenders of the honour of Manipur were hanged on their own soil.

Munda Insurrection

The last concerted action of the century was that by the remnants of the herbic Mundas (1899-1900) who put up a great fight under their leader, Birsa. The grim fight with the British armed forces in and around Ranchi, Bihar, is still remembered by some who take pride in telling the story to the youngsters in their families.

RESURGENCE

(1858-1902)

The Rumbings

The closing years of the last century were marked by determined violent action against the British in the Western part of India. These were acts of political assassination as such with the fullest knowledge of its consequences by a few whose number could be counted on finger tips. The demands of time produced revolutionist who

"flinging himself against the solid mass presented by the society of his day, can scarcely fail to be shattered in the process, and whether or not his work survives, it is unlikely that he will himself escape destruction."

Long before the outraged feeling manifested itself in physical action the seed of revolution was nurtured by the flow of patriotic sentimental ideas emanating from the pens of a band of writers in poetry or prose. In the fitness of things they should be recognised as showing the path of armed struggle. Since the middle of the 19th century these great men began to preach the idea of supreme sacrifice in the cause of freedom in the context of Moslem domination over India.

Rangalal

The first to open the broadside, as far as could be ascertained, was the poet Rangalal Bandopadhyaya who in 1858, almost coincidentally with "the Mutiny", exhorted the people to realise that death was preferable to serfdom and asked:

"Is there any fool who would (like to) put the shackles of slavery around his own (neck) feet? Hellish it is to remain a bondsman for millenia; a moment's independence tantamounts to heavenly bliss (for eternity). Verily he has lived a life worth living and possessed bodily strength worth having (lived a worthy life) who liberates his Motherland from foreign domination through self-immolation. Onward ! Onward ! to the battlefield, post haste, dear Comrades! (because) nothing compares with him who lays down his life in the service of the Motherland."

Hem Chandra

Before the idea had lost its warmth another poet gave the inspiring call to the nation in 1873. Hem Chandra Bandopadhyaya

exhorted the people to develop a martial spirit combined with matching physical fitness and mental vigour. Said he:

"Chanting of hymns, counting the beads, penance (*yoga*) and prayer, offerings to the gods, burning of sacrificial fire, worshipping of images—all these will be of no avail at the present moment; (instead) invoke strength; worship the arrow and the scimitar. Forge ahead towards the goal; be reckless, and explore the summits of mountains, minutely ransack the (secrets of) the planets in the firmament; brave the whirlwind, darts of the meteor, the flash of lightning. Then and then only you will be able to slay (exterminate) the enemies. Be a match for them just to adorn the head that now carries the boots (of the foreign masters) with the crowning glory of Independence.

"It is true that in the days of yore one would get his wishes fulfilled through penance and the gods would come down to take the battlefield and fight for their devotees.

"May not those days when prayers (and offerings) to the gods could bring about independence of India return. Unsheathe the sword (and fight yourself); these demons are very much unlike those of the old.

"Be skilled in acquiring strength from (fighting) weapons; get yourself intoxicated with the spirit of joy for the war; and these are the only prerogatives with the help of which you can preserve your very existence in this world. (India's) salvation knows no other way."

In 1874, Jyotirindra Nath Tagore, in a drama entitled *Puru Bikram* gave expression to the same feeling that inspired Rangalal. Jyotirindra wrote in verse again that,

"Fie to him who entertains fear for his life in emancipating the Motherland from bondage. Let such man suffer eternal perdition of slavery. What is the use of life saved at the cost of Independence? Fie to him who desires to tolerate such a miserable existence."

Needless to say that such forceful writings and occasional speeches produced tremendous effects on the youthful minds of Bengal, though overt acts were yet to come.

Resentment in the Air

During this period, published literature, newspapers, books, etc., dealing with the economic and political situation of the country gradually tended towards more outspoken progressive national ideals. Seditious articles appeared here and there, in this paper or that and the Government was not slow to proceed against them for undermining respect and loyalty for the Government. But there were signs of further restiveness and a section of the

press with the growing tempo of the movement openly or under a thin mask introduced an element of support for violence in their writings.

There had been trenchant criticism on occasions and resentment expressed by the press against administrative measures found detrimental and obnoxious from the point of view of national interests, justice and fairplay. On one occasion, long before militant nationalism had taken definite shape, a newspaper editorial indirectly supported acts of retaliation involving death to the alleged culprit. As an instance the case of Gaekwad of Baroda may be cited.

An attempt, as the Government declared, was made to administer poison to Col. Phayre, Resident of Baroda, on November 9, 1874. It was suggested that this step was instigated by the Gaekwad Madhav Rao (Mulhar Rao). Phayre was allowed to go on leave and Sir Lewis Pelly was appointed Special Commissioner at Baroda on January 14, 1875, in succession to Phayre to investigate the conduct of Madhav Rao and to submit a report on his administration. Madhav Rao was removed to Calcutta for trial in the same month. On February 23, 1875, the indictment of the Gaekwad was started and the result of the secret enquiry was referred to the Home Government for necessary action. Lord Salisbury recommended "deposal of Madhav Rao on account of his notorious misconduct and previous maladministration."

On the fateful day of April 23, 1875, the Viceroy by proclamation deposed the Gaekwad and ordered his deportation to Madras forthwith. That hapless fellow lingered with a miserable existence till death relieved him of both humiliation and suffering in 1882.

There was a great commotion amongst the educated classes almost in every part of India over the deposal of a Ruling Chief of a vast territory associated with the glorious name of Shivaji and the valiant Mahrattas. At the appointment of Pelly *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* suspected annexation of Borada. It could scarcely conceal its disgust and criticised the contemplated measure in the most scathing terms. In its issue of January 14, 1875, it remarked that it would be evident to the future historian "that the Government itself in a manner compelled Mulharao to commit this atrocious crime. Proofs will be found in abundance that Col. Phayre was

constantly hostile to the Gaekwad, and wounded his feelings on every occasion. Not only did the Colonel tyrannise over the Gaekwad and placed obstacles in the way of good administration but his advice made the subjects rebellious; and when the Gaekwad wanted to punish them, the Resident reported him to the India Government as an oppressive chief. Possibly Baroda would never have come to such a crisis if Colonel Phayre had not been appointed."

The article continued: "It was impossible for human nature to be silent in such a position." It put a poser,—

"What would the English had done, if, for instance, the Russian Emperor had deputed an officer like Col. Phayre to England to keep an eye on the doings of the English Government, to interfere with all their acts, to teach people insubordination to the law and spread calumnies relating to the Queen?"

The people of England would have resorted to either of the two courses in such circumstances, declared the *Patrika* :

"It would either, if it had any confidence in its power, expel the Russian Officer from the country after subjecting him to all manner of insults, or alternatively, attempt to get rid of him by some such means as adopted by the Gaekwad."

In extending its open support to the action of the Gaekwad, it wrote that

"It is evident that he had no other than this atrocious way left to him to be freed from all oppressions of the Resident. If proper enquiry is conducted the performances of Phayre and the results were made public the common people of England would hang down their heads in shame."

It was amazing that there were not more cases like this:

"Considering the unnatural relation that subsisted at the time between England and its tributary Princes of India, it was rather strange that poisoning cases had been so few. The oppression of the Residents on Native Chiefs would have long made it impossible for Government to maintain peace in the country, if the natives had not been so signally patient, weak and helpless."

The remarks caused a great flutter in the dovecotes of the bureaucracy in India which wafted by the waves of the seven seas reached the shores of that distant seat of power in the United Kingdom. Some serious steps were suggested against the paper but better judgment advised the Government of India to keep a close watch on its tone and to swoop upon it if any such seditious sentiments were expressed in any of its future issues.

The Sober Patriots

Bengal began to think in terms of secret organisation and underground activities for attainment of Independence rather early. From literature of autobiographical character it is discernible that such revered and sober men like Raj Narain Bose, Jyotirindra Nath Tagore, Siva Nath Shastri, Bipin Chandra Pal, Surendra Nath Banerjea, Sarala Bala Devi and others thought of launching a movement with pledge taken in the most solemn manner, some signing it with their blood, in the seventies of the last century.

Nobody had heard of any overt act being committed by any of the society's members but they helped by their action to pitch their demand for *Swaraj* through a dangerous path that could have but a few supporters at the time. Considering the period they seem to have displayed a good deal of commendable courage in initiating a movement that ideologically gave moral support to methods that in the next few years paved the way for the formation of organisations that broke the barrier of constitutional agitation.

The 'Secret Societies' that came into existence at the end of the century had nothing to do with any violent action in any way. The aim of these was to prepare the mind of the people for strong action in support of boycott of foreign goods, establishment of indigenous industries, demand for *Swaraj* (self-government), resistance to laws and orders militating against the country's interests or interfering with the efforts of propagating the idea of self-rule amongst a wider public; and at a later stage, not to recognise a foreign Government—that had robbed the country of its independence.

These were the steps which the Congress would not adopt as its policy even for years and the leaders of a fighting programme like Tilak and Aurobindo began to look upon the Congress as an organisation mainly concerned with futile petitions and protests. They tried to inculcate a spirit of self-help, non-cooperation and marshalling of all forces in the nation for coming into grips with the authorities.

Vivekananda

The idea of revolutionary action, as has been mentioned before, took shape in Maharashtra in the mind of the Chitpavan

Brahmins. In Bengal the thought, circumscribed almost to himself, crossed the mind of Swami Vivekananda. He first tried to influence some of the Native Chiefs to form a combination and in his itinerary in the United Kingdom he even met Sir Hiram Maxim (Bhupendra Nath Dutt: *Swami Vivekananda—Patriot Prophet*, p. viii-ix) for the possibility of help in case of necessity. He was the first man to infuse the idea of having “men with strong biceps coming nearer, to God through football than the *Gita*”.

He wanted to organise throughout India groups of youngmen, strong physically and morally, who would willingly sacrifice comforts in the service of the suffering humanity, ready to undergo hardships for any noble cause and prepare the country for a higher civilization and spiritual greatness. His stirring appeal to the nations' youth reverberated throughout the land.

Vivekananda, in the footsteps of his Master, Paramhansa Ramakrishna, held before his countrymen the imagery of Kali, the Goddess of Strength, as well as of Destruction. Composed in 1898, he presented a picture of the brewing storm and proclaimed that

“Who dares misery love and hugs the form of Death,
To him the Mother comes ”

His exhortations not only related to the social, intellectual and moral upliftment of his countrymen but also to the ‘disgraceful cowardice’ which prevented the Indians from attaining “freedom deserved only by the brave and the heroic.”

Swamiji's message influenced the minds of the young Bengalee with a spirit of burning patriotism and created in some a tendency for stern political activity. When the call came for joining the monastic order, there were not a few whose presence in the ‘Mission’ was looked upon with great suspicion by the secret police service. The situation became gradually so tense that the intervention of a sympathetic Governor of Bengal was deemed absolutely necessary to put matters right.

Before the demise of Vivekananda the country had become conscious of the value of organisations which would devote much attention to physical culture, athletics, sword, dagger and lathi play, social service, relief work on a mass scale, etc. Institutions like the *Anusilan Samiti* under Satish Mukherji and P. Mitra, who besides being a firebrand nationalist, “had a spiritual life and

aspiration and a strong religious feeling", sprang up by 1902. It had many branches particularly in East Bengal and had members on the list who had lent a halo to the revolutionary movement of Bengal, nay of India.

The Congress in another field had been drifting towards liberal politics till it passed through its baptismal of fire at Surat in 1907. In giving a picture of the transition period Romain Rolland (*The Prophets of New India*, p. 497) aptly says that "nationalist movement smouldered for a long time until Vivekananda's breath blew the ashes into flame, and erupted violently three years after his death."

The world knows to its advantage the part played by Swamiji in the régénération of India in general and Bengal in particular, and getting the soil eminently nurtured for Tilak, Aurobindo and others to sow the seed of revolution. In the fulness of time the young sapling grew into a vigorous tree that stretched its mighty branches far and wide and became a terror to the rulers of India, here and in their distant island home, with its weird fruits pregnant with bomb and bullets.

The flow tide in the struggle for freedom had set in full strength and as Rolland continues:

"another personality—the greatest after him—thrown into the limelight by the independence movement, was his young friend Aurobindo Ghose. He was the real intellectual heir of Vivekananda."

"The Father of Indian Unrest"

(1893-1908)

Independent of the movement that was taking place in Bengal, the Maharashtra region breathed a spirit of burning patriotism which assumed a shape most convenient for the time.

In the impenetrable darkness of foreign domination for nearly a century and a half, a streak of light emanated from the storehouse of ingenuity of one who had been variously called "one of the most dangerous pioneers of disaffection", "a notorious agitator", "truly the father of Indian unrest" and also a man "of considerable erudition, great ability and dynamic energy."

This man, a great seer, was no other than Bal Gangadhar Tilak, whose views were that in the attainment of independence the end justifies the means, and that every means that would lead to political emancipation of the Motherland was justified. His is a name said Aurobindo (*Bankim, Tilak, Dayananda*, p. 36) "to be remembered gratefully so long as the country has pride in its past and hope for its future." In relation to his suffering for the Motherland Aurobindo further remarked about Tilak's "readiness to sacrifice and face suffering, not needlessly or with a useless bravado, but with a grim courage when it comes, to bear it and to outlive returning to work with one's scars as if nothing had happened" (*ibid*, p. 38).

In speaking about Tilak, *The Bunde Mataram*, in its issue of December 26, 1906, under caption, *The Man of the Past and the Man of the Future*, wrote :

"Tilak is a giant of strength and courage, the one man who knows what has to be done and does it, what to be organised and organises it, what to be resisted and resists it. He is pre-eminently the man who acts and action is to be the note of our future political energies."

Tilak had Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe as the most trusted friend and collaborator and they jointly grasped the oar and the helm of a frail tiny bark for bringing it to the sunny shore of Independence beyond the uncharted sea of serfdom of centuries.

In the background of Hindu-Moslem riot in Bombay in 1893, some minds began to feel that what was wanted, having been

numerically stronger, was a feeling of oneness and a spirit lacking in "hitting back with the same ruthlessness as their counterparts in the riots".

It was, therefore, absolutely necessary that the people must organise themselves for getting out of the rut and assert themselves in bigger and bigger fields of activity. The first and foremost condition that had had to be fulfilled in this connection was to obliterate as much as possible the differences that separated man from man on the score of wealth, education, caste, religion, age and sex.

Ganapati Festival

If the Mahomedans have their Mohurram, the Hindus must have some festival of this nature and the genius of Tilak at once noticed the great force that might be generated through revival of the Ganapati Festival on a large scale—and for all classes (*sarva-janik*) of people. The movement gained a large measure of support from youthful elements and gradually percolated amongst all classes of society within a very short time. Very soon it assumed the character of a national movement. The elephant-headed God, Ganapati, slaying the Gajasura, became the emblem of victory over the oppressed.

The discerning did not fail to realise the possibility of such mass enthusiasm and openly desired it to assume a political character. It was to be turned into a meeting ground for national unification. Wrote the *Prabhakar* on July 31, 1896 :

"Is it not the duty of the Brahmins to turn these *melas* to some better account than they are at present? Why not utilize them for political purposes by organising a series of lectures during the Ganapati holidays? Why not compose songs on current political topics?"

Slokas or songs were chanted or sung in meetings and in processions which were pregnant with suggestions that covered the real meaning under a thin veil. One of these was :

"Alas! you are not ashamed to remain in servitude; try, therefore, to commit suicide. Alas, like butchers, the wicked in their monstrous atrocity kill calves and kine; free her from her trouble. Die, but kill the English."

Very plainly the *slokas* intended to draw pointed attention to the people's servitude and encouraged them to shake it off; they would 'die' and in doing so they should 'kill the English'. Here

was an open call to violence to the masses for the achievement of a political objective.

When the Ganapati Festival had played its part exceedingly well, attention of Tilak was drawn to the dilapidated condition of the tomb of Shivaji, who died on April 14, 1680, in the fort of Raigarh. He took it up as another potent instrument for adding zest to the movement and got into the work of repairs of the monument in right earnest. He presented the case with the sentimental appeal that the Maharaja had been crowned in this very fort in 1674, and his mortal remains had been laid at rest in the same fort after the campaign of Jajna. The public mind was not very slow to react and it helped to renew the people's respect for the memory of that great Hero of modern times and the founder of the mightiest Hindu Kingdom in the heart of the Mahomedan Empire. As a result the first celebration took place at Raigarh on March 15, 1895.

Shivaji Utsab

Logically enough the idea of remembering Shivaji's memory in its proper glory led to celebrations in connection with the King, and Shivaji festivals were started spontaneously almost all over India creating enthusiasm that exceeded all expectations of its sponsors. The *Mumbai Vaidhab* wrote on April 9, 1896, that the "festival is spreading like contagion from place to place."

In the wake of this movement the youngmen of Maharashtra and to some extent of Bengal, took to physical culture through associations organised for the purpose and associations like *Mitra Mela* later changed to *Abhinav Bharat Society* came into being in Bombay.

While other events of Shivaji's life were pushed into shade, the bold venture of Shivaji to overpower Muslim authority and lay a solid foundation of an independent Hindu State came to the fore. A section of the people asked the question: 'Why not an independent India?' There was the model of the State and the method of attaining the goal, both of which were fully represented in the person of the Maharaja.

Enquired the *Sudhakar* on April 11, 1896, 'What can be the explanation of this singular phenomena,'—enthusiasm for the Shivaji festival? The explanation was:

"Obviously, the resemblance of the present epoch to the times of Shivaji. Shivaji flourished at a time when the Hindu religion was in grave danger from the intolerant sway of the Moslems and Shivaji's mission was to defend the national faith and to restore national independence. We are at the present moment sadly in need of a Second Shivaji. But his mission will have to be slightly different. Our present grievance is not the persecution of our national faith, but the daily increasing tyranny of the whimsical officers of Queen Victoria."

The *Poona Vaibhab* repeated the theme on April 19, 1896:

"The people are labouring under the same acute grievances."

A bitter controversy arose over the action of Shivaji in tackling Afzal Khan in the way he did. Was it sinful on the part of Shivaji, or not? It raged very strong and was renewed every year. Moreover, speeches delivered in meetings held in this connection breathed a spirit of aggressive nationalism expressing sorrow over foreign domination.

A summary of Tilak's speech as reported in the *Kesari* of June 15, 1897, was to the effect:

"Let us proceed on the assumption that Shivaji killed Afzal Khan by a preconceived plan. The question: 'Is that act of the Maharaja (lit. the Great King) good or bad' is to be faced not from the view point of the Penal Code, not from the view of the *smritis* of Manu and Yajnavalka, nor is to be met from the standpoint of moral principles enunciated by both occidental and oriental systems. Laws regarding the regulation of society are for the observance of us, common people. No one cared to investigate the family history of the 'Rishis', nor does any one attempt to stick crime to the person of the King. Great men are above common principles of (*shashtra*) law. The view of these principles falls short of the plane (level) in which great men stand.

"In killing Afzal Khan did he sin or what? The answer to the question is in the *Mahabharata* itself. In the *Bhagabad Gita*, Shri Krishna has counselled the assassination of even one's elders (preceptors) and all blood relations. There is no blame when you do actions without wishing for their fruit. Shri Shivaji Maharaj did nothing to fill his own half-cubit long stomach (in order to further his own aim). He killed Afzal Khan with the righteous object of the public good. If thieves enter one's house and if one's wrists have no strength to drive them out, one may, without compunction, shut them in and burn them standing. God Almighty did not give a charter engraved on a copper sheet to the *mlechhas* to rule India.

"The Maharaja Shivaji strove to drive them out of his Fatherland and there is no sin of covetousness (wishing to possess what is not your own) in that. Do not contract the range of your vision like the proverbial frog in a well. To think of actions of great men, leave the Penal Code

below and enter the topmost height of the atmosphere of the *Srimad Bhagabad Gita*."

Speeches were also delivered by others in these meetings to the effect that

"every Hindu, every Mahratha, to whatever party he may belong must rejoice at the Shivaji festival. We are striving to gain our lost independence, and this terrible load is to be lifted by us all in combination. It will never be proper to place obstacles in the way of any person, who, with a true mind, follows the path of uplifting this burden in the manner he deems fit. If any one be crushing the country from above, cut him off, but do not put impediments in the way of others."

Another gentleman spoke almost in the same strain:

"The people who took part in the French Revolution denied that they had committed murder and asserted that they were only removing thorns from their paths. Why should not the same argument be applied to Maharashtra?"

The Shivaji *slokas* urged people into action in the following manner:

"Merely reciting Shivaji's story like a parrot does not secure independence; it is necessary to be prompt in engaging in desperate enterprises like Shivaji and Baji; knowing, you good people should take up swords and shields at all events now; we shall cut off countless heads of enemies. Listen! We shall risk our lives on the battlefield in a national war; we shall shed upon the earth the life-blood of the enemies who destroy our religion; we shall die after killing only."

The meetings usually started and ended with Shivaji *slokas*. Streets were paraded with such songs; and the enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds. Amongst all people of Maharashtra, the youngmen of the Chitpavan Brahmins seemed to feel most inspired.

The idea of national unification, so much necessary for joint action against the common enemy, was given proper importance. Wrote the *Kesari* on April 28, 1896:

"The process of national unification that we are going through at present will be materially forwarded by the celebration of Shivaji festivals in which all Indians can take part irrespective of caste or creed."

The *Maharashtra Mitra* echoed the same sentiment on June 25, 1896:

"All true born Mahratta should unite together if they wish to relieve their mother country from the grinding tyranny of the foreigners' yoke."

The Ganapati and the Shivaji festivals were forerunners of

a new spirit that travelled to other parts of India, particularly to Bengal where the latter was observed with due solemnity in a monster meeting held in the Calcutta maidan on June 5, 1906. The coming years showed the magnitude of the influence that they exerted over the minds of even the common people who displayed remarkable power of organisation, spirit of resistance to foreign misrule and of selfless sacrifice in the cause of Freedom.

The Poona Plague and After

(1895-1897)*

When the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals had been fulfilling their own purpose, the appearance of plague in December, 1896, in a virulent form gave the political situation a most unexpected turn in Bombay. The epidemic spread like wild fire from place to place and within a very short time a large part of Bombay became the playground of the scourge. The ordinary measures adopted by the Government in tackling other types of epidemics failed to check the progress of the monster and a vast area visited by the plague presented a picture of wanton devastation.

Failing miserably in their attempt the Government thought of adopting measures under special powers provided in the Epidemic Diseases Act passed on February 4, 1897. It was not by itself an objectionable measure and people under Tilak accepted it as concomitant to the wrath of the Almighty that had afflicted their land.

The first step that was intended for putting a check to the march of the disease was segregation; but the worst feature lay hidden in its application. It was done so ruthlessly and remorselessly that it was looked upon as more dangerous and dreadful than the disease itself. To add to the miseries of the people an officer, Rand by name, who had already acquired a bad reputation for heartlessness as Assistant Collector in Satara, was posted at Poona to enforce the provisions of the Act.

A word about the antecedents of Rand will not be out of place in the present context.

On September 27, 1894, thirteen leaders, all Brahmins were

sent to Jail in *tehsil* Wai in the district of Satara where Rand was the District Magistrate. Of these thirteen gentlemen, three were bankers, one Chairman of the Municipal Committee, another Chairman of the Local Board. All of them were charged with playing upon musical instruments in violation of the order of the Magistrate, although there was no disturbance, nor were any heads or hands broken.

The order was by itself an illegal one and the judgment of Rand, the Magistrate, in this case portrays him in his true colour. In his own language:

"It is not less clear to me that as these men are all of respectable high caste families, they will feel more than others the degradation and inconvenience of imprisonment. I do not think, therefore, a fine adequate, and come to the conclusion that a short term of imprisonment will meet all requirements."

The way in which the officer started his operations struck terror into the hearts of the residents of the affected localities. On February 22, 1897, the *Dnyan Prakash* complained against the "rigorous rules and the incomplete and unsatisfactory hospital arrangement at Poona" which naturally "created a feeling of unrest in the minds of the public." It gave a picture of the hardship suffered by the people on March 15, 1897, saying, "the streets were blockaded; shops were broken open, in Rand's presence, and the whole proceeding resembled the sacking of a conquered town." Suspected or even apparently healthy persons "are carried away to the segregation camp under a grand military escort as if they were prisoners of war" wrote the same paper on April 12, 1897.

According to the *Desh Mitra*, (March 11, 1897), "one area Budhwar Peth and part of Sukhrwar" were "surrounded by 200 cavalry and 100 infantry." The *Dnyan Sagar*, (March 15, 1897), wrote that "men and women and children are marched off to the camp with guards at the back and the front, bare-headed, bare-footed as if they were a pack of lawless banditti." It was quite in the fitness of things that "men prefer death by drowning to removal to the plague hospital" (*ibid*).

The method of searching the persons, both male and female, was reprehensible to the extreme. "The men are completely stripped in the presence of others and made to wait in the position

for some time while the women are asked to undo their *cholis* (bodices) and to hold up their wearing apparel" (*ibid*).

There was protest from every quarter and a deputation waited on Rand (according to the *Dnyan Prakash*, April 12, 1897) and pointed out to him how seriously the proposed inspection of ladies in the public streets would offend native sentiment and native feeling.

With unexampled charity Rand told them that the rule will not be enforced in the case of purdah ladies by which he hastened to warn the deputation, he meant 'Mahomedan ladies only'. The inmates of the native houses must be inspected in 'broad day light', and therefore he declined to exempt the ladies of the Hindu and other communities from the operation of the rule, "on the ground that the houses other than those of the Moslems, had not sufficient light for efficient inspection."

The Amrita Bazar Patrika wrote on April 24, 1897:

"Several people are taken to the hospitals as suspected of secretly developing the plague symptoms, and their relations are at once sent to the segregation camp, their bedding and clothes burnt, their homes fumigated and white-washed and subjected to every kind of rigour that the law imposes, when suddenly after a confinement of a day or two, it is found that they were brought to the hospital without sufficient cause, and are discharged as 'cured', possibly of their evil stars, from the hospital; but their relatives cannot escape, you know they were taken from infected house"

In their enthusiasm to tackle a difficult situation the Government disregarded all representations, protests and alternative suggestions and derived satisfaction from the course it had adopted. The measures were described by Tilak and others as nothing but *zulum* of the worst sort (which, by the way, Rand said "was kindly meant") and they openly declared on May 4, 1897, that the execution of the orders relating to the control of plague had been considerably aggravated by the selection of "a suspicious, sullen and tyrannical officer like Rand."

To Tilak, the Non-hearted, the whole affair appeared as one of the greatest misfortunes to the people of the land. While attacking the Government policy and its application on the one hand, he accused his own countrymen, especially the rich and the self-chosen leaders of the community. "Was it not the duty of the leaders of the native society" asked *Kesari* on May 4, 1897,

"to find out some remedy against the unlawful conduct of the soldiers and their fellow citizens to overcome the double visitations of the plague and the house-to-house visitation by European troops? Did they at least remain at their posts to extend some practical help to their distressed brethren?"

The paper replied, "No; they sought refuge in a flight from the city and exhorted the citizens of Poona not to tolerate the oppression of soldiers" from a distance.

Tilak felt severely hurt that even "when the Government had become oppressive the people had not the ability to punish it."

The Poona press began to urge the people to take steps to initiate "some movement at least to preserve your property and to save yourselves and your kindred from insult." The *Sudharak*, on April 19 and again on May 3, 1897, bewailed: "... Shame ... there is not a country on earth whose whole people are so effeminate as ours." It openly urged to "teach the law to the lawless" and "not to hesitate to offer resistance" to the soldiers "as soon as they begin to commit a lawless act." The Poonaites, it said, "ought to set a lesson to the Maharashtra in resisting oppression," and the villagers

"ought to be prepared to take the risk of self-defence in protecting their women from insult and in preserving their property from misappropriation."

While remembering with pride the exploits of the Mahrattas who founded a Hindu Empire in India in the heart of the Moghul, the *Maharashtra Mitra*, on April 29, 1897, expressed regret that

"their degenerate descendants are today flying in fright before the soldiers when they come to inspect the house without offering the least resistance to their tyranny."

It was now plain that the moment had arrived in the revolutionary history of India when peace-loving Indians began to talk freely about self-defence, resistance and reprisal against the agents of the Government for their misdeeds.

The watchful eye of the foreign journalists were not very slow in detecting the turn which this suggestion was likely to give to the political agitation and openly proclaimed that Tilak's advice would lead to breach of the peace and breaking of heads. Tilak openly challenged such insinuations and said, "What I honestly believe" is that.... "the unnecessary stringency of the plague

measures and not the writing of the native press are responsible for the feelings of dissatisfaction referred to."

The Commission appointed to go into the complaints of the people reported in their findings that

"the system of discovering plague cases by house-to-house visitation is absolutely intolerable to the people" who looked upon the "plague measures" as "more horrible than the plague itself."

They had another bad feature: "high and low were mingled indiscriminately in the same camp."

The young patriots of Bombay were not very slow to give vent to their feeling of indignation to the diabolical acts of Rand and punishment for the perpetrator was not very slow in coming. And it really came on June 22, 1897, the day for celebration at Poona of the 60th anniversary of the Coronation of Her Majesty the Queen Empress Victoria when Rand and another Englishman were killed by the assassins' bullets.

Rand's murder was received with a sense of relief and a feeling of smothered satisfaction by the people of India. The *Rast Goftar* on June 27, 1897, wrote that

"It is as clear as day light that the assassins sought the blood of those who, they thought, carried out the segregation operations in the city with oppressive severity."

The feeling of anger and may be of dismay of the Poona Englishmen on the murder of Rand was reflected in the remarks of the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, (July 1, 1897), that the

"Poona Englishmen have lost their heads....they have now experienced how one is wounded at heart when one's casteman's blood is shed."

It is to be particularly noted that these events taking place from the middle of 1897 upto the early part of 1899, ushered in an era of reprisals particularly against obnoxious officials and spies who had acted against those who had been out to sacrifice life to teach tyrants and traitors a lesson.

In 1899 the *Mitra Mela* adopted armed revolt and outright insurrection as the policy to be pursued for securing independence for India. In 1904 the name was changed to *Abhinav Bharat Society* with a broader outlook for extending its activities beyond the limits of not only Nasik but also of Bombay.

Reprisal in Excelsis

(1897-1899)

It is a story of grim reprisal for tyranny over an unarmed population in thorough disregard of all protests and warnings emanating from the public. The reprisal came from a quarter not quite unexpected but in a manner that was beyond the wildest dreams of the oppressors and the oppressed alike. It introduced a new technique which proved to be both quick and deadly effective. In point of fineness in execution, it may be unequivocally said that though first in India during the British rule it was one among the very best.

Damodar Chapekar

Damodar Hari Chapekar, a Deccan Chitapavan Brahmin, was a resident of Poona. He was fond of athletics and through exercise and proper training he endowed himself with inexhaustible power of endurance. He had developed a genuine taste for military training and twice attempted to enter the army without effect. He was a nationalist to the core and about four years before the incident, he once delivered a speech in the Ferguson College grounds to young people to eschew football and cricket and take to fencing, stone-slinging and acquire proficiency in the use of arms. Students and other young men would meet him and engage themselves in drills and manoeuvres more or less of a military character under his supervision.

His heart bled over the miseries of the people under Rand. He felt exasperated with the failure of all measures for redress, and conceived the idea of murdering Rand during the plague operations. About the end of May 1895, he left Bombay for Poona.

He procured powder and shot from a licensed seller and he kept himself busy up till about May 25, in turning them into useful purpose. As if to suit his plan the regular *pujari* of the Mahadevi's temple of Laikdipul left the place out of fear of the plague and Damodar took up the job as a substitute. The 14th Bombay Native Infantry was stationed there for the protection

of the temple and during the absence of the guards due to their participation in a funeral ceremony he managed to walk off with two Martini-Henri rifles (Nos. 468 and 532) and a sword-bayonet. His endeavour to secure requisite cartridges failed and he turned his attention to the pistol and other weapons that he had secured from other sources.

After Rand's arrival at Poona Damodar and his associates set about to fix his identity and for this purpose one or other of the party closely followed Rand for about three months from place to place. Wasudeo, Damodar's youngest brother, watched Rand's habits and the places he used to frequent. Four or five weeks before the incident Damodar approached the coachman of Rand with the object of securing an interview with him and to submit a petition for some employment. This was repeated two or three times. He twice enquired of the postmen of the locality to be cock-sure about Rand's residence and after being fully satisfied the party under Damodar thought out the details to give effect to their plan. On the Jubilee Day Rand received a letter to the effect that "you will be killed today" to which he gave scant attention.

The programme of the Jubilee Day Celebration was published in the newspapers. Every man of the party was placed in charge of his respective share of the business. The movement of Rand on the night previous was very closely watched. On June 22, 1897, the fateful day, the party went to the Council Hall in the afternoon to look in vain for Rand's carriage among those that had brought people to the levee. Then they went to the St. Mary's Church and saw Rand there. As there was a big crowd and other circumstances not being propitious, no action was taken at that moment.

The men came in the vicinity of the Government House at Ganeshkhind at about 7-30 in the evening and saw Rand driving in but the strong glare of the light was against their convenience.

It was about 11-30 p.m. Damodar planted himself at the main gate of the Government House. Balkrishna was stationed a little way down the road. The arms they carried were the pistols and swords that Damodar and Mahadev Vinayak Ranade had procured. They were carefully concealed under their clothes, the swords being wrapped round with part of an old *pugree*.

Damodar scanned the face of every European that was coming out. Rand was allowed to proceed a few yards along the road followed at a short distance by Ayerst's carriage. When Rand's carriage had proceeded ten paces ahead of Damodar, he commenced running to keep that distance behind the carriage. He was on the right and followed up until he came near a place opposite the yellow painted house of Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy. Balkrishna gave the signal by shouting : "*Narya! Narya!*". Damodar then dashed on the roadway and made up the ten paces separating him from the carriage. The hood was up and the flap at the back fastened down. He ran with the carriage, climbed at the back of it, managed to undo the flap, put in his pistol until it almost touched the back of his victim and fired.

The Ayersts, husband and wife, had driven for nearly quarter of a mile down the road when they heard the shot just in front of them. A plucky man was seen climbing down from the back of Rand's carriage and then run away towards the right. Mrs. Ayerst was just mentioning the matter to her husband when a shot from Ranade's pistol rang behind her carriage and Ayerst was dead in her arms.

The men discarded their swords and threw them into a culvert near at hand. They cleared off at the top of their speed across the fields and got into the city unobserved and dropped all the arms they had in a well close by.

Vigorous searches for apprehension of the culprits started immediately. Damodar was arrested on August 9. In the course of a statement he said that he had taken steps to curb the enthusiasm of some prominent members of the Reforms party, particularly (i) of Gadgil, (ii) assaulted the Editor of *Soudarak*, a vernacular daily, that wrote against Tilak, (iii) Kulkarni, another Editor, for abusing Tilak. He admitted having (iv) besmeared the statue of Queen Victoria with tar and placing a garland of shoes round the neck; (v) of having destroyed the *mandap* erected by the Bombay University near Wodehouse Bridge for holding the Matriculation Examination by fire, and (vi) another *mandap* at Poona erected at Government expenses for some entertainment of Government officials.

Rand expired on July 3, 1897, at 3-18 a.m. while Ayerst's death was instantaneous.

On August 9, 1897, two other persons were arrested in connection with the double murder at Poona on suspicion and were safely deposited in 'the lockup. Damodar was placed before a Magistrate on October 14, 1897.

His arrest led to the search of several places which disclosed their preparation for the occasion and the extent of their collection. The search produced two Martini-Henri rifles, a sword bayonet, a five-barrelled revolver, two spear-heads, a pistol barrel, two brass cartridges, four silver gilt, two gold gilt swords also a long knife and four sword-sticks.

After a preliminary judicial inquiry, Damodar was committed to the Poona Criminal Sessions under Secs. 302, 309 I.P.C. and 314 Cr. P.C. which commenced its sittings on January 24, 1898.

On January 31, 1898, Balkrishna who had been arrested in the meantime was ordered to be charge-sheeted with his brother as an accused.

On February 3, 1898, after the Judge had delivered his charge, the Jury retired and after the usual deliberation returned a verdict of "not guilty of murder, but guilty of abetment."

Then followed an unusual procedure (*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, February 4, 1898). The Court cross-examined the Jury which revised the opinion and said "the accused was possibly present on the scene of murder." After some further delay (and possibly further cross-examination too) they returned a verdict of 'guilty of murder'.

Damodar was sentenced to death; while being led away to the prison he asked if there was a higher punishment. The High Court confirmed the sentence on appeal on March 2, 1898.

On his way to the scaffold he chanted *Narain Jai*, *Gopal Hari* and recited the names of other gods. He had obtained through a request from jail, a copy of the *Bhagavad Gita* from Tilak which he carried in his hand.

Damodar was now standing before death. As it was getting somewhat late in the morning and as the Magistrate failed to appear in time, he said that he had all along carried the impression that punctuality was always observed by the British raj; its officers were paid to be punctual.

During all the time the prisoner was found to be in a jovial mood and his remarks on 'punctuality' of the European are very

significant. He boldly mounted the scaffold. Being asked if he had anything to say, his only reply was that he had none. Regarding death itself he said that Rand died from pistol shot, others die from a fall off the horses, and it was his fate to be hanged.

He died joyfully, befitting the first martyr for the revolutionary cause in India after giving a message to his family.

The shock of death could not loosen Damodar's hold on the book he was allowed to carry with him to the gallows. He held the book fast in his grip which was carried with his body to the burning *ghat*.

Earlier the prisoner said that he had slept soundly the previous night and that he wished "to die in peace to all men."

Damodar (Hari) Chapekar was hanged at 6-40 a.m. in the Yerrowda Central Jail on April 18, 1898—a day to be remembered with gratitude by the whole nation, but which is not.

Balkrishna

After the incident at Ganeshkhind, Balkrishna slipped out of Poona and went into hiding.

A reward of Rs. 20,000 was declared for the arrest of the associates of Damodar Chapekar who were suspected to be some fellows other than Balkrishna.

Balkrishna was arrested in Hyderabad during the Christmas and there was some difficulty in bringing him within the jurisdiction of the British courts. The Nizam's Government relying on Article 5 of the Extradition Treaty of 1867, contended that the evidence furnished in support of the application of surrender (to British authorities) consisted merely of the confession of an accomplice uncorroborated by other testimony and, therefore, not sufficient to justify extradition.

The matter was officially submitted to the Nizam and the (all-powerful) Resident spoke to His Highness pointing out the urgency of the affairs; and considering the special circumstances the Nizam's Government yielded (there being no other course open to it).

The Resident applied to the Bombay Government for the reward of Rs. 10,000 half of the declared amount, for distribution among the Nizam's police.

The case against Balkrishna commenced on February 10, 1899,

on a charge of murdering Rand and Ayerst on the night of June 22, before the City Magistrate and was adjourned to February 22. He found his brother Wasudeo (Hari) Chapekar present in the court premises. He was visibly moved and tried to put his arms round him, which he was prevented from doing.

On March 8, 1899, the judge passed sentence of death on Balkrishna, who reacted with two simple words: "Very well."

Wasudeo and Ranade

It took a comparatively long time for the police to establish connection of Wasudeo and Ranade with the murder of Rand and Ayerst. Wasudeo was from time to time asked to appear at *farashkhana* (Police Station) to be interrogated for information regarding the murders. Gradually it came to be known to him that he would have to tender evidence against the second brother. It was a severe blow to his feeling of attachment to his brother who had been a friend, philosopher and guide combined in one.

He came to know that two informers, the Dravid brothers, had been instrumental in leading to the arrest and conviction of the eldest brother, Damodar. Wasudeo, though very young, took upon himself the task of wreaking his vengeance on those who had brought ruin on him. He set upon his task with determination and threw all caution to the winds in reaching his goal.

One Rama Pandoo, a Head Constable, showed extraordinary zeal in investigating the case and had a great hand in the arrest of Damodar. Wasudeo's attention was directed on Rama with a view to removing him from his field of action. It should be remembered that Balkrishna's fate had been trembling in the balance and the Constable was an important factor in that case.

On February 3, 1899, the Constable while going home was fired upon by Wasudeo but the bullet having accidentally fallen out before he pulled the trigger, the Constable escaped unhurt.

Wasudeo told one of his near relations that as he would have to give evidence the next day against his brother he was determined to kill some one that night. They were not satisfied at what had been done. They went out in search of Rama with a view to put an end to his life.

Informers' Due

As on many previous nights, it was the same on February 8, 1899, when the Dravids were murdered. Wasudeo with his friend lay in waiting for long for Ramjee to pass by his usual way but they failed to notice him and the plan had had to be abandoned.

Then they took into their heads to see if they could tackle the Dravid brothers. When they reached the Dravids' house between 9 and 10 at night, the Dravids had been playing at cards. They were approached by two persons dressed as Punjabis who said that the Superintendent of Police wanted to speak to Ganpatrao (Ganesh) and Ramchandra on certain weighty and urgent matters. Ganesh asking these people to go ahead assured them that they would come up as soon as they had finished the game.

The two men wore masks and kept on waiting behind the shadow of a well. The brothers eventually went downstairs to the men waiting for them. They had not proceeded far when reports of pistol shots were heard.

The Dravid mother who had been harbouring great suspicion and fear in her mind shouted at the top of her voice that her sons had been murdered. Dravid's two younger brothers came almost immediately to the spot and found Ganesh and Ramchandra very seriously wounded.

Ganesh died on the spot and Ramchandra, the next day.

Ganesh Shankar Dravid, the mainstay of the Government in respect of the apprehension, conviction and execution of the Chapekar brothers had a chequered career of crime and criminality.

Ganesh, at the age of 20, found employment in the office of the I. G. of Police, Poona. For breach of some discipline his salary was reduced by Rs. 10 per month. To recoup his loss and out of revenge he forged the superior officer's signature on a pay bill and cashed it successfully at the office of Accountant-General, Bombay.

It was not very long before the forgery was traced and the culprit sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment. He ingratiated himself with the prison officials and secured the position of the clerk to fill up the prisoners' body tickets. He within a short time forged an order for his own release and that of a fellow prisoner.

They were, however, released all right. He was again tracked and placed before the High Court Sessions, which declared him as "an audacious criminal" and awarded two years' rigorous imprisonment. In between the period Ganesh proved himself as the best aid in the arrest of Damodar and received his pardon on July 24, 1899.

He secured a moiety of the 'reward', quarrelled with the police over his share trying to discredit them publicly. Unfortunately he had a few weeks to enjoy only a small portion of what he had 'earned' and was prevented from further pressing his demand of reward on the Government.

On the strength of information supplied by the Dravid brothers the police suspected that the crime was the work of the members of the Club which had been founded by Damodar. Ranade, Wasudeo and another were called to the *farashkhana* on February 10, and Ranade was told by Wasudeo to take a loaded pistol with him and shoot Rama or any one who would obstruct him from carrying out his plan. It was an easy matter for them as they used to carry pistols in white cloth bags slung across their shoulders under the clothing.

They were kept waiting till evening while the police officers had been vigorously pursuing their investigation outside. Towards the evening the police officers began interrogating the youngmen present and the Superintendent himself started with Wasudeo and put a volley of questions regarding his movements during the previous night. Wasudeo, drew out a revolver and aimed it at the Superintendent of Police. Before he could use the trigger, the officer knocked the revolver down and the assailant was firmly secured.

Wasudeo and Ranade had not had to wait long over the uncertainty of their fate. Wasudeo confessed having murdered the Dravid brothers to avenge the death of his eldest brother.

Ranade acknowledged his responsibility in helping Wasudeo in his action. He was a student of the Government Workshop, Science College, Poona. He used a part of the lead received from the Workshop for forging purposes from which the bullets that had killed Ganesh and Ramchandra were cut out.

Wasudeo and Ranade were put under arrest at *farashkhana* on February 10, 1899. The Sessions trial opened on March 2, 1899, for the murder of Ganpatrao Dravid and Ramchandra Dravid,

who died at the early hours of the 9th, and at 2-30 p.m. of the 10th February, respectively.

Wasudeo and Ranade were condemned to death. On hearing the sentence the vivacious Wasudeo said that as he was to be hanged twice which event was to come first. A joke no doubt, but terrible.

During the entire proceedings the prisoners appeared in the best of spirits and exhibited thorough indifference as to final outcome of the case.

At the Sessions Court the accused were dressed in white dhoties embroidered with gold and had been laughing all the time in the box.

The High Court confirmed the sentence on both the accused on March 31, 1899.

The valiant Wasudeo was executed on May 8, 1899.

His worthy comrade Ranade was executed on May 10, 1899.

Wasudeo appeared to be calm and showed no signs of nervousness. He kept on reciting prayers till the end.

Ranade was equally composed. He fasted the previous day and spent the whole of the previous night in prayer. He continued his prayer which only stopped with the rope closing tightly round his neck.

While proceeding towards the scaffold by the cell which Balkrishna had been occupying, Wasudeo with a clear gay voice exclaimed: "Good bye, brother, I am going." The latter answered: "Go. I'll follow you day after to-morrow."

Balkrishna was executed on May 12, 1899.

All the accused were executed in the Yerrowda Jail which was sanctified by their last breath.

The Poona plague started dismally and ended disastrously involving the lives of a number of persons some of whom have brought glory to the nation, struggling for settling accounts with the foreigners wherever possible.

The spirit of sacrifice for a cause that was displayed by Damodar and his brothers can be traced back to the great mother who could offer three sons at the Altar of the Motherland in the course of not as many months.

Sister Nivedita came to know about the momentous event and thought of paying her respects in person to the mother then leading a life of devotion and retirement at Poona. The revered lady was

engaged in her daily *puja* when the Sister reached the Chapekar home. She was astounded to find the Mother completely composed; no complaints, no regrets. There was no necessity of giving expression to sentiments of sympathy and solace to one who needed none. Nivedita with devotional awe bowed down to touch the feet of the mother of the heroes. She came away with a sense of deeper philosophy in an Indian mother's life. The spirit of self-respect and march towards self-realisation of the Indian nation was well on its way and Nivedita came to realise that it had proceeded far ahead of the stage of which she had any idea.

APPENDIX

Whatever doubt was there about the part played by the two brothers Ganesh Shankar Dravid and Ramchandra Dravid, was dispelled by a letter that appeared in a local newspaper (*The Times of India*: February 2, 1899) under the signature of Ganesh which ran as follows:

To the *Editor*—Sir, It is with the greatest diffidence and reluctance that I approach you upon the subject mentioned at the top of this communication (*Poona Tragedy and the Government Reward*)—diffidence, because it is a subject of such delicate nature that those not directly concerned in it may not desire to have anything to do with it and reluctance because it shows a spirit of insatiety which, some may think, should not exist in a man for whom so much has already been done by the authorities. But in spite of this consideration I am obliged to draw your attention to my case in the interests of justice and fair play. * * *

It will be remembered that soon after the tragedy of the jubilee night, a reward of Rs. 20,000 was offered by Government through a public proclamation to any person or persons who could give the police a clue, leading to the detection and final conviction of the murderer. Who supplied this clue and what the result was are now matters of history. It was distinctly admitted by the authorities concerned that the clue was supplied by me and it naturally follows, therefore, that the whole reward should be awarded to me. This has not been done. Only half of the amount has been divided between one of my brothers and myself and . . . the lynx-eyed officials did not forget to deduct from the amount Rs. 260 for income-tax. But that was small matter, and I do not care to be a Shylock hungering for my "pound of flesh". But surely I have a right to claim all the ducats offered by Government! It has been alleged that half of the reward offered was reserved, as Balkrishna Chapekar was not in the hands of the police.

I admire the ingenuity of the argument, but cannot say the same about its logic. Why should I suffer for Balkrishna being as wary as the police were incapable? After they had the clue that Damodar and his brothers had something to do with the tragedy, surely anybody with a grain of commonsense would admit that the police blundered—blundered most miserably in arresting Damodar and letting off Balkrishna. What is my fault that commonsense was at a discount with the officers conducting the investigation? And for this I am made to suffer—a sort of Jedburgh Justice, indeed!

Well, Balkrishna is now in the hands of the police, and I think I am justified in claiming the other part of the reward. I required special strength of character to come forward to denounce a countryman and thus lay himself open to the charge of being a traitor—the majority of the people were sure to view the thing in this light—and yet I braved all this and did what little I could do to help the authorities. And that I should be deprived of the full benefit of the Government proclamation seems more than unjust and cruel. Of course it is impossible that a poor man like myself can win a tug-of-war with the authorities; but I hope that the inherent sense of justice of the British people will not allow such an injustice to be done to me.

(Dated, Poona, January 31, 1899)

Sd/- Ganesh Shankar Dravid.

The Pointers

(1899-1905)

Boer War

Towards the close of the last century there was a strong undercurrent of unrest among the intelligentsia of the country, but the British power appeared to have been so firmly entrenched in India that the situation did not warrant the Indians to take by themselves any drastic measure that might undermine the prestige of the Government. Some outside fillip was necessary to set a commotion in the sleeping minds of the nation.

Against this background the progress of the Boer War was watched with keen interest by the educated classes seeking inspiration and courage from outside. The war lasted from October 11, 1899 to May 31, 1902. The news of a major defeat of the English forces at Nicholson's Nek on October 30, at Colenso

on December 16, and the minor reverses suffered by the British at odd encounters were hailed with delight in India. The reverses were overlooked and the victories won by the Boers were magnified and talked about with gusto and glee simply because a handful of Boers had been able to put the powerful British army to shame.

Russo-Japanese War

Now Japan's encounter with Russia was a matter much nearer home and the progress was watched with uncommon interest as if India had become involved in a life and death struggle herself. It was an event when an Asiatic country of no great geographical dimension and political significance in world affairs mustered sufficient courage to challenge "the vaunted might of the military colossus of the West". The Indians "began to feel the effervescence of the spirit of nationalism fermenting in Asia."

Even when the sabre-rattling had just started in the eastern horizon, it was taken in India as if the fate of Asia had been going to be decided in the Russo-Japanese War. *The Tribune* on November 12, 1903, wrote that

"the little Japan has girded up his loins to fight the giant . . . On the result of this struggle depends the fate of Asia . . . If he succeeds, Asia is saved; her future ensured, her prestige enhanced and even European politics will not remain uninfluenced by the event . . . Little Japan! she shines in the Far East in all the virgin grandeur of the morning star, heralding the dawn of Asian consciousness."

It was not only the case of India, *The Curzon Gazette*, (February 15, 1904), put it as "the fate of Asia, Persia, China, Afghanistan and Asiatic Turkey" will be decided "with the stand or fall of Japan." Continued the paper:

"In case Japan is worsted in the fight, Asia will pass into the hands of Europeans. On the other hand, if it is Russia who is beaten, new life will be infused into Asia and it will be saved from everlasting ruin."

The Russo-Japanese War was formally declared on February 8, 1904, and the Japanese torpedo boats attacked the Russian warships at Port Arthur and bombarded the port itself on February 9. According to the *Kal*, (February 19, 1904), "Japan is the first power to check the success of European prowess and

diplomacy in Asia." As a consequence, "the hearts of all Indians irresistibly thrill with joy", (*Gujrati*: April 24, 1904), and "all classes of Indians seem to be vicariously fighting Russia through the persons of the gallant Japanese." It continued:

"The news of Japanese victory so transports them with joy, and the rumour of a Japanese failure so depresses them as if they themselves would reap the fruits of victory should the Northern Colossus be beaten." (*The Tribune*: March 12, 1904).

About the Japanese themselves it was said, (the *Bangabasi*: February 13, 1904), that they are

"short in stature but gifted with an iron constitution; 'though a novice', still 'a master of military art....they know very well how to sacrifice every thing, even life, to preserve their independence'. And what more 'he who knows how to die, must also know how to strike a foe'."

From different angles Japan's struggle was watched with deep suspense. She was declared to have "unfurled the flag of Asiatic independence in the East"....and it was "enough to inspire a ray of hope in the hearts of the dependent population of India" (*Kal*: March 18, 1904). Every patriotic Indian began to think that the Asiatic nations could not be exploited any longer in the manner that had hitherto been done by the Europeans. The *Kal* in the course of the same article gave a call to the people of Asia:

"The dark night of your misery is about to close. Leave off lethargy, purify your hearts and remembering God, begin to do your duty."

On June 3, 1904, under caption: "*The Day of Retribution*" it called the people

"to prepare themselves to welcome the advent of liberty." It saw "the day of emancipation is about to dawn and there are clear signs in the Eastern Horizon of the rise of the Sun of Asia's glory."

Prayer was raised to Heaven. "Let all Asiatics, Indians and Bengalis, looking towards Heaven solemnly and heartily exclaim, 'Let Japan be victorious' (the *Bangabasi*: February 13, 1904). Beyond expressing sincere good wishes for the success of Japan, active sympathy was shown by the Indians in the humble way that was possible for them. Committees were organised in Bombay and Calcutta for "collecting funds in aid of the Japanese sick and wounded and relief of the widows and orphans of the Japanese soldiers and sailors who fell fighting in the battlefield" (*The Tribune*: March 19, 1904).

The Bengalee on April 8, 1904, published the following poem, *Dawn in the East*, written by Bertrand Shadwell giving expression to the idea that underlined the enthusiasm with which the Indian mind greeted the news of Japanese success:

"Wake, Asia, wake. The red sun rises fast
Arm China, arm thy millions at the Wall,
The sleep of silent centuries at last
Is broken by a sudden trumpet call.

* * *

Stand Asia, stand to guard thy continent,
Gird on thy sword thy citadels to save;
Forth to thy frontiers now or be content
Now and for ever to be Europe's slave.

Dawn in the East! The red sun flashes low;
Strike for thy own, the right against the wrong,
Now while the robber reels beneath the blow,
Dealt by an Eastern sword so deft and strong.

The war developed with growing success of the Japanese and the feeling of hope and fear in the minds of the Indians began to be dissipated as days wore on. On August 10, 1904, the Russian Port Arthur fleet was routed by the Japanese Admiralty. The mighty Vladivostock Squadron of Russia was completely destroyed on August 14. On October 10, a major portion of the Russian forces received a rude shaking and had to retreat back to Mukden. History of the Asiatic nations was re-written on January 3, 1905, when Russia had to abandon Port Arthur to Japanese control.

The victorious Japanese entered Mukden after a fierce fight in which 30,000 Russian soldiers were left dead on the field, with another 40,000 prisoners at the mercy of the Japanese generals. It was, on the other hand, estimated that the victory was won on March 10, 1905, at the cost of not less than 50,000 Japanese lives.

Admiral Togo defeated the remnant of the Russian fleet on May 27, 1905, in the battle of the Sea of Japan and it took nearly four months for the peace treaty to be signed at Portsmouth (U.S.A.) on September 5, 1905. Thus the Nation of the Rising Sun, as the *Indu Prakash*, (June 16, 1905), wrote,

"set a unique example before the sleepy East and most effectively demonstrated that there is no inherent defect in oriental character which

permanently incapacitates it from rising to the progressive West in any department of human activity."

Others followed suit in the same vein, almost simultaneously and the *Punjabee*, (June 19, 1905), expressed the Indian feeling in its own way:

"By beating the Russians up hill and down dale....by beating them again and again both by land and by sea, Japan has vindicated the honour of Asia, upheld her right to be supreme in her own house and not fall a prey to the foreign adventurers....and covered herself with glory and renown.... What wonder if the whole of Asia glories in the glory of Japan and feels that the midnight of misfortune and wretchedness that has so long hung over her is about to be succeeded by a bright and glorious dawn."

Every country over which a foreigner had exercised domination should offer congratulations to Japan because "for once" as the *Jam-e-Jamshed* would write, (January 4, 1905), "at least Asia has won over Europe in a deadly combat."

Some foreigners analysed the result of the Russo-Japanese War in their own light. Every shrewd diplomat of the European nations must have felt like using their discretion to keep silent. The views of Prevost Battersby, (*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*: February 26, 1906), gives a faithful picture of the Indian mind. According to the paper:

"The successes of Japan have stirred into something like to flame an ambition which without them would have continued precariously to smoulder."

And Mr. Lynch wrote in *The Daily Chronicle* (quoted in the *Punjabee*: July 10, 1905):

"It marks the revolt of the East against the oppression of the West"

In *The Pall Mall Gazette*, Mr. Skrine expressed his fear

"that the effect of Japan's victory will be that the warlike races of India will grow restive and will know that it is, after all, possible for an Asiatic race to defeat a European people."

His calculations went just a bit wrong. It was not the 'warlike races' but the entire middle class intelligentsia took up the cudgel and the whole country, particularly Maharashtra, Bengal and Punjab, joined hands for emancipating the country from the thralldom of the West.

Activities Abroad

(1897-1906)

The Poona bomb of June 1897 followed by an all round police persecution alerted Shyamaji Krishnavarma, a native of Kathiawar, who had first visited England in 1884, returning in 1885. To avoid arrest he quietly left Bombay in 1897 and went over to London.

Krishnavarma was not a man to rest idle and to look helplessly on the measures that had been ruthlessly suppressing all manifestations of political activities. He thought that some sort of organisation to "show on behalf of India" to the people of the united Kingdom, "how Indians really fare and feel under British rule" had become necessary. With a view to give shape to his ideas he started publishing an English penny monthly from January 1905, *The Indian Sociologist*, an Organ of Freedom and of Political, Social and Religious Reform. The journal mainly supported the programme of the Indian National Congress of the day. But he went further and enunciated a formula, after Herbert Spencer, that "resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable but imperative. Non-resistance hurts both altruism and egoism." (*The Indian Sociologist*: January, 1905).

He followed his debut in the journalistic line with the establishment of the Indian Home Rule Society on February 18, 1905, for advancing the cause of Home Rule for India through propaganda, to make the people intensely conscious of their loss of freedom and to inculcate the idea of national unity.

A thorough-going man that he was, Krishnavarma was not satisfied with what he had already done but declared in the May (1905) issue of *The Indian Sociologist* that "he proposed to open a house or hostel in London to be called 'India House' during the early part of July next for the accommodation of the gentlemen holding the Indian Travelling Fellowships, and of other Indians who may be deemed eligible to reside there" (*ibid*: p. 135). The House came into existence on July 1, 1905. On February 23, 1907, Shyamaji announced a donation of Rs. 10,000 for the purpose of establishing an organisation of "Political Missionaries in India".

What these 'Missionaries' would be like was given by Hardayal, a young man who had gone over to England for studies with a Government scholarship.

"They should love nothing more than the Cause. It should be to them in place of father, mother, brother and friend. They should reject the counsels of timid prudence, the 'false reptile prudence', anathemised by Burke, even if they come from the nearest and dearest relatives. They should undertake the task in a religious spirit; earnestness and self-denial should be their guiding principles. They should grieve like Commander Hirose of Japan, that they have only one life to give to their country..."

And Shyamaji himself declared his faith, closely following the language of Finton Lalor, the Irish patriot (Sir James O'Connor: *The History of Ireland*, Vol. I, pp. 262-63) saying :

"That the entire ownership of India, moral, material, up to the sun and down to the centre, is vested as of right in the people of India. That they, and none but they, are the land-owners and law-makers of their country; that all laws are null and void not made by them: And that this full right of ownership may and ought to be asserted and enforced by any and all means which the divine power has put within the power of man."

As soon as Hardayal became initiated to the faith of Indian nationalism and associated himself with the Indian Home Rule Society of the U.K., he renounced the Government stipend with which he studied at Oxford, began to take active part in the activities of the 'Society' and after helping in the consolidation and coordination of the various sections, left for India in January 1908 with his ailing wife.

Meanwhile Shyamaji announced his scheme for allocation of the scholarship and how it was to be used 'for the production of literature in English and the principal Indian languages.' In *The Indian Sociologist* he preached, days in days out, complete non-cooperation and withdrawal of active help to the British Rule in India, and on the positive side, fomenting of strikes. He preached complete non-cooperation with the foreigner in maintaining his domination over India, and also with institutions that had been helping the Government in various ways, such as Banks, Civil and Military Service, Law Courts, Educational institutions, boycott of Anglo-Indian newspapers and to crown all, to resort to strikes, 'the modern weapon of revolution'.

Krishnavarma was not satisfied with the peaceful methods that would only prolong the agony of serfdom but thought that

some sort of rough-and-ready method should also be adopted to accelerate the pace of the march towards freedom. In one of the issues of his journal he suggested that to meet the atrocious steps taken by the British Government in India to suppress all expressions of any organised movement, the Indian should adopt force to meet the exigencies of the situation. They should think of measuring their own strength against the adversaries for the protection of their lives and properties as all sorts of constitutional agitation had failed to produce any effect. Wrote he in December 1907:

"It seems that any agitation in India now, must be carried on secretly and that the only methods which can bring the English Government to its senses are the Russian methods vigorously and incessantly applied until the English relax their tyranny and are driven out of the country.... It is likely that as a general principle the Russian method will begin with Indian officials rather than European....."

Copies of *The Indian Sociologist* regularly reached India and were read with great avidity. In England, the British press became very alert and volleyed forth accusations against the journal as well as the activities of the 'India House'. For safety Krishnavarma himself had to shift his headquarters to Paris, the paper being printed in England.

Amongst those who gathered round Shyamaji was Vinayak Damodar Savarkar who left India for London in June 1906. Vinayak had by this time decided to throw himself completely into the struggle for the great Cause. He asked his followers to shed all fear of suffering that might come in its wake. He entrusted his unfinished job to his worthy elder brother, Ganesh Damodar, the founder of the *Abhinav Bharat Society* which played a very important role in the Freedom Movement of India in subsequent years.

Premonitions of Disorder

(1900-1905)

Advocacy for Violence

The part played by the *Kesari* was by now widely known. It was soon followed by the *Kal*, a weekly Marathi paper first published from Poona in 1898 by Shivaram Mahadeo Paranjpe. Paranjpe was warned for seditious writings in 1900, 1904, 1905 and 1907. In 1908 he was prosecuted and thrown into prison. The paper, more than any other, openly advocated violence as the only measure which the foreigners would appreciate and watch with awe. It developed its argument from point to point by presenting the miserable and helpless condition of India and then exhorting the people to take steps for the emancipation of the country, if needs be, by resorting to violence.

The *Kal* commented as if by a letter in verse from a correspondent under the caption: "*Have you killed Afzal Khan?*" on March 25, 1904, on the custom of planting a triumphal flag in the front of each house on the Hindu New Year's Day of which the following is the substance:

"Why are you planting the triumphal flag? What achievement is it meant to commemorate? Are you merely following an immemorial custom in planting it? Have you delivered the Aryans from their miseries and conferred upon them the boon of independence? Have you won a victory on the battlefield? Have you driven away those who kick the Indians and rob them of their independence? Have you killed Afzal Khan or driven away Durani? Have you distinguished yourself like Rani of Jhansi? If you have done none of these things, why do you erect a flag in vain? First achieve victory and then erect a triumphal flag before your house."

Newspapers began to inculcate the value of resistance and self-help and the *Barisal Hitaishi*, (April 23, 1904), wrote:

"We have no hope of regaining the favour of Englishmen by resorting to flattery and sycophancy. Who can arrest the course of time to avoid the immutable ways of Providence?

"The Bengalees must either be conquerors in this struggle or be effaced from the face of the earth... Do not look to officials for favour like the thirsty bird hopelessly looking at the clouds for a drop of water. Learn to rely on your own selves; to stand on your own legs.

"Beware! Firmly and courageously oppose every action of the Government which is tainted with the sin of oppression."

On June 17, 1904, the *Kal* asked its readers to mark the inescapable signs of the European nations that had

"hitherto been guilty of cruel murder of countless persons and other inequities" being overtaken by Nemesis.

There was awakening of the spirit of revolt amongst the conquered nations everywhere, and

"we must recognise the finger of Providence in the arrangement" and remember the resson that 'what God wills cannot be delayed'."

The prime cause of India's miserable condition was attributed by the *Kal* (August 12, 1904), to the unnatural presence of the Englishman in India. The Indians should realise without delay their relation to the British rulers which, as the paper reminded

"resembled that of Hamlet's mother to his uncle in Shakespeare's play. The uncle did not mean to do serious harm to the Prince; he only wanted his mother and wished that Hamlet should be content with coarse fare. But this injustice was not long tolerated in the capital of Denmark. It is one of nature's healthy laws that no injustice is allowed to continue long. Hamlet's uncle professed affection towards the Prince, and the latter too, showed outward obedience to him. The same is true of Englishmen and the natives. The relations between the two are utterly unnatural and insincere....

"When the Prince was in a state of undecisiveness and doubt, the ghost of his father appeared and asked him to remember the greatness of Denmark and that of the murdered King, Hamlet's father. The same thing was very much applicable to the political and economic condition of India. To remedy such evil, Hamlet promised in a stirring speech. We should all try to do likewise and form the resolution that Hamlet formed on hearing the last words of the ghost."

Russian Example

The *Kal* published on August 26, 1904, the report that a high official of the Russian Government had been assassinated by a member of the Nihilist party. The man on arrest asserted that "he had done a right thing in murdering M. de Plehve for which he hoped to be rewarded in heaven."

His demands were:

- (i) Parliament of the people,
- (ii) Liberty of the press,
- (iii) Repeal of repressive laws,

- (iv) Cessation of war with Japan,
- (v) Measures for prevention of famines, and
- (vi) Release of political prisoners.

Commented the *Kal* :

"One is perfectly astonished to read these demands of the Nihilists. Famines occur daily in India and the Indian Government has been waging war against Tibet for several days past; but India produced no Nihilists to make Government stop these famines or these wars."

Under caption: "*The Educative Value of Murder*", the Editor elaborated his point, on September 2, 1904, on the significance of such murders and the lesson they should carry to the oppressors. The *Kal* extolled the motive of the act as one that had not been done for any personal gain, and was, therefore, thoroughly justifiable.

"These political murders are not like the common murders for which offenders are tried in judicial courts every day. When a King or an exalted functionary in a State is assassinated the world stops for a while to consider their significance. Such murders are apt to dazzle and stupefy the mind as the appearance of a meteor or the bursting of a pent up volcano. People ask one another what these murders mean, and persons of a reflective turn of mind form their own conclusions as to the object of Providence in allowing them to occur. The object with which these murders are committed is not the acquisition of sordid gain or the gratification of such passions as jealousy or animosity. The laudable object which underlies them is to cut off a poisonous part, which otherwise threatens to impart its venom to the entire organism of the universe. These murders thus constitute a kind of surgical remedy calculated to preserve the organism of the State unharmed by amputating the poisoned limb. To change the metaphor, they are, as it were the terrible and deafening cry uttered by the oppressed masses when the rich and the great are plunged in all sorts of gaieties and have no time to listen to the grievances of the poor. There is nothing connected with these murders that needs secrecy and concealment. They are perpetrated for the good of the world, and though primarily connected with secrecy the whole world is eventually taken into confidence about them."

As to the immediate cause of this assassination, wrote the *Kal* that it was Plehve's tyranny over the whole land, inhuman torture and 'infernal torment' which brought that terrible fate to him. It ought to have served as a warning to the tyrants all over the world but which in practice it did not.

The paper accepts murder as the logical outcome of tyranny:

"In short, the brutal oppression of M. de Plehve rendered his assassina-

tion inevitable.... such murders are inexpedient in a free country, but that a revolutionary propaganda is suited to the circumstances of a despotically governed country like Russia, where public criticism of political questions is tabooed and where the grievances of the people are left unredressed while repression reigns rampant through the land."

Then the writer compared the administration of Plehve with that of Lord Curzon "where the list of grievances was certainly much longer than the list of Plehve's acts."

The reader was left to draw his own conclusion and if possible to choose his own course of action for the redress of oppression that had taken possession of the country.

Papers of other Provinces also commented on the Nihilist manifest⁶ in the background of Indian condition. The *Punjabee*, (April 13, 1905), purported to point out to the Czar the futility of trying to suppress by violence the aspirations of the Liberty Party; that such acts invariably tended to increase the strength of the revolutionists, and the dangers they had to face only made them more careful and better organised.

It pursued the theme by saying,

"What kind of Government is this which maintains such 'order'? Is it not really a band of usurpers? This is why the Government in Russia has no moral influence over the people; this is why Russia produces so many revolutionists; this is why an event like killing of the Tsar excites no sympathy among a great part of this very people.... Regicide in Russia is very popular. There are only two outlets from such a situation, either a revolution which will neither be averted nor prevented by condemnations to death, or the spontaneous surrender of supreme authority to the people to assist in the work of the Government."

Coming nearer home the *Punjabee*, (August 28, 1905), made it clear to the Government that it was now futile to try to stop the progress of the nation to its predestined goal. It ran thus:

"The rulers of our country are an all-powerful class of men.... The Juggernaut Car of autocratic rule rolls merrily along mangling and crushing under its wheels all and sundry that have the misfortune to cross its path....

"Progress is predestined", and "we must range forward, making a clean sweep of every obstacle and barrier that a foolish bureaucracy may see fit to place in our path."

Apparently the Nihilists had won, may be to the great hope of the Indians aspiring for independence. On October 17, 1905, 'the Czar of all the Russias' granted to his people a Representative

Assembly and a large measure of freedom, the absence of which as he said, would have rendered the promised Duma a mere farce. Thus the undisputed power of the bureaucracy most unwillingly yielded to the pressure of public opinion manifested through violent acts and the dawn of a new era for the Russian Empire was ushered in by Emperor Nicholas. His Majesty grieved over the disorders and troubles in the capital and many other parts of the Empire because as His Majesty felt that

"the well-being of the Russian Sovereign is indissolubly bound up with the well-being of the people and the people's sorrow was his sorrow."

He was, therefore, bent upon

"bringing as speedy an end as possible of the troubles so dangerous to the State."

He was pleased, therefore, to instruct

"the various authorities to take steps for the prevention of overt manifestations of disorder, turmoil and violence...."

and at the same time he found it

"indispensable to unify the work of the superior Government....for the introduction of peace into the public life."

With this laudable object in view (*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*: November 30, 1905) His Majesty promulgated.

"*First*, by giving to the population the firm foundation of public liberty based on the principles of real inviolability of the person and of freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association;

"*Secondly*, without interfering with the already arranged elections to the Duma allowing participation as far as possible in the said Duma.... leaving the ultimate development of the principle of the general electoral right to the newly established legislative order;

"*Thirdly*, by establishing as an unalterable rule that no law shall come into effect without the approval of the Duma....

"We call on all faithful sons of Russia to remember their duty to their country,....to bring all their efforts to bear on the restoration of calm and peace throughout our natal land."

"Given at Peterhof on the 17th day of October (O. S.) 1905, in the 11th year of our Reign.

Nicholas"

It is a pity that this lesson of violence and its repercussions on the most powerful satrap of the time was lost upon the British Government at home and in India; or that the intensity of turmoil

and violence had not yet reached the pitch which might force the hands of the Government for accepting wise counsel of moderation, caution and compromise.

The *Pratijna* published a poem on July 26, 1905, depicting an interview between Ramdas Swami and Shivaji which was to the effect:

"The night is very dark, overcast with clouds—giving out at times flashes of lightning."

"Shivaji seeking an answer for advancing the national and individual interests of a people (from his Guru) was asked to look up and he saw the figure of Mother India with a terrible sword in her hand and saying with a smile on her lips:

'This is the one way on earth'."

The patience of the oppressed people had reached its limits. The *Dnyottcjak*, on December 1, 1905, uttered a warning by comparing the population with an elephant and the King, its *mahout*.

"As long as this huge animal is kept under proper control, everything goes on all right, but when it gets infuriated, it tramples the driver under foot. So long as the people tamely submit to the oppression of their rulers, they fail to obtain the legitimate rights."

The country now heads towards an unprecedented crisis. The sudden flare of the symptoms bedimmed the intellect of the rulers of India's destiny. There were now heard protests against constitutional methods. *The Tribune*, (September 16, 1905), asked the people to eschew a mendicant policy:

"Constitutional agitation in a country ruled by unconstitutional Government—in other words constitutional agitation by a people without any constitutional means or instrument by which to enforce its will upon those in power—is a grim mockery. The supreme moment has come for deciding between the present mendicant—fondly called, constitutional—methods of political agitation, and those demanded and justified by the requirements of the situation. Let Congress leaders take note."

The movement was now taking a new turn.

Idea and Action

(1902-1908)

Aurobindo

After his return from England Aurobindo lived in Baroda in the service of the State Government. He was not very much associated with any political activity in India; he was, as it were, watching the trend of events and preparing himself for the next step. He used to visit Bengal from time to time to study matters first hand and to contact men who had already been working in the line. He scanned the situation as best as he could and came to the conclusion that

“secret action of preparation by itself is not likely to be effective if there were not also a wide public movement which would create a universal patriotic fervour and popularise the idea of independence as its idea and aim of Indian politics.”

He thought of giving a new outlook to the movement by introducing non-co-operation, resistance to authority wherever possible and marshalling of all available forces for revolutionary action.

Independently of his contact with the workers in Bengal, Aurobindo seems to have intimate touch with Thakur Sahib of Poona. The Thakur was “a noble of the Udaipur State” (Sri Aurobindo: *Sri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother*: 1953, p. 28) and happened to be the head of a secret society that had been silently working in Bombay. There were a few others not very prominent, who had the same object in view, and Thakur Sahib, though not a member of any of the organisations, acted as the connecting link between all of them. He concentrated his attention on Maharashtra and the Maharashtrians who had still been simmering with discontent. His foresight made him realise that unless there be a considerable section in the Army to help the cause of revolution, the movement could not have the same strength as was essential for the occasion. On this assumption he directed his secret efforts towards this end and succeeded in winning over two or three regiments of the Indian Army. He never came to limelight although he was recognised as the axis of secret organisations. He occupied an abiding place in the

mind of Sri Aurobindo as one who served as the beacon light in the dark passage leading to a successful armed revolution.

Before he finally shifted to Bengal on the advice of Sister Nivedita, Aurobindo sent an energetic young man, who had been in the Baroda Army, to explore avenues of activity and to come into contact with those who had already established secret societies in Bengal, which, for certain, "did not" at the time "include terrorism in its programme."

Jatin Banerjee, in later life known as Niralamba Swami, was commissioned to execute a

"programme of preparation and action which Aurobindo thought might occupy a period of thirty years before fruition become possible.... The idea was to establish secretly or, as far as visible action could be taken, under various pretexts and covers, revolutionary propaganda and recruiting throughout Bengal."

The programme was fairly exhaustive inasmuch as it envisaged establishment of societies dealing with cultural, intellectual and moral principles and to win over young men who had already shown their tendency towards public activities for revolutionary action. Preparation was to be made for ultimate military action for the purpose of which athletics, training in offensive and defensive action, riding, deeds of adventure, drill and organised movement, etc., had had to be practised.

Jatin Banerjee was successful in his mission and was able to form a nucleus in Calcutta within a reasonable time. He was helped in every possible way by P. Mitra who had already a unit functioning at the time to his credit, and could carry a rather hopeful tale to Sri Aurobindo who had been watching every event with the eye of a man of penetrating foresight looking ahead for a scheme of direct action.

Aurobindo whispered into the ears of his followers the spirit of Mazzini's formula,

"Liberty is the right of every man to exercise his faculties without impediment or restraint in the accomplishment of his special mission, and in the choice of its means most conducive to its accomplishment."

The means adopted by him was "a preparation for open revolt", in case passive resistance was found insufficient for the purpose. "There must be a secret organisation with the sole object of an armed insurrection" was the motto that was followed.

With Aurobindo in Bengal and Tilak in Maharashtra whom the former "regarded as one possible leader for a revolutionary party", coming to the forefront, others holding progressive views relegated themselves to the background. These two leaders began to be looked upon as political thinkers who were likely to chalk out a path quite different from what had been trodden so far.

From subsequent events it is guessed that Aurobindo shared his responsibility with some other leaders, sufficiently progressive for the time, such as (Raja) Subodh Mallick, Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, Chittranjan Das, Surendra Nath Banerjea, Sister Nivedita, and one or two others. But with regard to direct action his confidence rested on a group of young men, dare-devils, who within a short period appeared in the arena with the flash of bursting bombs and firing pistols, a new technique and a new weapon to forge their way towards the ultimate goal.

It did not take a long time for words of caution to be showered from every quarter. But a typical revolutionary, in the language of Ida A Taylor (*The Revolutionary Types*) "enters upon his hazardous enterprise with a full appreciation of the perils of the way." Warnings not only from the wise people but also from the pages of history were there.

"Each prophet of evil has a discovery of his own in this line to proclaim. Death, intending travellers are admonished, lies in this direction, disaster in this; and since every thoroughfare hitherto explored has been found to lead in the end to the first, and with scarcely inferior degree to the second, it is manifest that an attempt to controvert the statement is labour lost."

These men were dubbed 'impatient idealists' and 'dreamers' having not much to do with the realities of life. For them Taylor pleads:

"There are dreams rendering men indifferent to danger, and aims which supersede the allurements of paths of pleasantness and peace. To anticipate that the adventurer will be turned from his purpose by a prediction of misfortune is to betray a confidence in the docility of human nature, far from being borne out by facts."

Literature to the Fore

Starting with a few, the revolutionary idea, the thought of direct action, captured the minds of a larger and larger number

of people in its grip. Newspapers from the South to the North began to breathe brimstone and fire and received the kind attention of the authorities. *Poona Vaibhav* (1897), *Madavritta* (1897), *Kesari*, *Kal*, *Vihari*; *Bande Mataram* (1906), *Yugantar* (1906), *Sandhya*, *Navasakti*, *Karma-Yogin*, *Pratoda* (Bombay), *Sahayak* (Lahore), *Peshawal* (Lahore), *Hoonkar*, *Sworaj*, *Dcscha-Sevak* and a host of others of the ilk appeared (and disappeared) in quick succession.

Books and other literature were proscribed or confiscated as often as the authorities could sign orders for the purpose. *The Laghu Abhinav Bharat Gatha* (Marathi poems of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar), *Mukti Kon Pathe*, *Bortaman Rananiti*, *Bhawanir Mandir*, *Swadhinatar Itihasa*, *Life of Mazzini* and *Garibaldi*, *Deshar Katha* (in Bengali), etc., received special attention. Publications of a similar nature were *Sambhu-Nishambhu Badh* (slaying of the demons bearing the names) a short drama, *Anal Prabha*, *Naba Uddhepan*, *Ranajiter Jiban Jain*, etc.* The *Bhagabad Gita* was listed by the police as a highly seditious literature and cases were not rare when that Sacred Book of the Hindus was taken away by the police in the course of a search for dangerous weapons and seditious literature. In later years the *Report of the Sedition Committee* published (1918) by the Government of Bengal was for all practical purposes treated as one falling into the group and literally suppressed though not openly declared as a publication every copy of which was "to be confiscated wherever found".

The measures for suppression and repression were intensified by the Government with every day but it seemed that they had placed implicit faith on a bund of sand to stem the rising tide of a mighty flood.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SPARK

Partition of Bengal

(1903-1908)

The Onslaught

The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon was marked by a spirit of resentment on the part of a very large section of the educated Indians. He was regarded as unsympathetic to Indian aspirations and was known to be swayed more by his own whims than be influenced by public opinion. His University Bill raised a cloud of suspicion. His attempt to adopt measures for bringing the Calcutta Corporation under Government control and to muzzle the press through the Official Secrets Act were hotly opposed. His treatment towards the foremost political leaders of the day by refusing to meet a delegation from the Congress in 1904, was treated as a definite affront to India's sense of self-respect.

The idea of partitioning Bengal was not a new fad with the noble Lord but he was trying to give effect to a suggestion of long standing only to teach a lesson to the meek Bengalis who had not been giving whole-hearted support to all his measures.

In 1868, Sir Stafford Northcote drew attention to the greatly augmented demands that the outlying portion of Bengal appeared to take on the time and labour of those concerned in the governance of the Province. But no further steps seem to have been taken and the matter was left unattended in the official files.

The next phase began with Charles Elliott, a Lieutenant Governor, who before his appointment to the office, had never set his foot on the soil of Bengal. In 1896, this thoroughly inexperienced man revived the idea of separating a portion of Eastern Bengal and uniting it with Assam.

Elliott thought of eliciting public opinion over his proposed measure. As soon as it was made public, it met with an all round

condemnation and was dropped. One of the authorities that Elliott approached for candid opinion was the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. The learned Judges confined their opinion more or less as to how the change, if carried out, would affect the administration of civil and criminal justice "the most important of all objects of administration".

Very much to the credit of the Judiciary, the Judges were constrained to say:

"The proposal seems to be a step in the wrong direction. To transfer districts which, ever since the East India Company assumed the administration, have formed a part of the regulation territory, cannot but appear in the light of a retrograde movement. It seems, therefore, that a transfer of the Chittagong Division to the Government of Assam as at present constituted, would not fail to be a retrograde and mischievous step."

The proposal, after the remarks of the Judges, was given an unceremonious burial.

As early as 1902, Lord Curzon wrote to Lord George Hamilton expressing his views about the Partition of Bengal in connection with his contemplated measure of placing Berar under the administration of the Central Provinces. He thought that "Bengal is unquestionably too large for any single man" to administer efficiently.

For a short time his pet 'child' escaped his attention. On December 12, 1903, the Gazette of India published a letter addressed by H. H. Risley, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, containing certain proposals for reducing the territorial jurisdiction of Bengal by transferring portions of it to adjacent Provinces

"subject to the desirability of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal with the object of lightening the excessive burden now imposed upon the Government by the increase of population, the expansion of commercial and industrial enterprise, and the growing complexity of the administration. . . ."

Risley himself was not unmindful of the possible adverse reaction that the proposal might produce in the minds of the people because the Circular mentioned in very clear terms that

"the Governor-General-in-Council thinks that the proposal which has been put forward, may meet with keen criticism and perhaps with strenuous opposition."

Whether 'the Partition' would be able to bring about any

administrative efficiency' or not, no body did care to enquire, but it did not fail to fulfil the worst apprehensions of the sponsors of the scheme.

Curzon forwarded his final suggestions in February 1905, to the Home Government and it received the approval of the Secretary of State in June of the same year.

The Press and the people went into hysterics over the scheme. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* characterised the measure, on December 14, 1903, as a "revolutionary and apparently needless move" which was likely to "create the most profound sensation in the country." It "gave a fair warning that his action will create a feeling which will lead a large number of people to the brink of madness."

There was a volley of protests in all leading newspapers, especially of Bengal, some of which, amongst many others, were *The Indian Mirror* (13. 12. 03), *The Bengalee* (15. 12. 03), *The Indian Empire* (15. 12. 03), *The Hindu Patriot* (15. 12. 03), *The Charu Mihir* (15. 12. 03), *Sri Sri Bishnupriya O Ananda Bazar Patrika* (16. 12. 03), the *Jyoti* (17. 12. 03), the *Sanjibani* (17. 12. 03), the *Pratinidhi* (26. 12. 03), etc., etc.

On December 17, 1903, *The Tribune* roundly condemned the idea dilating on the various demerits that it harboured. According to the *Charu Mihir*, the ukase was to be accepted as a blessing in disguise. It brought men of different avocations and belonging to different stations in life, close to one another. The paper wrote (January 12, 1904) :

"The proposal has made impossible things possible; it has made the unlettered rustic speak, the idiot think, the Zemindar whose only ambition was to please the District Magistrate go against him; in short, it has made the whole country unite together in one thought and in one purpose."

The Tribune expressed, (January 16, 1904), satisfaction over the intensity and volume of the agitation generated by the proposed 'Partition' :

"A more systematic, sincere, and well-organised agitation that is being carried on in the threatened districts of East Bengal against the proposed redistribution of territory has seldom been witnessed in India. Seeing that the contemplated change will benefit none while it will create no end of confusion, and that it will be nothing less than an outrage on the deep-rooted sentiment of millions of His Majesty's Bengali subjects, one can hardly believe that it will ever be carried into effect."

The Bengalee questioned, (January 20, 1904), the sagacity of the Government move and expressed its political philosophy by saying

"A Government which converts peaceful citizens into agitators can scarcely be congratulated on the wisdom of its statesmanship."

On January 23, 1904, *The Englishman* wrote editorially:

"The Government can hardly be in very much doubt as to the popularity of its proposals to dismember the Province of Bengal.... The proposals for partition have been attacked in every key and in every language. They are repugnant alike to sentiment and to commonsense. They are opposed by every community, and by every section of each community. They have awakened a storm of passionate protest which has surprised those who have let it. No still, small voice has been upraised on behalf of the Government. If it had, it would only have emphasised the deafening clamour of the protecting interests. Really, a casual observer might think that the Government have pondered over the best means of stirring up its subjects in Bengal, and had selected this as the quickest and most amusing means of setting the province in a ferment."

A month later, in another article it wrote:

"The advocates of Partition, whose names are certainly not Legion, must find some other weapon than futile attempts to discredit the *bona fides* of their opponents."

The comment of *The Indian Daily News*, (January 29, 1904), on the matter was sarcastic to the extreme:

"We have heard the Government of India officially described as one of the most radical Governments in the world. If by radicalism is meant the unnecessary stirring up of discontent and strife and the needless disturbance of the existing order of things in the face of public opinion, the title is justly earned."

Lord Curzon's Government declared that the scheme had the unstinted support of all classes of Mahomedans particularly that of East Bengal. But representative opinion proved that it was absolutely false. Nawab Syed Amir Husain, C.I.E., Honorary Secretary, Central Mahomedan Association, wrote to the Chief Secretary on February 17, 1904, that the Partition "was neither necessary nor desirable", that by disrupting an ancient Province it would "break the prescription of many centuries".

The *Paisa Akhbar* was of the opinion, (January 17, 1905), that "the contemplated measure is calculated to affect the social, and commercial conditions of lakhs of human beings."

The rumour of the approval of the Secretary of State being accorded to the proposal reached India and *The Tribune* commented, (July 8, 1905), on the mischief inherent in it:

"The scheme for the Partition of Bengal has received the sanction of the Secretary of State. This means that the greatest outrage on the sentiment of the native population since British rule began in the country has been perpetrated.

"If a Machiavelli were to bend all the powers of his mind to devising means for making a loyal and contented people distrustful and discontented, he could not hit upon a plan more ingenious, more diabolical, and more efficacious to effect that object."

The same paper advised, (July 11, 1905), every Bengali to express unmistakably

"that the dismemberment of their Province is deeply abhorrent to the instinct and sentiment of every one of them."

The *Kesari* warned, (August 15, 1905), the British Government by saying that

"to create dissatisfaction amongst the governed in such matters is to endanger the stability of the Empire."

In August 1905, when the matter was placed before the Parliament, Mr. Herbert Roberts, M.P., an ex-Secretary of State for India, complained that the House was entirely without any knowledge of the facts. The Secretary of State for India pledged before the House that nothing would be done till all the papers relating to it had been laid before the Parliament and there had been opportunity of the House giving its decision on the matter.

Writes O'Donnell (*The Causes of Present Discontent in India*, pp. 60-61):

"The pledge was broken within two months, and the legislation in India necessary for the enforcement of Partition was carried through at Simla at a hole-and-corner meeting of Lord Curzon and the Official Members of the Legislative Council, at which not a single Indian Member was present."

The writer pursued his theme further with the remark that "a very singular thing about this extraordinary measure is that the Secretary of State for India has never ventured to say one word in its favour. On the contrary, on the very first occasion on which he addressed the House of Commons, Mr. Morley declared that 'it was and remains undoubtedly an administrative operation, which went wholly and decisively against the wishes of most of the people concerned'."

It became quite clear to the people of Bengal that the measure posed matters of an unprecedented nature, the most noticeable being that this was "forced through by a flagrant act of contempt of the House of Commons".

The Judges of the Calcutta High Court of the time must have felt amused for the simple reason that while Curzon consulted everybody and every authority, as O'Donnell says,

"from European merchants to Muslim societies, he very wisely abstained from asking the High Court what it thought of his 'retrograde and mischievous' action. He (Lord Curzon) did not want his pet project to be again described in the accurate, curt, and contemptuous fashion."

The announcement of the proposal by the Home Government was followed by a proclamation on September 1, 1905. Before the month was out, necessary legislation was adopted on September 29, and on October 16, 1905, the Partition became a *fait accompli*. The educated Bengalis, to quote the language of Surendra Nath Banerjea, "felt that we had been insulted, humiliated and tricked." It was just like a spark thrown into a powder magazine. The people were goaded almost to madness.

On September 11, 1905, the *Tihari* introduced a new tone to the movement and asked the people of Bengal to remain firm and not to help the foreign Government in India in any way. Following the logic of Hyndman it wrote

"that loyalty to England signified treachery to India... Our advice to the people in this crisis is that they should remain firm and instead of turning traitors to their country act according to the concept laid down in the *Bhagabad Gita*: 'If thou art slain in battle, you will go to Heaven; if thou returnest victorious, you enjoy the earth'."

Commenting on how the Partition had alienated the support of the people to the Government, *The Tribune* was constrained to write on September 14, 1905:

"Save for the commendable 'loyalty' of some opium-smokers of Baghbazar, the Nawab of Dacca and a few hereditary basket-bearers of the paternal *sircar* whose reassuring voices are capable of asserting themselves over the present mighty outburst of popular indignation in Bengal as the murmuring of a few conch-shells over the roar of the tempestuous ocean... the Partition of Bengal has landed Government in the unique, unparalleled and unenviable position of having not a single friend left to share the pleasure of its splendid isolation."

About the measure itself, the opinions of sober Europeans, friends of both India and England, were not very favourable. Said Sir Henry Cotton :

"It was no administrative reason that lay at the root of the scheme. It was part and parcel of Lord Curzon's policy to enfeeble the growing power and destroy the political tendencies of a growing spirit. Bengalis are the leaders of political agitation in modern India. With all their faults, they are the principal section of the community which has inspired the future hope and destiny of their country. The consciousness and conviction that the Partition was designed to weaken Bengali influence induced the popular irritation on the subject."

Another opinion, coming from a different sphere of life, that of a medical man, Surgeon General, C.B. Ewatt, corroborated Sir Henry's views: Ewatt said that

"any one who looks at below the surface in India must see that a dissatisfied Bengal, gravely reacts in the peace and well-being of India, for her sons are found scattered everywhere over the Indian Empire and always in positions where they can greatly influence administration and opinion. I know that already the effects of dissatisfaction in Bengal are spreading into districts far away from that province, and hence the need of further consideration of the matter, whatever the India Office may say." (*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*: July 31, 1906).

These gentlemen echoed in their own way the opinion of Sir Syed Ahmad, the most distinguished Mahomedan that India produced during the last century, expressed at Lahore in 1884:

"I assure you that the Bengalis are the only people in our country whom we can be properly proud of, and it is only due to them that knowledge, liberty, and patriotism are progressing in our country. I can truly say that they are the head and crown of all communities in Hindustan."

But what weighed more with Curzon and men of his way of thinking was the opinion of an evening London Conservative journal that "the Bengali is an object of contempt and hatred to the more virile races" of India. O'Donnell retorted to this remark by saying that

"this is one of the many facts that renders the outraging of Bengali feeling a grave political danger; Hindus throughout the whole of India sympathise with them."

The Programme

In 1905 between the months of June and October, there grew up an agitation that surpassed, in intensity and magnitude, the

wildest expectations of the leaders of the movement for the annulment of the Partition. The announcement was hailed as a matter both for grief and rejoicing. Said Ananda Mohan Bose that

"Lord Curzon had done us indeed signal service and enables us to lay the priceless foundation of a new national life."

The sense of public utterances was that Curzon had sown the germs of national life by his ill-feeling towards the people of Bengal and thorough disregard of public opinion to satisfy his own whims for emasculating the people of Bengal both politically and economically. Now it was time that the Bengalis came to realise that they were badly in need of a good shaking to be roused from the slumber of centuries.

Thousands of meetings were held throughout Bengal, East and West, where the audience would be anything between one thousand and forty thousand people.

Grim determination, unprecedented enthusiasm and burning eloquence marked each meeting and the men present at such meetings took upon themselves the task of carrying the essence and spirit of the resolutions to the farthest corners of a village.

The programme of work to be adopted was passive resistance without breaking the law, of showing no disrespect to the constituted authority, boycott not only of foreign goods but also of the men who betray the interest of the country. The Congress, the most powerful political organisation of the country at the time, should eschew the begging policy which seemed as the core of constitutional movement; title-holders were to give up their insignia of bondage; lastly, to ignore, as far as possible, the competence of the law courts to administer justice in political cases. Solemn pledge was taken in every meeting to make the voice heard by the British public in every possible way of which the boycott of British goods was deemed to be the most potent.

The following Proclamation reflecting the public mind was adopted by the great meeting held in connection with the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Federation Hall on October 16, 1905:

"Whereas the Government has thought fit to effectuate the Partition of Bengal in spite of the universal protest of the Bengali nation, we hereby pledge and proclaim that we as a people shall do everything in our power to

counteract the evil effects of the dismemberment of our Province and to maintain the integrity of our race. So God help us."

A. M. BOSE

• 16. 10. 05

Those with a more practical bent of mind thought of filling up the vacuum created by the boycott by the manufacture of indigenous goods so that there would be no necessity of relapsing into the use of imported articles when the agitation had subsided. The more advanced group contrasted Bengal's acceptance of the insult lying down with the spirit of belligerence shown by Japan against one of the proudest of the white nations. The burthen of the song was:

"Had Bengalis no religion, no patriotism? Let them depend on their own strength. Let them remember their Mother Kali, the Goddess of strength. Let them also think of the great deeds of the Mahratha hero, Shivaji. Let them retaliate on the foreign Government in all possible way, particularly make the boycott as effective as not to allow a piece of foreign goods enter the shores of our Holy Land."

In this upsurge the people imitated the Chinese, who in May 1905, had started a boycott of American goods as a protest against an Exclusive Treaty proposed by the United States. The *Daily Itabadi* wrote on June 30, 1905; that

"at last the United States Government has decided that Chinese travellers and merchants in America should not henceforth be subjected to any ill-treatment by its emigration officers....an outcome of the Chinaman's resolution not to purchase American goods."

The situation in its final shape has been described by Lord Ronaldshay (*Life of Lord Curzon*, p. 326) in the following words:

"Bengal, in fact, was passing through one of those storms of unreasoning passion which were ever liable to sweep its emotional people off their feet. Their nerves were thrumming like the strings of a giant harp to the magic touch of the very sentiment which Lord Curzon was inclined too lightly to brush aside."

The gradual psychological development for resistance has been portrayed by C. J. O'Donnell, thus:

"The people endured much at the hands of Lord Curzon, but they were patient and orderly. They believed that a better time was coming; but when they found that their prayers were blocked by unjust and unstatesmanlike doctrine of the 'Settled Fact', they gave way to that hopeless resentment which in all lands drives men to the verge of passionate despair."

By the first week of November 1905, the people began to ask themselves: "How to proceed?" The example of the Irish people who struggled for seven hundred years for freedom without being able to make any impression on the Britishers, simply because "Ireland failed to collect and concentrate its forces for purposes both offensive and defensive" was retold. The demand of the common people was,

"We want a common object to move us. We want a leader to direct us. We want the sinews of war to strengthen us"

Then followed particularly in the newly created province of East Bengal a worst form of repression ever recorded in the history of any civilised country. In some respects it put into shade the Czarist ukases meant for terrorising people into subjection. A picture, however incomplete, of the situation may be of interest to the present-day reader because the atrocities committed by the Government on an unarmed and peaceful, but determined, people led to organised violence by the Bengalis ridiculed for their meekness and none-too-strong physical health and strength.

The movement gripped the imagination of the younger section of Bengal, and as in all other countries struggling for some great change, the students came out to add force to it.

Anti-Swadeshi Circular

The first step taken by the Government for the suppression of the movement was directed against the students and educational institutions. It was that the students taking part or being used for political purposes, and institutions connected with them, but enjoying Government assistance should be punished. The Magistrate and Collector of every district was directed under a Confidential Circular, No. 1679 P.-D dated October 10, 1905, issued from Darjeeling by the Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal, to take cognisance of such offences as taking

"any public action in connection with boycotting, picketing and other abuses connected with the so-called *Swadeshi* movement; if found necessary, to stop grant-in-aid and the privilege of competing for scholarships"

and to withdraw such privilege from "receiving scholarship holders" and to ask the University "to disaffiliate such institutions." Failing to control the boys and their *Swadeshi* activities, the (loyal)

institutions were to send the names of such boys to proper authorities for necessary action.

Further, the Magistrates were asked "to call on" the teachers of all categories and persons connected with the management of the institutions to act as Special Constables for helping the authority in keeping the peace, much importance being attached to the selection of persons "whom the boys are bound to respect, and who will be able to identify the boys who may offend."

And the circular with requisite paraphrasing and interpretation was sent to all educational institutions for giving immediate effect to its provisions.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of East Bengal and Assam was not slow to move. He issued a Circular on November 8, 1905, on the line of his counterpart in the other half of Bengal with the additional item that the Government

"would consider in the interests of the State to debar students . . . brought up under influence which is hostile to the State"

on the assumption that they "cannot be expected to serve the Government loyally".

From the tone and temper of the "anti-Swadeshi Circular", as it came at the time to be known in Bengal, it became evident that the Government was bent upon imitating "the Russian method by placing the students at the tender mercy of the police."

On October 25, 1905, letter No. T.292 was issued by the Director of Public Instruction from Darjeeling in which the name of the offending student, ostensibly supplied by the police, was to be given in the margin and sent to the heads of institutions asking them

"to show cause why the student in question should not be expelled from your institution."

The Provincial Governments having performed their onerous duties, there remained for the Government of India to do something in the matter. On May 6, 1907, a Circular was issued by the Home Department (Public) to Local Governments on the same subject as had previously been attempted to be done with the help of the "anti-Swadeshi Circulars" about two years back. A great concern was expressed for

"protecting higher education" which was seriously threatened by "the

tendency of both the teachers and their pupils to associate themselves with the political movements."

It regretted such move on the assumption that it engendered "a spirit of lawlessness and resistance to authority" which was bound to "set back the advance of genuine education, to injure the material prospects of students, and to subvert the traditional foundations of the Indian public life."

There was not only the "gravest apprehension of higher education being interfered with", maintained the Circular, "but the efficiency of schools and colleges was bound to be impaired. The minds of the pupils being diverted from their proper work would surely "result in the relaxation of discipline". It was, therefore, found necessary by the Government of India to put some curb on the enthusiasm of students and their teachers of different grades of educational institutions. The punishments to be meted out were on the line of what was prescribed by the previous Circulars, viz., withdrawal of grants-in-aid and privilege for competing for scholarships and receiving scholarship holders, disaffiliation by the University and the like.

There were sober opinions of foreign journalists who looked upon these Circulars as something that brought Britain's fair name into disrepute. Wrote 'Max' in *The Capital* (quoted in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, November 4, 1905):

"The silly Circular reads like a Russian ukase begotten by fear and not like a British document at all. Moreover, it is a most distinct attempt to interfere with the liberty of the subject, and to terrorise the law-abiding student youths of Bengal into not calling their souls their own and intimidate them from giving occasional jubilant expression to any harmless political opinions they may possess. The Circular is a most ridiculous rag of which the Government of Bengal ought to be thoroughly ashamed. It ought to be withdrawn at once. It is in some respects the issue of a warrant for the degradation of every educational Officer in Bengal, converting every Principal into a policeman and every teacher into a detective. It is the attempt to Russianise Bengal and has only to be stated in order to be covered by ridicule."

By bestowing great attention on student unrest, the Government betrayed a weakness which did not escape the notice of the *Vihari* which wrote on April 15, 1906, under caption *Strength of Youngmen*:

"In Bengal Government has been displaced with students, and is

suppressing them by Circular after Circular. It is this that has led us to believe that Bengali youths have become purely devoted to their country, and are with great force carrying the Swadeshi agitation, for unless they see true patriotism, the English will never be angry.... it is in the Swadeshi agitation this time that the real strength of youth has been awakened."

About this time a London paper, *The London Trades and Labour Gazette*, wrote:

"It looks as if the military element was gaining the upper hand, and that India was destined to be governed by a military despotism."

This is just one side of the shield. The newspapers owned and conducted by Englishmen were jubilant over the Circulars because in them they found a fulfilment of their desires.

Bande Mataram

(Hail ! Mother !)

(1905-1907)

The East Bengal authorities developed a special dislike for the two simple words, viz., *Bande Mataram*. It was taken as something sounding the death-knell to British Imperialism in India. Every possible measure was adopted to stop the shouting of *Bande Mataram* and in the attempt the Government betrayed signs of weakness by taking recourse to means which plainly smacked of relics of barbarism of the distant past.

The whole student population became the target of persecution. About two hundred boys of the Rangpur Zilla School were fined five rupees each, in November 1905, for attending a political meeting and singing *Bande Mataram*.

On November 11, 1905, an order emanated from the Chief Secretary's Camp, Dacca, that meetings should not be held in public places and that no processions were to be allowed in public streets which were likely to shout *Bande Mataram*. This is just one of the many orders of the type, particularly in the districts of Barisal, Mymensingh, Rangpur and Noakhali.

Old men in their homes, young striplings of seven or eight in the streets were not spared. Students *en masse* of a large

number of institutions were fined, expelled or awarded the birch. "Whipping triangle has been posted outside the Magistrate's Court" (in Barisal), said one newspaper report. The police threatened with flogging if anybody was found shouting *Bande Mataram*, wrote a correspondent of *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* from Barisal on November 25, 1905. Three students of the Rangpur Zilla School were fined Rs. 3 each (10. 11. 05) for shouting *Bande Mataram*. The chowkidars had instructions to give hard blows on the joints of young offenders for shouting *Bande Mataram*. They were not to be admitted to any other school of the district if rusticated from one for the same or similar offence. School authorities were ordered by the District Magistrate to produce attendance registers of students to visiting police officers for facilitating identification of students participating in meetings or engaging themselves in joining *Swadeshi* movement. Principals of Colleges were asked to restrain their students from going to any particular area (here it was Baghbazar, Mymensingh) selected by the Magistrate with the concluding remark that

"a disregard of the interests of the Government and discipline in this matter will entail the formal and public barring of the pupils from all services under the Government." (Mymensingh, December 2, 1905).

The Head Master of Kishoregunj High School, Dacca, was requested by the Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division, on January 18, 1906,

"to call upon boys of the first and second classes to copy out five hundred times: 'It is foolish and rude to waste time in shouting *Bande Mataram*' and forward the manuscripts, all of which be neatly written with a certificate that each is the unaided work of the boy whose writing it purports to be"

to the said Inspector. The Head Master was further informed that "unless all causes of complaint are immediately removed all grants will be in danger of being withdrawn."

In the heart of Calcutta, in the Shampukur Thana area, (as also in other areas), some young boys gave vent to their youthful enthusiasm and shouted the offensive words, *Bande Mataram*, on November 28, 1906. As was rather common in such circumstances, they disappeared from the scene. Some reported the matter to the Police and, reported a newspaper, that the Sub-Inspector of the thana rushed to the scene with a large number of constables and

"began to assault the residents of the locality not excluding some female inmates in private dwellings."

What *Bande Mataram* was to the people of Bengal was interpreted by the *Bangabasi* in its issue of April 28, 1906:

"The expression *Bande Mataram* is indicative of the feeling of patriotism and not sedition. It has in it love of *Swadeshi* and not hatred against the Sovereign. It has light and not darkness, nectar and not poison. It is a lotus root without its thorns. It is life without death. It is a song in adoration of one's mother country and not a war cry."

The words travelled wide and according to *The Tribune*, (November 25, 1905), it became the words of greetings even in distant Punjab. It wrote:

"They have adopted as their cheering cry, the words *Bande Mataram* which has no formidable meaning than 'Hail Mother!' ... And can *Bande Mataram* be abolished by help of terrorism? Even in the Punjab when educated gentlemen meet each other, his salutation now-a-days frequently is *Bande Mataram*. How many soldiers the authorities must have to stop the mouths of countless millions of India? The people of East Bengal have sympathy of all India."

On October 13, 1905, a body named *Bande Mataram Sampradaya* was organised in Calcutta by educated youngmen to "propagate *Bande Mataram* sentiment throughout the city by singing in procession the grand National Anthem."

Humiliation

Respectable and more often than not elderly people with nationalist views were put to utter humiliation. At Rangpur, on November 15, 1905, a large number of persons holding responsible positions in society, the popular leaders of the movement, were appointed Special Constables. Some of them were compelled to attend the police lines in the morning and to undergo parade for several hours. Others were made to patrol the town like ordinary constables. When asked to appear with belt and baton on their persons, some refused to accede and orders for their prosecution were passed forthwith for disobeying the provisions of the law.

The Magistrates in general, particularly of Rangpur and Barisal, manifested unmistakable signs of behaving like autocrats having no respect for law. The Barisal satrap invited some gentlemen to his quarters and gave one or two of these the special

distinction of being 'inflammatory speakers'. The threat, in the Magistrate's own words, was:

"I have given your name to the Gurkhas. I advise you to leave the station at least for a fortnight....Mind you, if anything happens in the town, whether you are present or not at those places, the Gurkhas will treat you as they like; and they will treat you in a way which will not be liked by any one of you. I will not be responsible for any outrage committed by the Gurkhas."

It may be mentioned that a contingent of 110 Gurkhas were imported in the small town of Barisal and their business constituted mainly in chasing boys and tearing any paper, poster or the like containing *Bande Mataram* from the walls. At Banoripara, at Madhabpasa and one or two other places, small groups of special police were posted and the locality had to bear the costs of their maintenance. On the reports of the police an Honorary Magistrate was suspended and he was called upon

"to state within one day whether it is true that he took part in, and spoke at, the meeting of the 24th (November, 1905), in Mymensingh when the people of Barisal, Madaripur and Rangpur were thanked for their attitude towards the Government."

Social functions were interfered with indiscriminately if there was the least chance of any nationalistic tendency manifesting itself in any way.

Incidents of indiscriminate and heartless assault on unsuspecting people were of common occurrence in East Bengal districts. All on a sudden, on reports supplied by an irresponsible person, a high official appeared with a large number of constables

"and struck whomsoever they met in Burrabazar (Mymensingh). They even pulled down men who were standing on the verandahs of private dwellings. The District Superintendent of Police personally dealt blows on many young boys and innocent men."

No procession could be taken out in the important cities of East Bengal without a licence being obtained from the police chief of the locality. One such was (No. 471 dated 10. 12. 05) issued on condition that

"no acts or words having connection with the *Swadeshi* agitation will be employed while the procession is in progress."

A very prominent lawyer of Rajshahi approached the Deputy Superintendent of Police for permission to hold a public meeting

and before he could make his whole submission, he was stopped by a rude outburst of the Police Officer: "Hold your tongue", and the gentleman had to come away from the place greatly humiliated.

The Saraswati Puja was held in the usual way in Jalpaiguri in 1906 as was in other years. On January 31, a procession connected with the immersion ceremony was prohibited on the ground that the boys would shout *Bande Mataram* on the way.

These are some of the many incidents and orders derogatory to the sense of personal prestige and national honour. These were paving the path of revolution rather smooth and the *Punjabee* commenting on the Governmental measures seriously asked (November 22, 1905):

"Is Government well advised in exasperating the educated classes beyond the limits of human endurance, and straining their loyalty to the point of breaking? The kind of persecution to which they are subjected both in Bengal and out of Bengal is more than human flesh and blood could bear. 'Vengeance is mine, said the Lord, I'll repay'. But 'Vengeance is also ours' oppressed nations trodden down to dust are apt at times to say. This has again and again been attested by the history of the human race, and history, as we all know, is apt to repeat itself."

Picketing and Boycott

Picketing and boycott not only by a student but by any person, though not openly declared as an offence, were tried to be prevented in every possible way, particularly by indirect orders concealing threats in their sleeves.

"Any one who compels another against his wish to buy country-made goods is guilty under the law"

ran an order. Any appeal for boycotting foreign cloth was objected to on the ground that it amounted to a sort of "proclamation which only the Sovereign or his representative is empowered to issue."

The Officials, such as the S.D.O. of Madaripur, found in this measure interference with the free will of the people, buyers and sellers both. The contrary, of "coercing people by threats to purchase foreign goods is not so if done by a Government servant."

In the Eastern and Northern districts of Bengal

"the common spectacle was that European Officers, both executive and police, going about in bazars and markets and inducing people to deal in English cloth, Liverpool salt and the like."

But in Bhola, Barisal, some pleaders (November 23, 1905) and scores of people at the same and at other places were prosecuted for the only offence of asking people not to use foreign salt.

The measure that irritated the rulers most at the time was the boycott of foreign goods because it threatened the industrial and commercial interests of England in the Indian market—the source of a large part of the revenue of the United Kingdom. The other aspects of steeling the hearts of a “conquered people” and the growth of a determination to engage in open conflict were not very clear to those blinded by power, but the Indians found in the movement something sacred which held in its womb the sparks of Promethean fire. Wrote *The Bande Mataram* on August 6, 1907, under caption: *The Boycott Anniversary*:

“The 7th of August was the birthday of Indian Nationalism, and Indian Nationalism,....means two things, the self-consecration to the gospel of national freedom and practice of Independence. Boycott is the practice of Independence. When, therefore, we declared the boycott on the 7th of August, it was no mere economical revolt we were instituting, but the practice of National Independence; for the attempt to be separate and self-sufficient economically must bring with the attempt to be free in every other function of a nation's life, for these functions are naturally inter-dependent. August 7th, therefore, is a day when Indian Nationalism was born, when India discovered to her soul her own freedom, when we set our feet irrevocably on the only path to unity, the only path to self-realisation. On that day the foundation stone of Indian Nationality was born.”

Then direction for celebrating the great event in a befitting manner followed:

“Let us celebrate the day in a spirit and after the fashion suitable to its great and glorious meaning. Let it be a reconsecration of the whole of Bengal to the new spirit and the new life, a purification of heart and mind to make it the undivided possession and to the consecrated temple and habitation of the Mother. And secondly, let it be a calm, brave and masculine reaffirmation of our independent existence. The bureaucracy has flung itself in savage fury on the new activities of our national life; it has attempted to trample on and break to pieces under its armed heel our economical boycott; it has made the service of the Motherland penal in her young men; it has visited with prison and deportation the preaching of Nationalism by older men. The 7th of August must be an emphatic answer to these persecutions and prohibitions. The boycott must be reaffirmed and this time in its purity and simplicity as the national policy to which all are committed.”

The disquieting feature of administration by the police in

Bengal was reported by the Calcutta correspondent of *The Daily News* on November 23, 1905, rather faithfully.

There are a . . . series of blunders and follies by which the policy of the Indian authorities has been marked from first to last. They have been had enough, and senseless enough, in all conscience and with any other people in the world other than the Bengalees the consequences might have been of the most serious character."

The gentleman followed his previous despatch with a little more detail on July 8, 1906. It ran thus:

"Twenty meetings were held in May and forty in June against the Partition and supporting the *Swadeshi* movement. They were attended by 200,000 persons at the lowest estimate.

"The persecution of students continues. Fifteen at Noakhali, in the new Province, have been expelled for attending *Swadeshi* meetings. The Head Master said that the students were liable to expulsion for shouting *Bande Mataram* or joining in *Swadeshi* meetings under the Director's (Director of Public Instruction) circulars.

"In the same school a ten year boy was flogged for not speaking to an anti-*Swadeshi* school master.

"A new method of muzzling the Native press has been invented in the new Province. Secret enquiry is being made by the police through the Post Offices to ascertain the names of subscribers to Native papers. The public apprehend that the object of the police is to prevent the free circulation of *Swadeshi* papers especially among Government servants."

Shrewd eyes did not fail to see through the screen of dust raised by the Government as to the ultimate outcome of unalloyed repression. Wrote Sir Evan Jones in *The National Review* (re-produced in the *Navasakti*, July 24, 1907):

"If once the tolerant millions are fully imbued with the hatred of the British our rule has gone."

"Our army may be strong, but it will be impossible to hold hundreds of millions in check if they are determined to get rid of us."

He was not far wrong; it was only a question of time for his apprehension coming true.

The Gathering Storm

(1905-1907)

Revolt

Ruthless repression in an ever-increasing degree was the answer to the peoples' protest against Partition. The movement now began to move in two channels, one for preparing the country to withstand the onslaughts of the bureaucracy, and the other creating a demand for complete autonomy for the country.

The nationalist press came out with a spate of writings in support of the demand dilating on the evils of foreign domination and on "the necessity of breaking off the chains for achieving national regeneration."

The clamour for breaking off the chains became persistent. Wrote the *Pratod* (February 2, 1906) :

"....so long as the chain of political subjection is round our feet, the result of all efforts to secure our regeneration will be insignificant. No one ever attained true happiness under foreign rule.

"It is the lesson of history that the conquerors should always desire the conquered races to be permanently under their sway and minister to their pleasures.

"If we want true happiness, it is indispensable that we too, should break the chains of subjection round our feet. But this task is not so easy as it seems. To carry it to the end requires extraordinary strength and we are greatly lacking in such strength."

The *Vihari* also wrote in the same strain (February 12, 1906) :

"The Indians must remember well that they are smarting under the agonising evil of the loss of their independence. Utter destruction would be far better than the disgrace of unmitigated slavery.

"From life without freedom
Oh, who would not fly!
For one day of freedom
Who would not die."

As the flow of molten lava from a volcano, exhortations came from all quarters. In the introduction (*Suchana*, March 3, 1906) the *Yugantar* declared,

"the Indians must have a true *swadesh*.... The power of the sword, which is unsheathed for the protection of a right or in the main of a religion is indomitable; but the weapon in the hands of a persecutor has no power at all."

It continued:

"It may today be the duty of the people to give up their lives in silence, but who can say that it will not tomorrow be the mission of the same people to win victory in a religious war."

"Where lies the danger of the King?" it asked:

"If smitten by oppression the people can once realise this truth that the slavery of a hundred centuries does not pass off unless they learn to die, then there is a great danger for the king."

The *Bangabasi*, (April 21, 1906), declares that the time is come:

"Arise, awake, awake brother! This is the time to attain success in *Saba-sadhana* (a mystical and magical ceremony performed with a dead body) on the cremation ground."

"Absolute National Autonomy is the national goal, and the nation must attain it or perish in the national attempt," said *The New India*: (November 10, 1906).

The *Yugantar*, (December 9, 1906) published a couplet:

"When the lightning of Heaven flashes in the human heart
Then does man achieve the impossible."

It follows with an answer to the vacillating:

"You will enquire how, being weak, we can enter on a trial of strength with the powerful English?"

"Be not afraid....Italy has expiated her own sin and washed away in human blood the blackness of her stigma....Are not ten thousand sons of Bengal prepared to embrace death to avenge the humiliation of their fatherland?" (March 3, 1907).

In the same issue the *Yugantar* suggested the following methods for collection of money for revolution:

- "(i) Plundering the people,
- (ii) Plundering the established Government,
- (ii) Realisation of taxes."

The *Bande Mataram*, (June 1907), presented its ideal as "a free and united India" and "its mission is to educate the people in its possibilities." It declared its article of faith, (August 12, 1907), in the following language under caption: *A Complaint and Some Misconception*:

"The motives of Indians are as lofty and noble as those of Mazzini and Garibaldi.

"The restoration of our country to her separate existence as a nation among the nations, her exaltation to a greatness, splendour, strength, magnificence equalling and surpassing her ancient glories is the goal of her endeavours and we have undertaken this arduous task in which we as individuals risk everything,—ease, wealth, liberty, life it may be—not out of hatred or hostility to other nations, but in the firm conviction that we are working as much in the interests of all humanity including England herself, as in those of our posterity and nation."

The next day, (August 13, 1907), the *Sandhya* gave expression to a sublime sentiment breathing patriotism in every line:

"Our aspirations are higher than the Himalayas.—Our pain is as intense as if we had a volcano in us. . . . Heaven we do not want; deliverance we seek not. O Mother, let us be born again and again in India till her chains fall off. First let the Mother be free; then shall come our own release from worldly bonds."

And the determination of the people to be free will generate the Rise of Popular Power according to the *Yugantar* (September 2, 1907):

"The force that one day in a fierce aspect kindled the fire of revolution in France, tore asunder the ties of society and sovereignty which had lasted for centuries, and infused a new life, and like the fierce *chinnamasta* (a headless form of the goddess Kali), cut off her own head, drank her own blood and danced having by its terrible laughter made all Europe tremble. The time is coming when that force will rise up in India, too. India, too, must be shewn the play of that force which in Russia today has by its roar made the life of every oppressor full of alarm and uneasiness and which makes its appearance in every age and purifying the country with streams of blood washes away the accumulated wrong and injustice of centuries."

The country would thus get ready for a revolution. The process which could bring it about was described by the *Yugantar* (April 7, 1907):

"In almost every country the people come to be divided into the three parties before a revolution. *One* party turns traitor to the country and helps the established Government; the *second* party and this consists of the majority of the population, though hankering after freedom and prepared to make a little sacrifice for attaining it are not prepared to plunge into war for its sake; and the *third* party consists of men to whom life without freedom is a burden and who are not unwilling even to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their ideal.

"It is gradually becoming necessary to form a third party like this in every town and every village and link them together."

When the people's support has been enlisted:

"the blood that has so long sustained this body will be given as an offering to the mother on the day of worship. That is the day when the child that now lisps will roar. That is a day when the little hands that now carry toys will wield fierce weapons. O Mahakali, in the shape of death what need they fear whose Mother you are?"

Repression for Rejuvenation

The British-owned press lost all sense of decorum and decency, which also blinded its vision completely as would be evident from the following outburst of *The Pioneer* (August 1906):

"If the Bengalis acted upon the advice that is given them we would descend upon them with the fire and sword and we would shoot and hang as remorselessly as in 1857—perhaps even more so. The tiger qualities of an imperialist race are not dead, they merely sleep."

The challenge was readily accepted on behalf of the Indians by the *Hind Swarajya*, (March 2, 1907), which declared that India must attain its goal of Independence. "If we cannot acquire it in this life we shall do it in the next." The Indians would not be afraid of facing death "if we cannot break loose from the trammels of servitude during our lifetime."

There is a reward awaiting us. It goes on:

"If in our attempts to escape from our present miseries we meet death, the gates of heaven will be thrown open to us."

The torrent in its downward march from the mountain-top twits the pebbles and stones that think of holding it in check and to send it back to its source. The fulminations of the English press and British diplomats were received with the utmost ridicule and instead of being cowed down into silence and peace of death, the Indians invoked the maddening effect of repression so that they might shake off lethargy, complacency and fear from the land.

Says the *Yugantar*: (March 7, 1907):

"We do not want Peace. O Englishmen! we do not want the peace with the establishment of which you are charged. We want oppression and injustice now. Let the terrible lawlessness which has set in, continue. The flame of famine in which untold lives are daily consumed—let the flame continue for some time longer yet in the same fashion. In this death, the Indian will discover nectar. . . . Go on along the path, according to the nature which is yours. Move on scattering unrest and anarchy on all sides, and even

along with it will be sown the seeds of peace and in proper time the Indian will do the sifting and selection."

There cannot be any room for two conflicting forces living in peace in the same land. Also there cannot be the least shadow of doubt that resurgent Indian Nationalism would ultimately triumph over British Imperialism. *The Bande Mataram*, (May 14, 1907), delivered its verdict in unmistakable language:

"In India politics is a conflict of principles and of bureaucracy against the principle of mutually destructive forces,—the principle of democracy, the alien force of Imperialism against the indigenous force of Nationalism. Our relations with our rulers are not those of protector and protected, but of eater and the eaten. A man and a tiger cannot live together in the same circle of habitation, so Indian Nationalism and bureaucratic despotism cannot divide India between them or dwell together in peace. One of them must go."

The Bande Mataram sought to prove, (June 8, 1907), by numerous illustrations, the power and vitality of ideas and sentiments and pointed out that all despotic organised States invariably made the mistake of overestimating the coercive power, both physical and material, and underestimating the power of thought. The power-mad nation overlooks the inexorable law that

"nationalism, democracy, the aspiration towards liberty have feeble beginnings but a mighty end; while with despotic repressions the beginnings are mighty and the end feeble.

"History shows that despotic rule has always ended disastrously, but in spite of that, each succeeding despot deludes himself with the belief that he will never come to harm. This historic madness has overtaken the British nation in the height of its world-wide power and material greatness. In Egypt, in India, in Ireland it is bracing itself to a policy of repression, regardless of the many new ideas which find in British despotism their chief antagonist. Destiny will take its appointed course until the fated end, and it is left to be seen if England will crush these ideas with ukases and coercion laws, or kill them with maxim and siege guns."

The qualities that go to make a sturdy nation cannot develop under foreign rule. *The Yugantar*, (July 3, 1907), raises its voice of protest:

"....In whatever sphere it may be, should we owe allegiance to others permanently, our mental contraction will never terminate. Should the aliens continue to control the central part of our national life, we shall never show ourselves what we are. Only a number of loyal statesmen adept in writing petitions will be born in a country where Shivaji and Baji Rao were born."

To a nation steeped in the gloom of slavery the beneficial

effects of repression are overlooked due to the ugly appearance that it presents. One must get under the surface to realise the real value of oppression. It is a benign dispensation from the Giver of all good. The same paper wrote on July 22, 1907:

"It is not that the English are organising all this oppression for grinding you under. It is because a day auspicious for you is at hand; and that is why the beneficent mother has provided this strong treatment . . . Providence must indeed be well-disposed towards you to have made all these great preparations for you to expiate your terrible sins of centuries and centuries. Come, let us prepare ourselves smilingly to suffer unflinchingly this interminable oppression. Show to the world that the Hindu is not afraid to die, because it is by dying that he will live."

The time has arrived when all sense of false fear should be banished from the heart. A bold stand would tear away the mask of false strength. In a very simple language the *Yugantar*, (July 30, 1907), presents the whole case:

"The day the people will suspect that this house of cards cannot withstand even a single puff of the entire Indian people, that day will see the beginning of the end of British rule.

"Fear not. The symptoms of reawakening after a swoon have manifested themselves after a long while. Don't you feel that the Mother's cries have reached the abode of the Gods?"

It is an axiomatic truth, (*The Bande Mataram*: August 1, 1907), that a nation determined to regain independence would discover the source of strength in an atmosphere of enveloping weakness:

"The despots' frown never marred the destiny of a nation. The Austrians frowned but Italy is free; the Britishers frowned but the American colonists are free; the Spaniards frowned but Cuba is free. The seeming weakness of a subject people always turned into invincible strength through the inspiring ideal of freedom. Even if these persecutions bring about a temporary demoralisation, we must not lose heart. Now losing, now winning, we shall proceed to our goal."

The New Creed

Signs of restlessness manifested themselves here, there, everywhere. Ominous clouds gathered in the firmament, a phenomenon that did not fail to give a glimpse of the mighty power that lay in its womb.

The articles of the new creed were published by the *Yugantar*, (November 2, 1907), in the language of Ruskin most approvingly :

"There is no art among a shepherd people if it remains at peace. There is no art among agricultural people if it remains at peace.

"It was this all destroying peace which brought about the destruction of Rome. At the present time it is under the spell of this sorcerer that India is being reduced to impotence.

"We talk of peace and learning, and of peace and plenty, and of peace and civilization, but I found that those were not the words which the muse of history coupled together, that on her lips the words were—peace and sensuality, peace and selfishness, peace and death. I found, in brief, that all great nations learned their truth of word and strength of thought in war; and that they were nourished in war and wasted by peace; taught by war, and deceived by peace; trained by war, and betrayed by peace; in a word they were born in war and expired by peace."

People were asked to think of the glory of the past, and the instrument which made it possible to achieve it. The *Hind Swarajya*, (March 2, 1907), reminds people of "the sword of our forefathers":

"Oh favourite Sword!.... Thou shinest in the hand and hang by the side of the valiant. Thou wast the sole helper of our ancestors in the preservation of their independence."

It is the hope of the *Aryavarta*, (March 2, 1907), that the new idea would influence every class of people not excluding the military and they "will learn that it is heinous sin to shoot their own countrymen and to help foreigners to cut their throats."

Responsible journals unequivocally asked the authorities to read the writings on the wall and to take caution betimes. The *Gujrati*, (December 29, 1907), wrote:

"If Government do not yield to the wishes of people in time, they need not be surprised if, in bringing pressure to bear upon them, the people transgress the limits of the law and acts unconstitutionally."

The people had been losing faith in British administration and in fact "the Empire of the *feringhis*", was likened to a "territory that form the hell on earth" by the *Vihari*, (January 28, 1908).

It further pointed out in the same issue the different interpretation given to the word "Patriotism" in different countries. The most aggressive is that of New South Wales which is an "ability to shoot straight." Peculiarly enough, "this motto has been engraved on the main door of every school building."

The *Vihari* asks :

"Is this definition of patriotism taught in any of the Indian schools? If skill in shooting is considered essential for the preservation of independence which a people already enjoys, is it not much more essential for regaining lost independence? In California, patriotism teaches the people to drive aliens like the Japanese out of their country at the point of the bayonet. Is it not possible for the Indians to follow the example of Californians and treat the English similarly?"

Others were not slow in preaching similar idea. The *Kesari*, (February 4, 1908), went a bit further and said :

"Oppressive laws or ordinances should be defied even at the risk of incarceration. Unless we take up such an attitude we are bound to continue in our present condition of slavery."

The sands of time had been running out fast and if any opportunity for rectification went by default the country would be a play-ground of anarchism. The *Gujarat*, (February 11, 1908), uttered its warning :

"Patience has its limits. Government have of late been too hard on the people, and if anarchists spring up and the lives of officials are exposed to dangers they will have none but themselves to thank for it."

Equally emphatic was the tone of the *Navasari Patrika*, (February 9, 1908), against rule by the police and the military. It held that

"the British Government would be mistaken if through over-confidence in the military powers it holds the Indian nation to be beneath contempt."

Another sound advice, to be neglected as usual, was tendered by the *Rajasthan*, (February 8, 1908), to the effect that

"terrible consequences always result from a neglect to cultivate friendly relations with the subjects and from a policy of grinding down the people."

After the murder of de Plehve in Russia, the world received the news with horror of assassination of King Carlos, the King, together with the Crown Prince of Portugal, while driving through Lisbon. The Indian Press, at least a large section of it, regarded it as a lesson for the despotic rulers of India.

The *Arunodaya*, (February 9, 1908), remarked that

"Tyrannical rulers ought to take a lesson from the history of Portugal. It may not be wrong to assume that Government have brought about the terrible tragedy which recently occurred in Portugal with the express

object of giving a warning to those rulers who believe that they can act as they like on the strength of their power and keep their subjects under restraint by means of the sword."

Writing on the same subject the *Vihari*, (February 10, 1908), compared the conduct of the "meek and spiritless" Indians with that of "the Portuguese who did not tolerate the tyranny of the Ruler" and that King Carlos fell a prey to the fury of the oppressed subjects. "The Indians might take a leaf out of the Portuguese manual and act likewise."

"Thanks to the teachings of our religion (that) there is no possibility of any Indian assassinating his ruler," wrote the *Jain*, (February 9, 1908), but it would not, however, cause any surprise "if in the remote future such hellish practices gain a footing in India." It was pointing its finger to the events that had been brewing.

In the opinion of the *Arunodaya*, (February 16, 1908), it was incumbent on the part of the Britishers to "examine the causes which led them (the Portuguese) to perpetrate the deed and the consequences of the deed itself." It was essential, according to the paper, to find out "whether they committed it for selfish or from disinterested motives." If it is the latter, then "those who killed King Carlos were not to be blamed at all." A very bold assertion indeed!

"Old order changeth yielding place to new" and the *Kāl*, (February 28, 1908), thundered forth:

"Let kings cry out or parasites moan; the time has gone by when the people would meekly bend their necks to the royal mandate. The recent events tend to show that the murders have had a salutary effect in the country where they took place."

On March 28, 1908, the *Hind Swarajya* voiced the determination of the people:

"To secure our rights, we will do anything. We shall either acquire them or die in the attempt."

In the course of the same article it further said that

"it is now futile to try to quiet down the people by repressive measures.... The prisons are delightful to us as the Garden of Eden and we have learnt to look upon it as a pleasure to die in the struggle to secure our rights."

Surcharged

The Patriots of a subject race talk in the same language. Mazzini proclaimed to the Austrian rulers:

"You are not a national Government—that is the justification of our unyielding protest against your rule."

When arrested for sedition, the Irish patriot O'Leary said,

"England is not my native country. It cannot, therefore, be seditious on my part to go against British rule in Ireland. Can he be guilty of sedition who has no King?"

The theory of loyalty to the British as demanded under the law (of sedition) was now being questioned. It was declared that "it was not consistent with justice for an oppressive ruler to claim loyalty from the people." In the opinion of the *Yugantar*, the "masses constantly pained, oppressed and distressed" are finding out "bands of secret assassins."

It is they, the self-declared lords of India, in trying to "stamp down the children of the soil, are the promoters of violence and disorder. Strife, disturbance, repressive cruelty, retaliatory violence are inevitable until nature reasserts itself and restores to the indigenous interests their right and just predominance" (*The Bande Mataram*, July 6, 1907).

The word 'sedition' cannot have any meaning for the Indians. Because, asks the *Yugantar*, (August 2, 1907):

"If it be the united desire and will of a whole nation to shake off the foreign yoke, and to gain independence, in the eyes of the God and justice whose claim is more lawful, the Britisher's or the Indian's? Certainly, the Indian's...."

The demand for freedom was unequivocal and if

"the *feringhis* take an attitude of hostility—all the hidden strength of India will be arranged against them and a flame will be lighted up" (*Yugantar*, November 6, 1906) which no power on earth will be able to control. The stage has been reached when "we shall not be able to part with our ideal of freedom and we shall stake our lives" for the cause.

Continuing the Paper (*ibid*) exhorts the people to realise the inner strength and to break the *feringhi* trance because "a lion cub never loses the lion in it."

The public mind should be thoroughly saturated with "ideas of independence and national self-respect—an irrepressible longing must stir the heart the effect of which will be to light up a flame

of discontent all over the country (the *Yugantar*, February 2, 1907).

The ground is to be prepared through (a) Newspapers, (b) Songs, (c) Literature and (d) *Jatras*, theatres, etc.

It is not safe at this stage to preach ideas of independence openly and the services of secret organisations would be necessary. Thoughts would have to be expressed in a "round about language." A secret place "where truth may cast off its disguise and show itself in its own flaming ardour" has to be discovered. The place would be such as "the ken of the oppressor may not penetrate there" (*ibid*).

It is derogatory to self-respect to rely on British protection instead of having competence to protect oneself. They must "train themselves in physical strength and courage," (*The Bande Mataram*, March 8, 1907), "to be capable of meeting even the greatest emergency."

It would be a blunder for the *feringhi bania* to underestimate the growing "brute strength of India". But India must get ready. The Mother's "trumpet is sounding" and "Mother's sons do not tarry"; prepare the entire country for facing death. "But mere words will not avail (the *Sandhya*, May 10, 1907). Without the lathi and the bomb the *feringhi* will not be brought to his senses."

At the hands of the bureaucracy the people have been suffering a lot but the principle should be accepted that

"no suffering is too great for the country's sake, for the fulfilment of the peoples' hope and aspiration, to be ruler in their own lands" (the *Sandhya*, June 8, 1907).

The country after 700 years of foreign domination had gone to sleep and inaction. It is necessary to rouse the people up to a sense of gravity of the situation. Words are not sufficient for the purpose. "Power is developed by struggling with the opponent, (the *Yugantar*, August 26, 1907), and self-dependence comes out of it."

It is only for the purpose of having some exercise that rioting and quarrelling with the antagonist are indulged in as occasion arises. To go to jail uncomplainingly is not due merely to a desire of going to jail, or the desire of creating a sensation, but that of dispelling the fear of the people for the jail. It would be a good thing to be hanged on the gallows, if by that means the fear of

death of a class of men can be conquered. It will not do merely to cry like a woman with the distant prospect of a country's awakening. Words may serve to make the idea clear and distinct, but cannot create the trust in self-dependence.

For that purpose, discord and dissension must be invited.

"When an idea comes in the country like a flood, it does not come with the slow careful steps like the reasoned arguments of a philosopher. No nation ever made its rise with such measured calculations. The adage: 'Power dies in the jaws of fear' is ever true. Do you want to rouse the country without violating the law? Well, do it, if you can, but—

Without blood, O Patriots!
Will the country awake?"

wrote the *Yugantar* on August 24(?), 1907, that it was for the country's emancipation that repression had been overtaking the land. The people •

"like so many worms, had been awaiting death when all on a sudden with the cut of the whip, we were made to forsake drowsiness. We partially opened our eyes closed for 700 years, and saw that the bright sunshine of the morn had reflected on our face, the sky had been filled up with the hum of the busy world, and it was only we who had not risen from the bed.

"A vague idea got into our head that rise we must, and but for that rising we would have no claim to stay in the world. With the cut of the whip growing deeper day by day, we found life horrible. Maddened with annoyance and anguish we cried out, 'Is there no freedom for us?'"

At a meeting held in Kalighat, Calcutta, on October 10, 1907, a speaker openly said:

"Let the motto now be: Blow for a blow, eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth."

The *Sandhya* asks:

"How long will you tolerate oppressions lying down? And why? Will you learn to give blows for blows?"

In its *vijaya* greetings, the *Yugantar*, (November 2, 1907), asks the people to forsake fear because "the situation is completely transformed". The loud shouts of *Bande Mataram* are slowly robbing the enemy of his courage and prowess. Look around and behold the Mother appearing as the goddess Jagatdhatri and promising to kill the demons when they grow too powerful.

"Your *Swaraj* throne will be established. Go forth from cottage to cottage, to the farthest extremities and proclaim thy gospel of Victory.

"Behold the terrible form of the Mother opening her immense mouth, with her tongue protruded and wishing for the blood of the monster. Before plucking out our hearts and offering to the feet of the Mother, let us contemplate the Mother in destructive form to our heart's content. This time the Mother will not accept the sacrifice of sheep. The highest sacrifice (i.e., the sacrifice of human beings) must be offered. Therefore, make haste, you Patriot!

"Rise up, gain fame, and having conquered thy enemies, enjoy the prosperous kingdom. All these have been killed by me beforehand, be thou only an instrumental cause."

Everything has its limit and patience is no exception. When the line is crossed the heart becomes frantic for vengeance irrespective of the strength of the opponent and the outcome of the fight.

"Unlimited courage and strength are then infused (the *Yugantar*: March 21, 1908) into the heart, no look is cast behind and not for a moment does what will happen afterwards occur to the mind. At that time an excessive eagerness is born to destroy the obstacle in front. And in order to translate that eagerness into action, weapons are wielded against the opponent. Everyone, no matter whatever he may be, of the opponent's *gotra* or *gosthi* (race or family or of his lineage) is looked on as a terrible enemy. The flame of vengeance which has its origin in oppression of the people never stops short of extirpating the (entire) race of the enemy and reducing to ashes all his fame."

The Flash

The call to die had been there from the beginning of the agitation, but it is now more persistent, louder in pitch and bigger in expansiveness.

As early as August 12, 1906, a correspondent of the *Yugantar* sent the following couplet from Japan for publication:

"How can a man die beter than
facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers
and the temple of his gods."

A poem published (*ibid*) on October 28, 1906, while reminding the people of their past glory exhorted them to 'sacrifice their lives for the Motherland'.

"You will see that in exchange for one temporal life, (November 11, 1906), you gain undying and eternal existence."

Paying off dues on the spot is much better than carrying the debt to be paid on a future date.

"Return tit for tat; When you get a smite of the fists do not forget to give a kick. Then will the signs of your manhood appear. Be not afraid of death. The song that you sing with so much zest so often in public runs:

'Let life depart (O Mother) if it will
While doing your work in the world and
. . . uttering *Bande Mataram*.

"Brethren, paying off dues on the spot is pre-eminently the excellent policy" is the advice of the *Sandhya* (January 11, 1907).

The *Hind Swarajya*, (February 12, 1907), repeats this advice,

"Indians should put aside their innate docility and be ready to give tit for tat to Englishmen."

The laws of England administered in India are based on brute strength. "And if India must liberate herself it is absolutely necessary to accumulate similar strength. "There is no other way of admission into life" says the *Yugantar* (March 5, 1907).

Developing its argument the Paper writes:

"Are not then ten thousand sons of Bengal prepared to embrace death to avenge the humiliation of their Fatherland?"

"The number of Englishmen in the entire country is not more than a lakh and a half. And what is the number of English officials in each district? With a firm resolve you can bring the English rule to an end in a single day. The time has come to make the Englishmen understand that enjoying the assets of domination in another country after wrongfully taking possession of it, will not be permitted to continue for ever. Let him now realise full well that the life of a thief who steals others' properties is no longer an easy one in this country.

"Begin yielding of a life after taking a life. Dedicate your life as an offering at the temple of Liberty. Without bloodshed, the worship of the goddess will not be accomplished."

In the same issue, (March 5, 1907), the Paper advances an improved programme for collection of funds for the purchase of arms. The sources are:

- (i) Donations;
- (ii) To take money by force from the community for revolution;
- (iii) By looting Government property (there is no offence in looting for defraying expenses of establishing a future sovereign State);
- (iv) By imposition of taxes (whenever control over certain area has become possible)."

Death and Immortality have become synonymous by this time because according to the *Sandhya*, (March 30, 1907) :

"If death comes in the striving for liberation that death will be converted to immortality."

Succinctly the *Yugantar*, (May 12, 1907), puts it:

"If death comes let it come. Why should you fear death which is the general lot of humanity?"

There has been a considerable change in the attitude and action of youngmen relating to their behaviour towards Englishmen. The *Sandhya*, (May 15, 1907), reports with satisfaction:

"People are soundly thrashing a *feringhi* whenever they are coming across one. And here whenever a *feringhi* is seen the boys throw a brickbat at him as he gets the opportunity. And the thrashing of European soldiers is continuing. The *feringhis* are also getting thrashed. So to what pass they have come? Those *feringhis* who used to walk defiantly through the heart of the city are today alarmed. They all carry pistols in their pockets and generally avoid the native quarters of the city."

The time is ripe for action:

"'The combat deepens, on Ye Brave,
Unto glory or to grave.'

"Come Ye forward who would be first to lay down his life to see the Mother in her pristine glory."

The call comes from the *Yugantar*, (March 26, 1907) :

"The sorrows of the Mother clad in tatters and rolling in dust will have to be soothed; but everybody is looking for the man who will first of all lay down his perishable life for removing the Mother's shame. The path of duty is clear; what is wanted is unswerving resolution. Death is now waiting at our doors with the blessing of immortality in his hand. The Mother is anxious to see who will live today through death."

This is followed by another article under caption, *Our Hope*, (the *Yugantar*: August 19, 1907), which is more explicit in its exhortations to suffer and to die for the cause of independence:

"Is there not a single man to smash up the dream of happiness of those who by taking steps to cast newspaper editors into jail, are dreaming dreams of enjoying the happiness of a thornless rule?"

"Is there not a single man born yet who can prove that the lathi can without distinction of colour descend even on the heads of those who in Barisal are ordering the Gurkhas to ply their lathis?"

"Is there not a single young man among the millions and millions of youths in Bengal who has risen superior to the fear of death? Surely there

is; only such men have not yet revealed themselves. . . . O! the secret flower of the Mother's *mantra*, the day has come when you should shoot your death-dealing shaft! Show the few brutes who fired up with pride, stand in the way of achieving your emancipation, that the Bengali henceforward begin to take a life given. Show them that it is not impossible to efface the foreigners' footprint from Bengal in a day.

"There is not the least doubt that we shall not have to wait much longer. With divine eyes we see the goddess in her warlike attitude come and stand in the midst of her sons who are maddened with fight. Look there the terrible sword, glowing with blood, is whirling. Look there, the guerilla bands are swarming the country; there, strengthened by the blessing of the Mother, they are plundering the arsenals; there their cries of victory maddening the sky are filling the enemy with alarm; there, the vacant throne of the demon is being washed away by the waves of the Bay of Bengal."

If application of force can be defended in the case of individuals for "self-preservation" and in "self-defence", the law cannot be otherwise when applied in a larger sphere:

"If it be lawful for an individual to use physical force for self-preservation, why should it be unlawful for a nation to do the same? If it be not a sin to commit manslaughter in order to defend oneself, against thieves and dacoits, why should it be sin to kill a few men in order that a nation might become free?" (The *Yugantar* : June 9, 1907).

The stage is set. The *Sandhya*, (August 13, 1907), sends out the call:

"Come let us descend into the arena of war. We hereby summon you to battle. See what a mighty contest presently begins all over the country. The sons of the Mother are preparing themselves, all the arms *agneya* (fiery), *varuna* (watery), *vayubya* (airy) in her vaults are being polished. Hark the shouts of the fourfold arms of the Mother. Are we afraid of your cannon and guns?

"Arm, brothers, arm; the day of deliverance is near. We have heard the voice, and we cannot fail to see the chains of India removed before we die. It is now too late to recede."

The Indian 'Army of Liberation' is on its march; nobody can stop it or retard its progress. The *Sandhya*, (September 27, 1907), directs the course:

"The teaching of the *Gita* should not be lost sight of. As humble agents of God we should kill those whom He had already destroyed. God gives opportunities to all nations to free themselves from their stupor and strength to make the necessary beginning."

On the question of removing obstacles from our path the *Yugantar*, (December 28, 1907), adds:

“Kill the destroyer of your religion. Kill him who throws obstacles in the path of your duty or religion, no matter whether he is rich or poor, a zemindar, raja, officer of Government or an Emperor.”

The *Sadhya*, (October 7, 1907), prescribes a rough and ready method of retribution :

“Meetings are of no use now-a-days. It, therefore, ought to be borne in mind that all fear of jail and love of life should be banished from the heart. And as we ourselves shall commit no oppression, we should not allow others to commit any oppression. If the red-faced police or the soldiers from the fort come to oppress us, we must let them off with some of the limbs chopped off.”

“True heroism” in the definition of the *Vande Mataram*, Poona, (February 9, 1908), “consists only in sacrificing of one’s life for liberty and justice.” For the time and circumstances, this definition seems to be the most appropriate.

Destruction of enemy of the country should be regular and there is no specially suitable time for retribution. Moreover, as the *Vishvavritt*, (March 1908), says that it should be done for the good of the other fellow :

“Imbecile people maintain that they should wait calmly for the day of justice and not take revenge personally for their own wrongs. But such a policy is destructive of manhood and is opposed to religion and spiritual advancement..... The authors of our *smritis* declare the killing of felons to be no sin. The murderer, the prisoner, the person who robs others of their country and the man who slanders before the kings are felons. Felons should be killed outright..... Those who desire to make their nation a living one should devote all their virtues to the destruction of the enemy and to the development of the country.... It asks us not to show any favour to the felons, but to be prepared to destroy the enemy. To kill the enemy soon is to do him good, for if he lived longer he would be only adding to his sins.”

The ‘Drum of Time’ (*Kaler Veree*), i.e., the last phase of the struggle is approaching fast, the ‘Soldiers have forsaken the fear of death.....’ The *Yuguntar*, (March 14, 1908), sounds a note of warning :

“Or if killed you will attain paradise..... The Drum of Time is sounding..... At the sound of the drum of great Time, thousands and thousands of lives are rushing on, unsheathed sword in hand, are giving up their lives in open warfare under the influence of some unknown mad desire. There is the Drum of Time sounding, ‘Or if killed you shall attain paradise.’ And thousands and thousands of lives are jumping into the flame of battle. At the sign of the music of the battle—the Drum of great Time, souls desiring emancipation are rushing on towards paradise.”

And in fact the very next month gave out the sound of an explosion at Muzafferpore that shook the foundation of British rule in India.

Hailstones

The whole nation has fully realised that anarchy is far better than the well-regulated 'civilized slavery' of the Britishers. Now it is the question of winning a victory and the path leading thereto must be reddened with the dripping blood of the soldiers of freedom.

Blood in streams and floods will have to be shed and the *Yugantar*, (April 22, 1906), says:

"There is a whole religion in the blood; no power can exterminate the seeds of liberty when it has germinated in the blood of great men. Our religion of to-day is still that of martyrdom; tomorrow it will be the religion of victory."

Further (*ibid*):

"It may today be the duty of the people to give up their lives in silence, but who can say that it will not tomorrow be the mission of that same people to win victory in a religious war?"

It is human blood that can wash away the stigma of slavery. We must proceed step by step. "Be not afraid" (the *Yugantar*: March 3, 1907). The lessons of other countries will instil courage into our heart.

A terrible war is envisaged in our effort to remove the "Mother's irons". The *Yugantar*, (March 24, 1907), asks the people to

"prepare a throne of gold for the goddess of Kingdom who will arise after churning the sea of blood shed by millions of hearts."

The growing intensity of our suffering "shows that liberation is inevitable." All the signs which on the surface seem to go against India's interests are on the contrary favourable to us. It continues (*Yugantar*, June 23, 1907),

"The perverse intellect of the English, the frantic ravings of the loyal, the loud laughter or the scoffing words of the sceptic are to us reasons for hope rather than for despair. That in which you find reasons for discouragement or fear is to real workers rather a source of hope and encouragement. This very darkness indicates the advent of light. In this very death are embedded the germs of life. This very persecution is laying the foundations

of strength. The very bewildering cry of those in fear and in trepidation is the prelude to the harmonious lay of the future. This very cyclone will gradually thicken, gather strength and pave the way for lasting peace. Whosoever longs for an immortal object must be prepared to tread the path environed with perils."

This may be taken as a prelude as it throws just a glimpse of the shape of things to come. One should not lose heart because this is the beginning of the end (*ibid*). •

"The land will be turned into a vast cremation ground, wails will rise from every house, dogs and jackals will leap and frisk and hold revel; human heads and human skeletons will lie scattered on paths and ways; the soil of India that is green with harvest will be crimsoned with torrents of blood; the horrid dance of the goddess of battle will awake a mighty vibration in every heart; people will be scourged by hunger as keen as that which led the starving sage Viswanitra to the Chandali's hut, there to partake of dog's flesh. When people's life and property will no longer be safe, where the Brahmins and kine and the life and honour of the zenana women will be beset with perils, when the foreign civilization based and buttressed on brute force, will manifest in the fullest measure its true character, then will *Brahmanya Dev* (the God Brahma) take pity for the sake of the good of Brahmins and kine. God does not incarnate Himself so long religion does not decline and irreligion does not prevail in the fullest measure. That is why we say that the beginnings of this wrong doing, injustice, oppression, and irreligion inspire us with the hope that God will really prove gracious. People are not induced to set to work so long as they do not see prospect of progress. The very fact that we are apprehending obstacles at every step, shows that the longed for good is near at hand. We can now say, 'Faint not, nor lose heart'.

"Go to the sea-shore and mountain top; Lay hold on winds, meteors and thunderbolts; Search minutely every star in the heaven, and set to work to achieve your end.

"Then and then alone you shall be able to destroy,
To cope with your antagonists,
And to adorn with the jewel of freedom
That head wherein you bear shoes."

The following appeared in the *Yugantar*, (August 26, 1907), under the pen-name of Mad yogi:

".....I am mad and crack-brained and a sensation monger. The cup of my delight becomes full when I see unrest descending in all directions: Like deaf dumbness I cannot rest any longer. News of loot is reaching me from all quarters, and I am dreaming as if the future guerilla bands were looting money and as if the future war had commenced in the shape of petty dacoities (gang robberies)..... O Plunder! I worship you to-day; be our helpmate. You so long hid yourself like a canker in a

flower and ate away country's subsistence. Come and do again here and there, resuscitate the old martial spirit behind the public eye.... You made me promise that day that by your grace, the Indians, when they remembered and worshipped you, would get both the money to arm themselves and the military training. That is why I worship you today."

The goal is now clear and the Mother's son would advance towards it undaunted even against thousand odds. The *Yugantar*, (August 2, 1907), is absolutely certain that every Indian is determined to gain the end even he has to swim in a sea of blood.

"The Indian Empire of the English is a vain thing, 'a phantom' and the Indians suffer so much misery because of their having entertained such a grotesquely absurd lie. Ages ago the hermits of India said, 'Destroy what is untrue, and establish the truth.' This system of foreign Government based on crime and injustice is a downright untruth. Therefore, one should substitute a true *swadeshi* Government for it. Let the truth come out" and the whole fabric of lie will be torn into tatters.

The worship of the Mother is to be done in blood. Appearing in the *Daily Hitabadi*, (October 11, 1907), the following poem exhorts the people to action:

"We keep fasting all the year round,
The base-born comes and snatches away food in our
homes, and the goddess of our prosperity.
Seest thou not the *asura* (demon) who loots the
country of the son?
Descend in thy aspect of the destroyer of demons.
Let the drum of war sound
And let us to-day do the worship, terrible and grand,
in human blood."

Thunderbolt

The leaders of the new cult are not slow in thinking about weapons to fight the enemy armed to the teeth. The *Sandhya*, (May 13, 1907), throws a hint about bombs that are in the making:

"Courage does not come unless one knows what kind of preparations are being made. Many wish to know how many firearms have been collected. It is now very difficult to collect arms. A bomb is being prepared of a kind which will revolutionise the modern style of warfare.... The bomb is also very cheap and all can carry it about in their hands or pockets. But we are not in anxiety about arms. We want a band of sons of India who in spite of our present unhappy lot believe that the day of independence is approaching; who can boldly and heartily declare that they do not wish to die without seeing India free. Let all such combine."

The next day, (May 14), the same Paper gives a bit of information regarding bombs and the process of their action, but does not fail to suggest that there should be an abundant store of other kinds of indigenous missiles:

"Let every village, every quarter, every *hat*, every house be turned into a fort. Let there be lathis, sarkis (pikes), sword-sticks and daggers in all hands. Abundant supplies should be laid of bows, arrows and that of Kali Mai's *boma* (Mother Kali's bomb) of ours. It has not to be set fire to; it has simply to be thrown with a little force or dropped from a height among a band of *goondas*. As soon as it is thrown down you hear a sharp sound and ten to twenty men are brought down. It entails no cost to prepare this Kali Mai's *boma* and it does not require to be stored in large quantities. These bombs can be prepared according as they are required."

In case the *feringhis* cause breach of the peace, we will not be slow in taking revenge on them. In case they employ brutal force and endanger peace, the *Sandhya's*, (August 6, 1907), advice is "the goddess of revenge should be appeased."

"Let not the cannon or the gun inspire awe in you. Varieties of arms are scattered wide at the backdoor of the Mother's temple. You do not know how to collect them. You should set limit to the *Swadeshi*, and turn the evil spirit out. If she trespasses into the enclosure and oppresses you, he must be treated to a sound beating. When beaten the ghosts make themselves scarce. Only stick to the oath. All your doubts will be dispelled and needs be arms and ammunitions will come of themselves."

It is mock wisdom to think that "killing living beings" is always sinful. It is not so as enunciated in the *Gita*. It is rather meritorious if it is done for the protection of religion.

Foreign rule in India is the worst specimen of "untruth" and it behoves the people to procure arms for the destruction of that untruth. The all important question:

"How is it possible to procure arms for the purpose of destroying that very sovereign power under whose powerful domination one lives?" is posed and answered (*Yugantar*, August 12, 1907):

"It is not such a serious matter that it cannot be accomplished if there be firmness and earnestness. The power to manufacture arms is not limited to any particular nation. Every nation having will and perseverance can do it. In a vast country like India where there are numberless mountains and forests, it is quite possible to find out a suitable place for the purpose. Great discretion has to be exercised in the selection of such a place.

"It is beyond the power of a sovereign to keep himself informed of what anybody is doing in a secret part of a vast country."

"One can get arms by another means which has been found to work well. Many of those who have followed the Russian methods must have noticed that members of the party of the revolutionists are mixed up in the Army of the Czar and they are armed cap-a-pie ready to come over some day to the side of the revolutionists.

"During the French revolution this stratagem was found very effective. Again, when the ruling power happens to be an alien one, the revolutionists have a greater advantage. The foreign Government has to recruit most of its soldiers from among the people. Therefore, if the revolutionists secretly announce the message of independence to these native soldiers, a noble work will be done. When at least they have to encounter the Imperial Power, the revolutionists not only gain the well-trained native soldiers, but also get benefit of the arms and ammunition which the Imperial Power gave the soldiers. Besides all the courage of the ruling power can be destroyed by exciting a serious alarm in its mind."

There is still another source which can be tapped easily but must be done with a good deal of caution. The gun-makers of every land would be too glad to sell arms to revolutionists because they form a big group of customers. The Paper proceeds in the same issue (August 12, 1907) :

"It is a stern fact that for the protection of self-interest Western tradesmen can do anything. In fact, the gun-makers derive more profit from the supply of guns to revolutionists than from any other source. If lakhs of guns be sold in a day, the proceeds certainly do not amount to a trifle, and one to be ignored. Especially if the big gun-makers cannot get to supply their commodity in this manner, it becomes impossible for them to carry on their trade for any length of time. As the Government has got its own workshops, it has not to purchase arms and ammunitions from others. And a big firm cannot subsist on a stray buyer or two. Hence gun-makers have to side with the revolutionists. But one should be very cautious, when he has to import arms in the manner suggested. Because, if the Raj once become aware of the state of things, it will adopt all the precautionary measures in its power and the work of the revolutionists will thus be retarded."

The Clarion Call

(1895-1908)

The call for preparing oneself for a sanguinary struggle by denial of all comforts and leisure, keeping always ready for any emergency, facing death in the glamour of sacrifice came from poets who flooded the country with songs that breathed fire of patriotic fervour. The Bengali youths splendidly responded to the call as was evidenced by the number of men who came forward boldly and enthusiastically to participate in actions which could lead but to the gallows.

There were a lot of them and each seemed to excel the other in his performance. Poems of Rabindranath, Dwijendralal, Atul Prasad, Rajani Kanta gave expression to the past greatness and present miseries of the Motherland. There was a call for unity, devotion, culture of self-respect for going forward with firm step against endless odds. They never crossed the borderland of caution, never suggesting, even remotely, violence to self or to others.

The group of poets that inspired breath to the living corpse of Indian nationhood was a legion. Most of their songs were banned as soon as they became known but were at once put into the storehouse of memory of those who had the chance of audition or perusal. Some of the specimens are:

"Teach me, O Mother! to attach the least value to life, so that it can feel blessed by its own dedication. Teach me to serve at your feet, to sacrifice life before everybody else. Make me the spearhead of the vanguard of your servants, O Mother!

* * * * *

"Let me see whether the flow of my life-blood can rouse new recruits in the soil sanctified by the touch of your feet.

* * * * *

"Come all Ye who would die.... Like a devotee and not as a man already dead. There can be no nervousness in killing the demons. The howlings of wild animals should not deter us and inject trepidation into our hearts.... Heedless of the immense density of the forests fraught with peril, who would embrace danger with open arms? Come and die like heroes slaying the ruthless foes.

* * * * *

"There will be a severe test whether you have your baptismal of fire.

You are treated with contempt and trampled under the feet by the enemy. Are you capable of burning the enemy or be consumed yourself in the fire; to cover the Universe with the ashes (of the 'enemies and the martyrs)?.... To conquer the enemy, embrace death and prove thereby that you have had your proper baptismal. Hideous looking death is proceeding apace. Marching through the dark dense boundless forests whether you would grasp the sharp-edged sword in your dark-skinned hand (to meet the foe valiantly)?

* * * * *

"Come Ye! all, maddened with the joy for embracing death; to mix poison with the smoke of the cremation ground (to make it terribly deadly). The Motherland gives you the call to die. Are you prepared to obey the order or not?.... National humiliation has assumed mighty proportions and the stigma can only be removed through the path of death."

—*Bejoy Chandra Majumdar*

"Initiated in the cult of *shakti* our heads are bowed low at the feet of the dauntless Mother.... We are not afraid to shed our own or cause the spilling of blood of our enemies.... In the clanging of war the Mother comes; 'satisfied her sword is in the shedding of steaming blood and decimating foes."

—*Barada Charan Mitra*

"Like the sacrificial fire let many millions of human lives that are nearly dead burn aglow. O Mother! Your sons will adore your saintly image with their life-blood."

—*Kusum Kumari Das*

"If you want to sacrifice your life, O Madcap! offer it at once. You would seldom find a more suitable occasion to make a present of yourself to protect your self-respect."

—*Jatindra Mohan Bagchi*

"In the change of the cycle of time, come Ye Mother Chandi! to punish the dreadful demons. The Devils with unparalleled force dismember your body into pieces."

—*Kali Prasanna Karmabisharad*

"Throw away, Mother! all adornments set with jewels; put on a necklace of severed heads of human beings.... Put aside the golden flute and betake thou to the mad sword and quench your thirst with the blood of demons slain by You."

—*Harish Chandra Chakrabarti*

"Come Ye dancing, the Presiding Deity of War, in the midst of your sons with the full panoply of a devastating war.... Teach us the hideous strategy of the battle by infusing the heart with indomitable courage.... We

will place a garland of human heads torn asunder from the trunk of the enemies and adorn you with human bones from head to foot. We will churn the ocean of blood today and bring up the priceless jewel of Independence on the surface. Awake! Mother! the War Incarnate, and we will place our offering at your feet."

—*Kshirode Chandra Ganguli*

"Enthusiatically sacrifice millions of heads with the sweet smile on your lips. Let there be millions of swords dangling over your heads. Pay no heed to the approach of death or to terrible phantoms out to scare you away from predestined way."

—*Manilal Ganguli*

"Inflame the heart of one and all with the spark of your dedicated life. Everything that smacks of selfishness, dissensions, fear of death should be reduced to ashes through the fire (of sufferings)."

* * * *

"Who is there who would bravely face all possibilities of danger, oppression, thunderbolts descending from Heaven and death and bear all those calmly even when the limbs are dismembered and torn to pieces."

—*Debabrata Basu*

"Accept him as the worthy son of the Mother who would immolate himself by offering his body and soul to wipe away the miseries of the Motherland. He would be recognised as the only person who had paid back the debt he owed to the Mother."

—*Debabrata Basu (?)*

"The down-trodden Bharata wants you, O Murari! the Holder of the (wheel) Sudarshana, to reappear in India. . . . Come with the terrible sword in hand to flood the world with the blood of the enemy. Come Ye, the destroyer of the shackles that hold India in bondage."

* * * *

"Bring each and every son of the Mother under the unfurled flag fluttering in the sky. Let India adopt a new tune. Come, Ye! in a new attire to flood the world with the enemy's blood."

—*Kamini Kumar Bhattacharyya*

Patriotic Associations

(1905-1908)

National Education

The leaders of the Anti-Partition Movement were not sitting idle while advocating boycott of schools and colleges. On November 16, 1905, the National Council of Education was constituted with the object "to impart and promote imparting of Education—Literary and Scientific, as well as Technical and Professional—on national lines . . . attaching special importance to a knowledge of the country, its Literature, History and Philosophy and designed to incorporate with the best original ideals of life and thought the best assimilable ideals of the West and to inspire students with a genuine love for and a real desire to serve the country."

A Provisional Committee entrusted to draw up a scheme for the purpose submitted its report on December 2, 1905, which was accepted by "the Council" on March 11, 1906. The "Council" was registered on June 1, 1906 under Act XXI of 1860. The Bengal National College was inaugurated on August 14, 1906. It was a great challenge to the Circulars intended to restrict the activities of the students and their teachers and to punish the institutions that dared flout the humiliating conditions intended to be imposed over their internal working or management by the Government.

Anti-Circular Society

To counter the evil effects of the infamous Circulars relating to participation of students in politics and their punishments, an Anti-Circular Society was formed by Rama Kanta Ray, a Mining Engineer, during the Barisal Conference composed mainly of boys rusticated from schools. They were to serve as volunteers during the session of the Conference. These boys in the language of *The Englishman*, (December 13, 1907), "earned a name . . . through police thrashing".

The formation of a body of selfless workers were deemed by the leaders to be absolutely necessary to enforce the boycott by picketing and for looking to the comforts and convenience of the

participants in gatherings of vast magnitude where great strain and stress were involved.

National Volunteers

Within a short time the Anti-Circular Society took shape in the *Brati Samiti* and the *Bande Mataram Samprodaya*. A number of *samitis* or *akhra*s (i.e. athletic clubs) now sprang up in Calcutta and some places in the adjoining districts of Bengal. A correspondent from Comilla wrote to *The Englishman*, (May 17, 1907), on May 16, that

"there is evidence to show that the majority of the *akhra*s have been started mainly for the purpose of training the *Bande Mataram* and the *Brati* people in the use of arms, particularly of the *lathi*, spear, sword, and *goopti* or sword-stick. *Gooptis* are now manufactured and sold openly everywhere."

It was also recognised by the Government (*The Administration of Bengal under Sir Andrew Fraser*, 1903-08, p. 15-16) that "in these clubs young men and boys went through a course of physical training, drill and discipline, and set to work to train themselves in *lathi*-exercises and wrestling. The members of these clubs were called National Volunteers; and the idea seems to have been that they would form a trained body able to resist force with force, and available for other purposes of offence and defence."

It continued:

"They were also used for other purposes, some being sent as messengers between those interested in keeping up the movement, others to collect funds, and others as emissaries to spread their propaganda."

These volunteers in their own way served a very useful purpose and were deemed to be essential to keep up the spirit of resistance against the Government. It is now known that not a few of the members of the corps were prominent in action that followed and struck terror in the hearts of the British Officials.

Announcement in newspapers proved

"that recruiting would be made and military training would be imparted openly in military strategy, wireless telegraphy, archery, target shooting" and the like.

To implement the scheme appeals were issued in public meetings to dedicate one boy from each family to "practise *Kshatriya dharma* and lay down his life" for the Motherland when called upon to do so.

Barisal, Conference

(1906)

The Government lost all sense of proportion. The incidents at Barisal displayed the barbaric attitude of the authorities in utter nakedness. From the very start of the movement Barisal acquired great fame for having passed through tremendous suffering with a spirit of unparalleled courage. It was thought by the leaders to signalise their appreciation of its fortitude in the face of atrocities of the police and the imported Gurkhas by holding a huge political conference in the district. Arrangements were completed according to plan.

The Government in the meantime came out with a fiat that the organisers should have nothing to do with *Bande Maratam*. It was a most difficult situation. After consultations amongst the organisers the Conference was held on April 14, 1906, in a tense atmosphere. Almost from the start it was apprehended that the Government and the people might come into an open clash. And in fact, they did.

The Government threw off its mask and repression was let loose in all its hideousness, furnishing the people with an opportunity to win a unique moral victory over brute force. The credit was monopolised by the leaders and their followers inasmuch as they remained absolutely calm and non-violent in the face of the greatest provocation. The technique of civil resistance was resorted to and practised on a large scale for the first time on the Indian soil with signal success. Barisal laid the foundations of the non-violent warfare that played such an important part in the future struggle of India under the able leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

The proceedings of the Conference had had to be terminated abruptly and the major part of the programme was consequently abandoned. Some of the persons assembled on the occasion including the leaders suffered incredibly severe physical torture and blood flowed freely as a result of assault. The hosts as well as the chief guests had to pass through Magisterial indignities, criminal prosecution not excluded, but the cry of *Bande Mataram*

could be heard over the din of police vociferations and the thud of falling *lathis* on human heads. The young and the old were treated alike in the mad orgy of violent attacks on an unarmed and absolutely peaceful crowd that had nothing to defend themselves with except an indomitable courage in the face of odds, and a love of the Motherland that was to them greater than Heaven.

Thus the seed of armed revolution was sown afresh in the soil of Barisal furrowed by Government atrocities and irrigated by the flow of blood of the martyrs on the memorable *Fourteenth Day* of April in the year of the Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Six.

The hero of the fight was Surendra Nath Banerjea, the uncrowned King of nationalist India. He was singled out for discourteous treatment by the Magistrate and on his return from the field of battle unscathed, the *Punjabee* published the following poem written by one Ram Sharma on April 25, 1906:

"He comes! the conquering hero comes:
Sing paeans, bother! sound the drums!
Ye! men and women of Bengal,
With patience wait the tyrant's fall.

The scales have fallen from your eyes,—
On! On! where path of honour lies,
On! On! if needed, freely bleed,—
For, patriot's blood is freedom's seed."

About three months before the fateful Barisal Conference *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, (January 13, 1906), openly said that any other place than Barisal "which was first to suffer" and suffer terribly would have met "lawlessness with lawlessness, if not with actual anarchy."

The Indian Empire warned, (April 10, 1906), the people of Barisal speaking about the Government oppression that was likely to come, and asked the organisers of the Conference

"to decide whether people should adhere to the present mendicant policy or rely on the strength of their strong right arm to bring about the realisation of their national aspirations."

and ended with the significant remark:

"Whining may extort the contemptuous pity, but never the respect of those in power."

Just after the Conference had been forcibly disbanded, the *Sandhya* posed the question

"whether it is well to submit to being assaulted like so many heads of cattle or sheep, or whether it is better for self-defence to wield *lathis* in return for *lathis*."

The spirit of defiance and little care for life began to be preached by the newspapers, the reflection of the people's mind, and the *Sri Sri Bishnu-Priya O Ananda Bazar Patrika* wrote on April 19, 1906, that

"it is necessary to apprise the Government betimes of the fact that they are slowly learning now-a-days to think lightly of death."

The outward manifestations were of

"a terrible storm passing all over the country, infusing rashness in all minds. A crisis is approaching, and if a repetition of the late incidents at Barisal occur anywhere else, the probability is that the people will on that occasion reckon not much of their own lives"

Though the people of India, especially the Bengalis, are by nature meek and tolerant, they are quite as sensitive as the people of other nations, and in such a case the "discontent that has been sown will sink deep into their hearts and result in future trouble", wrote *The Bengalee* on April 20, 1906. It went further:

"Another and a greater Ireland has been created, and the faith of the country in constitutional methods of agitation has been dissipated."

The same Paper dilated the point on April 21:

"Outrage so cowardly, so unprovoked and so brutal" that it had been able to drive "a docile and law-abiding people to the verge of universal, perhaps dangerous discontent."

The mass of the people has a limit of tolerance and it should be remembered by the authorities that

"Brute force must beget brute force, and where the baton and the regulation *lathis* replace intelligence and sane statesmanship, people naturally ignore constitutional methods.... Thus the Government of East Bengal is creating a very critical situation for itself and is likely to be paid back in its own coin."

Throwing off the mask the *Yugantar* came out thundering on April 22, 1906:

"The thirty crores of people of India must raise their hands to stop this course (Barisal happenings) of oppression. Force must be met by force."

It was now apparent that the atrocities at Barisal had spread the flame of indignation throughout the length and breadth of India and the *Sandhya*, (April 28, 1906), urged the people to give expression to their wrath by saying that "cease betaking yourselves like women for good."

The inward feeling of indignation must 'find expression outwardly in anger'; because

"useless indignation like the present is a disgrace to the national character. Patience is not good under all circumstances; feelings of revenge are also necessary in the struggle of life. Revenge is the one unfailing healer of national humiliation."

The venom of insult generated by the Barisal incidents must be eradicated not by mere speeches. It is a well-known fact that "poison can only be destroyed by poison only. The poison of humiliation can be counteracted by poison of revenge."

The outside world might not know the inhuman atrocities committed on the people, contended the *Hitvarta*, (April 29, 1906), but it was of the opinion that

"had it been any other part of the world, the head of Emerson (the offending Magistrate) severed from his trunk would have rolled on the street. Had the manner in which this shameless creature treated gentlemen holding higher position than himself been followed in any other country by any shameless person, his bones would have been crushed to pieces...."

The future was very bleak and it was apparent on the surface that

"arms will be used against arms. The blood of the inoffensive children will be washed with the blood of the white men and the oppressors,.... Even the worm will bite when pressed hard. How long the people of this country will have patience?"

The Paper gave a very lurid picture of things to come unless the offenders be punished. It continued:

"We fear that the *Swadeshi* movement may now take another turn. If instead of *Bande Mataram* the severed head of Emerson be hanged on a flag-staff, it will not be good either for the people or their rulers. Now we warn Government if the barbarous devils in human form be not punished, if the insolence of these men be not brought down, the fire which will be kindled will be extinguished with the blood of thousands of men. What we fear is this."

The inflammatory language of all nationalist newspapers and the sullen temper of the people alerted the District Magistrate about

future trouble and he prohibited any person from carrying between the hours of sunset and sunrise any sword-stick, stick, or bamboo which is more than three and half feet in length or one inch in diameter, in certain streets, bazars and the steamer ghat.

Everything was being done on the plea of maintaining Law and Order and *The Bande Mataram*, (June 5, 1907), interpreted the terms in its inimitable way:

"The Britisher's word is Law; his very presence and existence in India (is) a signal for the suppression and suspension of many patriotic activities. Reconciliation with foreign despotism is perfect Order. It is the height of impertinence to be begging and asking. It is criminal to insist on the undoing of bureaucratic actions. To wish for our eternal serfdom is prudence and peacefulness. To think ourselves irremediably unfit is wisdom and moderation. To imagine ourselves a nation is madness. To love our country is superstition. To work for its emancipation is sedition."

It concluded, therefore, that

"the new nationalism with its boycott and Swadeshi, national education and Swaraj, is subversive of law and order, religion and morality, justice and fairplay, obedience and discipline."

The Papers began to be more outspoken and all shades of opinion pointed the finger to one direction, revenge and blood.

The Bengalee wrote on June 15, 1906:

"....It was Emerson who wrote how the brave Lovejoy gave his breast to the bullets of a mob for the right of free speech and opinions and died when it was better not to have lived.

"This same sentiment is prevalent in the Indian mind today. The people know that political freedom can only be gained by the blood of martyrs, and they are prepared to pay the price."

There is open invocation to brute strength because the English "have broken the law". The duty of the people then is:

"Learn to be *goondas* yourselves. Gather brute strength yourselves. Remember that the English revere the strong and are like death itself to the weak."

Once the people is awakened to the sense of serfdom and try to snap the shackles of bondage it can never be suppressed. The people might be "sent to jail, transported and hanged, drawn and quartered" but they cannot abandon the cause which they have made their own wrote the *Bangabasi* (quoted in *The Englishman* on September 2, 1907):

"Depend upon it, patriotism has a perennial spring. They are so to speak, seeds of blood which are above destruction, and even multiply on an attempt at their destruction. A hundred men will rise where a single person is imprisoned."

When repression was in full swing and defiance of the law and retaliation for grievances, real or otherwise, had been a matter of common event, Romesh Chandra Dutt expressed his considered views in *The London Times* on June 10, 1908, saying that people were not the only element to blame and coercion was certainly not the only remedy to bring the situation under control:

"The Partition of Bengal was not of Sir Bampfylde's doing nor was it effected by the present Government—they are the sad inheritors of its results. When there was an outburst of feeling against that measure, an impression was created . . . that a counter agitation would find favour. This was setting class against class and sect against sect, and the result was an outbreak or rioting, plunder, and unnamable outrages in East Bengal, such as has not been witnessed in times of peace in British India within fifty years and more that I can myself remember.

"It was then that large classes of people began to feel that they could hope for no redress, that they would get nothing but coercion. Disappointment sank into despair, and ideas of crime were generated.

"Crime must be repressed and repressed with a strong hand; . . . But is repression alone the proper remedy for the state of things described above? It has been tried with greater severity than Sir B. Fuller thinks during the last twelve months, and has failed. It will always fail, for in India, as in Ireland, coercion alone is no remedy."

Wrote Aurobindo at the time:

"Tyrants have tried but have they ever succeeded in repressing the natural love of freedom in man? Repressed, it has grown in strength; crushed under the heel of the tyrant, it has assumed a myriad forms and in successive incarnations gained in strength and inspiration from repeated failures and endless suffering, it has risen finally, to overthrow its oppressor for good; this is the teaching of history; this is the message of Humanity.

"But like the scriptural adder, tyrannies have eyes but they see not, have ears but they hear not, and the universal teaching of history and the eternal message of humanity are both lost on them. And the car of progress has, through human folly and perversity, to wade through blood and ruin on earth."

Congress Rift

(1893-1907)

The Trend

While Tilak and Paranjpe had been preaching extremism in their own way starting with Shivaji Utsab and the Poona Plague, Aurobindo, long before he came to political limelight, had a vision of things to come and the way in which they were going to affect the political activities of future India. As far back as 1893 when the political leaders of the time had been preaching moderation and the role of the educated classes was limited to the upliftment of the illiterate masses by degrees and stages, Aurobindo wrote (Ray Chaudhuri, G.: *Aurobinda () Swadcschi Yug*, pp. 68-69) in the *Indu Prakash* on September 18, 1893, that the self-appointed leaders would better not forget the lessons of history of a country, i.e., France, where the "ignorant proletariat" through "purification of blood and fire—blotted out in five terrible years the accumulated oppression of thirteen centuries." Further, the history, he added, that of Ireland, Italy, America, etc., told not a different tale. After what Aurobindo had said, it became apparent to the discerning and the intelligent classes that sooner or later a mass armed revolution, some sort of a violent expression of the national sentiment, was in the offing.

The controversy over moderate and extremist politics inside the Congress had not yet openly raised its head, but the *Kal* gave a picture of power slipping into the hands of the masses. It wrote in its issue of January 8, 1904:

"The so-called National Congress which has been holding its sittings year after year is not really a 'National' Congress. It is only composed of a section of those persons whom Englishmen are pleased to call educated and as the majority of them are entirely subservient to Englishmen, the Congress will most probably remain in its present condition and will never be able to render any good to the country. There is, however, another Congress which has not yet met. But when it does meet, no one will dare oppose its demands. In that Congress the speakers will not deliver their speeches by word of mouth, nor will the delegates composing it recline on chairs in a grand *mandap*, for it would be impossible to provide chairs for thirty crores of delegates. The present Congress is composed of educated class, but the

Congress to which we allude, will be composed of uneducated masses. No one will venture to disregard the resolutions passed by this last mentioned Congress. In that Congress the delegates will be driven on to their work by hunger felt by thirty crores of people. The right asked for by thirty crores of people will be demand for food. Deeds not words, will be their motto. As yet no one knows for certain when such Congress will meet. There is, however, no doubt that both the Government and the educated men of this country are paving the way for its assembly."

While the partition agitation grew in intensity leading towards birth of revolutionary societies, the Indian National Congress had been showing marks of drifting towards extremism in the shape of more direct action. The leaders controlling the Congress at the time were not slow to mark the change and the two main resolutions of the Congress were accepted as a measure of compromise passed at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress in December 1906 between the Moderates and Extremists.

The first of these ran as follows :

"Having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that province was and is legitimate."

The second was :

"This Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies should be extended to India."

Even this small demand was resented by the influential Papers in England. In early January 1907, *The Times* declared that the last session of the Congress "was not likely to add to its reputation and influence both in India and abroad. A split", continued the Paper, "between the extremists and the moderates was only averted by moderates adopting largely the extremists' policy." It wanted to stress upon the folly of Dadabhai Naoraji's claim to self-government like the colonies by saying,

"Since India has been won by the sword and is held in the last resort, by the sword, it was well for the small highly educated classes represented at the Congress that the sword stands between them and their native enemies." (*The Englishman*, January 4, 1907).

Needless to say the remarks of *The Times* added the necessary fuel to the fire of resentment then prevailing.

The resolutions of 1906 failed to produce the requisite atmosphere of peace between the two contending forces in the Congress. In 1907, the plenary session of the Congress was to have been held in Nagpur but the differences between the two outstanding schools of thought, viz., the moderate and the extremist, became so pronounced and gradually bitter, that it was thought advisable to shift the venue to Surat so that the session could be held in a calmer atmosphere, far away from Tilak's sphere of influence.

The newspapers and periodicals began to appear in support of the two opposing views with a greater and greater emphasis on the respective ideology and outside Bengal, this was marked by the appearance of the *Hind Kesari* in May, 1907, with the aim of spreading among Hindi-speaking people as well as the Mahrathas, the views expressed by Tilak's Mahrathi *Kesari* published in Poona. The articles expressed extreme views to the extent of supporting violence under the cover of a thin veil of constitutional agitation, that could not conceal its motives.

The *Hind Kesari* found a good sojourner in the common path of exciting journalism in the *Desh Sevak* which ably sponsored the cause of violent extremism.

Midnapore Conference

Shortly before the Surat Congress the Midnapore Political Conference held on December 7, 1907, cast a shadow of the coming events inasmuch as the leaders of Bengal met there only to disperse not only without doing any serious business but with open breach in their ranks. The extreme views supported the movement for social boycott, establishment of *akhras* as part of defence associations and demanded *Swaraj* pure and simple, all of which the moderates stoutly opposed. In particular, they were not prepared to ask anything more than *Swaraj* on the line of colonial government.

Further indications of the gathering storm were not wanting. On December 15, 1907, a meeting held in College Square, Calcutta, led by Aurobindo amongst others suggested the name of Lala Lajpat Rai as President of the next session of the Congress, where the name of Rash Behari Ghose had already been circulated. Lalaji declined to be drawn into the controversy and the matter was put to rest for the time being.

Surat Congress

The Congress Session at Surat could not be held due to disturbances, each party accusing the other for the failure; and it was suspended *sine die* on December 27, 1907. The moderates issued a manifesto on the same date inviting delegates to a Convention to be held on a future date who would subscribe to the view of "attainment by India of self-government like that of the self-governing dominions" and "advance towards this goal by strictly constitutional means by bringing about steady reform of the existing system of administration".

It is needless to say that the Surat split added a great impetus to the revolutionary spirit of India leading the way towards violent acts. The mind of the people, at least of a large section of it, was getting round towards direct action as evidenced by the tremendous increase in circulation of newspapers publishing such views and the large and larger gathering at meetings held by the exponents of extremism.

The subsequent vicissitudes through which the Congress passed in later years made it possible to demand complete Independence in the Lucknow Congress in 1920 and it rapidly moved towards direct non-violent action in 1921, 1930 and 1942 under Gandhiji.

It took a long time for the Congress to decide whether to abjure support to the action of the revolutionists. It adopted a policy of expressing appreciation of the motive but condemnation of the act itself. Gradually and under the influence of Gandhiji it completely withdrew support to any outrage associated with the freedom's battle.

The Printed Lines of Flame

The Gita

When a nation is stirred to its depths and pledges everything for the attainment of independence, the atmosphere created by the demand draws nourishment not only from new sources, but it hunts up the old traditional ones for inspiration that readily appeals to subtle emotions of the people both young and old.

The *Gita*, a part of the great *Mahabharata*, had been in existence from time that is past for how many thousand years, nobody can say with any definiteness. Amongst the religious books of the Hindus, the *Gita* has been regarded as containing the quintessence of spiritual thoughts and teachings. A resurgent Bengal in the background of a national upheaval gave it a new orientation. It came to be regarded as a "Scripture of the *Karmayoga*, a Light leading us on the path of action, a Gospel of Work." Because of its continual insistence on action it was deemed suitable for breaking the stupor that had overtaken India in its grips. Gradually other aspects receded, at least for the time being, from view. The *Gita* exhorts a fighter to go into action

"for the protection of the weak and the oppressed and for the maintenance of right and justice in the World To shrink from such a duty—to speak of avoidance of a fight, is confusion of mind and delusion, a weakness of the heart, an unmanliness, a fall from the virility of the fighter and the hero."

It further declared that

"there is continually a struggle between right and wrong, justice and injustice, the force that protects and the force that violates and oppresses, and when this has once been brought to the issue of physical strife, the champion and the standard bearer of the Right must not shake and tremble at the violent and terrible nature of the work he has to do; he must not abandon his followers or fellow-fighters, betray the cause and leave the standard of Right and Justice to trail in the dust and be trampled into mire by blood-stained feet of the oppressor, because of a weak pity for the violent and cruel and physical horror of the vastness of the destruction decreed." (Sri Aurobindo: *Essays on the Gita*, 1959, p. 86).

The great Tilak made good use of its teachings in the political field for the first time in India. He found that to achieve the goal

it was necessary "to reawaken not only the political mind, but the soul of the people by linking its future to its past", and what literature could do it more effectively than the *Gita* which had emanated from the "lotus-mouthed" Padmanabha—God Sri Krishna:

"Never give up yourself unto despondency or despair. Buck up. It is disreputable, un-Aryan and unworthy of the (bliss of) Heaven (un-heavenly) not to think of a fight when the cause is just. Never to think of the results, good, bad or indifferent, but work on ceaselessly and no sin is attached to him who can work with the same spirit."

The God is with the fighters and human agencies are necessary to act as instruments (*nimitta matra*). Because, hasn't the Lord said:

"Wherever there is decay of righteousness, O Bharata! and there is exaltation of unrighteousness, then I send forth (incarnate myself) for the protection of the good, for the destruction of the evil-doers, for the firm establishment of righteousness, I am born from age to age." (Lord Zetland: *The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 124).

It may be stated that these words falling from the lips of the Lord was accepted as the motto of the *Yugantar*, that had done more than any other printed matter for ushering in Indian Revolution into the field of reality.

The *Ananda Math*

In all its aspects the *Swadeshi* Movement, because that was the name given to the convulsive agitation against the Partition, derived strength from a particular book the *Ananda Math* of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the *rishi* of modern India. He gave India "the reviving *mantra* which is creating a new India, the *mantra*, *Bande Mataram*." The "new nationalism which *Bande Mataram* reveals" as Bepin Chandra Pal said, "is not a mere civic or economic or political ideal. It is religion."

The *Ananda Math* was published in 1882 and the poem beginning with the two words, *Bande Mataram*, "Hail Thee! Mother!" or "Hail! Motherland!" or simply "Mother, I bow to Thee!" was composed even earlier. The *mantra* in the song, as Aurobindo said, "breathed ecstasy at the contemplation of the Motherland in all its beauty, serenity and glory."

Because of an amalgam of Sanskrit and Bengali words it was not very well received by some eminent litterateurs, Bankim's friends, of the time. Bankim persisted in believing in its great future and incorporated it in his novel. If it had at the time of publication failed to rouse not a tithe of the great emotion that it could evoke in later years, gradually it assumed the rank of the National Anthem of India. *Bande Mataram* served as a battle-cry "not only of the revolutionary societies but of the whole of nationalist Bengal, which differed from the societies in method only, and not in aim." (Lord Zetland: *The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 144).

Aurobindo translated the whole poem into English and presented it to the struggling nations of the whole world and named Bankim as one of the Makers of Modern India. In the language of Aurobindo:

"No nation can grow without finding a fit and satisfying medium of expression for the new self into which it is developing—without a language which shall give permanent shape to its thoughts and feelings and carry every new impulse swiftly and triumphantly into the consciousness of all. It was Bankim's first great service to India that he gave the race which stood in its vanguard such a perfect and satisfying Medium" (Sri Aurobindo: *Bankim, Tilak and Dayananda*, 1947, p. 9).

It has been aptly said that

"Bankim had a positive vision of what was needed for the salvation of the country. He saw that the force from above must be met by a mightier reacting force from below,—the strength of repression by an insurgent national strength. He bade us to leave the canine method of agitation for the leonine" (*ibid*, p. 10).

But what are the elements which would be able to uphold his ideas? They are to be *byragees*, mendicants, whose whole existence is to be based on *tyaga* "complete self-sacrifice for the country and complete self-devotion to the work of liberation." He inculcated through the pages of this immortal novel, the strict rules of association, perfect organisation and the "third element of moral strength" in which there must be "infusion of religious feeling into patriotic work." Who can deny that "the religion of patriotism is the master idea of Bankim's writings?"

In the *Ananda Math* itself Bankim says through the mouth of a *Sannyasin* (Bhabananda) that

"we do not recognise any other Mother. To us the Mother and the

Motherland are greater than Heaven.' We declare that the Motherland is the real Mother. We have got no mother, no father, no brother, no friend, no wife, son, habitation, etc. We have only our Mother 'richly-watered, richly-fruited, cool with the winds of the south, dark with the crops of the harvests, the Mother'."

In the same chapter Bhabananda says, with regard to the plundering of the State money:

"We do not commit theft or dacoity. The money would be (misused) taken by (a foreign) king. He has practically no claim over the money. One who does not administer the country (in the interests of sons of the soil) he loses his claim to be called as the monarch of the land."

And the question (from his companion, Mahendra) that "in such incidents there is every chance of losing one's life", was met by the tart reply that, "One does not die twice in a lifetime." This is the way, as if indicated by the direction of the finger, to salvation. It causes awakening, as if in a flush, from long delusions and *Bande Mataram* was on the lips of those who had been undergoing more cruel form of torture, of being flogged on the rack over bare bodies or had been climbing the steps leading to the scaffold.

Bhawani Mandir

Bhawani Mandir (The Temple of Bhawani) written by Aurobindo and published in 1905, sets out the aims and objects of the revolutionaries. It exhorted the readers to invoke the blessings of *Shakti* (physical, mental, moral and spiritual strength) so that they might become fit soldiers for the fight for freedom. It openly preached the gospel of force as the prerequisite to national emancipation. Japan had shown the way which in some detail might be followed with profit. But he must base his struggle on a solid foundation of religion. Attached to the temple of Bhawani (or Kali) "far from the contamination of modern cities and as yet little trodden by man," there should be organised a new order of *karma-yogis* always ready to renounce everything in the cause of the Mother. The foundation of the New Order should be absolutely above all weaknesses. The knowledge enshrined in the mighty formula of the ancient gospel of the *vedanta* should be striven for attainment. It was optional for the political devotees to become *Sannyasis* (ascetics). Most of them were to be

brahmacharis (unmarried for life) who would return to the *garhastya ashram* (the family life) when the aim i.e. the liberation of India from the foreign yoke had been reached. The combination of the religious, political and social views was clearly brought out in the rules given in some detail. It is apparent the idea was taken from the *Ananda Math* of Bankim Chandra, a reference to which has already been made.

Everyone who called himself an Indian should endeavour to make India greater than what she was in the past so that she may fulfil her destiny reserved for her, for the salvation of humanity. The future religion—a harmonious synthesis of all religions of the whole world, was to emanate from India with the ultimate object of forging mankind into one race owing allegiance to one world religion. The philosophical side of the treatise has been expressed in the following words:

"In the unending revolutions of the world, as the wheel of the Eternal turns mightily in its courses, the Infinite Energy which streams forth from the Eternal and sets the wheel to work looms up in the vision of man in various aspects and infinite forms. Each aspect creates and marks an age" (Langley, G. H. *Sri Aurobindo*, p vii)

The teachings of the *Bhawani Mandir* influenced the revolutionary societies of Bengal in a very large measure. They combined the idea of Russian method of revolutionary violence with the principles advocated in the book. For a long time the two went hand in hand but due to the exigencies of the situation, the spirit of violence got the uppermost and it was found difficult to cling to the religious aspect of the movement.

To the above may be added the names of two other books, *Lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi* by Jogendra Nath Vidyabhusan, and *Swadhinatar Itihasu* (History of Independence) by Durga Charan Sanyal, which crept into every nationalist home and were read with great interest by every young man with patriotic sentiments.

Mukti Kon Pathe

The *Gita* and the *Ananda Math*, combined with the inspiring message of Vivekananda roused the people to a state of national consciousness not known before. Literature—prose, poetry, songs, drama, cartoons, leaflets combined with newspapers support-

ing the cause made their appearance in thousands. The Government of the day was not slow to react sharply and suppression and prosecutions for sedition became as common as the monsoon showers. It is difficult to mention even some of these which upheld the spirit of patriotism in the drooping heart of the nation, but two, of which short notices are given below, are singled out to present a glimpse of the minds of those who were out to resurrect a new India :

Mukti Kon Pathe (Which Way Salvation Lies) was the boldest of all. It suggested the ways and means of raising funds for the deliverance of the country from foreign yoke. The most inspiring articles of the *Yugantar* found their way into the pages of the book giving the main features of the campaign that were being applied in practice. The salient points of the coming movement that had to be kept in view were more or less on the following line :

"In the present conditions of our country there is no lack of undertakings and agitations regarding it; and by the grace of God, the Bengalis are everywhere being initiated by these efforts into a love of the country and a determination to obtain liberty. Therefore, let these be by no means disregarded. But if these agitations be joined without the ideal of freedom being cherished in the heart, real strength and training will never be acquired from them. Therefore, as the members of the band will, on the one hand, stake their lives on increasing the scope of the party, so on the other they should remain persevering and active in keeping the country excited by these undertakings and agitations."

It pointed out that not much muscle was required to shoot Europeans, that arms could be procured through firm determination and that weapons could be prepared clandestinely in some secret places. Indians could be sent to foreign countries to learn the art of making weapons. The assistance of Indian soldiers must be obtained. They should be made to realize the misery and wretchedness of the country. The heroism of Shivaji must be extolled. As long as revolutionary work remained in infancy, expenses could be met by subscriptions. But as work advanced, money must be exacted from society by the application of force. If the revolution is being brought about for the welfare of society, then it is perfectly just to collect money from society for the purpose. It is admitted that theft and dacoity are crimes because they violate the principle

of good society. But the political dacoit is aiming at the good of society,

"so no sin but rather virtue attaches to the destruction of small good for the sake of some higher good. Therefore, if revolutionaries extort money from the miserly or luxurious members of society by the application of force, their conduct is perfectly just."

The book further exhorted its readers to obtain the "help of the native soldiers.... Although these soldiers for the sake of their stomach accept service in the Government of the ruling foreigners, still they were nothing but men made of flesh and blood. They possessed the power of original thinking. Therefore, when the revolutionaries had explained to them the woes and miseries of the country, they in proper time, would swell the ranks of the revolutionaries with arms and weapons given to them by the rulers..... As it was possible to persuade the soldiers in this way, the modern English Raj of India did not allow the cunning Bengalis to enter into the ranks of the army.... Aid in the shape of arms might be secretly obtained by securing the help of the foreign ruling powers."

It was the most outspoken book and indicated without the least shadow of doubt that matters had been taking shape which could not but lead to open conflict.

Bartaman Rananiti

Bartaman Rananiti (The Modern Science or Technique of War), published in October 1907, exhorted the youth of the land to conquer fear and keep himself ready to face death. He should be expert in sword play and in carrying on guerilla warfare against the enemy who had disarmed them in order to keep them emasculated and innocuous for all times to come, he must be an adept.

Under the caption, *A New Literary Departure*, *The Bande Mataram* in its issue of October 13, 1907, wrote the following in respect of the book:

"* * * The book is a small manual which seeks to describe for the benefit of those, who like the people of Bengal under the beneficent Pax Britannica, are entirely unacquainted with the subject, the nature and use of modern weapons, the meaning of military terms, the use and distribution of the various limbs of a modern army, the broad principles of guerilla warfare.

These are freely illustrated by detailed references to the latest modern wars, the Boer and the Russo-Japanese, in the first of which many new developments were brought to light or tested and in the second corrected by the experience of a greater field of warfare under more normal conditions. The book is a new departure in Bengali literature and one which shows the new trend of the national mind. In the old days of a narrow life and confined aspirations, we were satisfied with the production of romantic poetry and novels varied by occasional excursions into academic philosophy and criticism. Now-a-days the heart of the nation is rising to higher things; history, the patriotic drama, political writings, songs of national aspiration, draughts from the fountain of our ancient living religion and thoughts are almost the sole literature which command a hearing.

The new-born nation is eagerly seeking after its development and organisation and anything which will help it and widen its sphere of useful knowledge, will deserve and gain its attention.

* * *

It is perfectly true that no practical use can be made of its contents at the moment; but the will and desire of thousands creates its own field and when the spirit of a nation demands any sphere of activity material events are shaped by that demand in ways that at the time seem to be the wild dreams of an unbridled imagination. Our business is to prepare our countrymen by all kinds of knowledge and action for the life of a nation, by knowledge and action when both are immediately permitted us, by knowledge alone for action which though not permitted now, is a necessary part of the future nation's perfect development. When the earnest soul prepared itself by what *Sadhana* is possible to it, however imperfect, God in his own good time prepares the field and the opportunity for perfect *Sadhana* and complete attainment."

Starting with a few, the revolutionary idea, the thought of direct action, captured the minds of a larger and larger number of people in its grip. Newspapers from the South to the North began to breathe brimstone and fire and received the kind attention of the authorities. *Poona Vaibhav* (1897), *Madavritta* (1897), *Kesari*, *Kal* (1895), *Vihari*, *Bande Mataram* (1906), *Yugantar* (1906), *Sandhya*, *Navasakti*, *Karma Yogin*, *Pratoda* (Bombay), *Sahayak* (Lahore), *Peshawal* (Lahore), *Hoonkar*, *Swaraj*, *Desha-Sevak* and a host of others of the like nature appeared (and disappeared) in quick succession.

Books and other literature were proscribed or confiscated as often as the authorities could sign orders for the purpose. *The Laghu Abhinav Bharat Gatha* (Marathi poems of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar), *Desher Katha*, *Sambhu-Nishambhu Badh* (slaying of

the demons bearing the names) a short drama, *Anal Prabha*, *Naba Uddcepan*, *Ranajiter Jiban Jajna*, etc., stood as representatives of a host of others.

The measures for suppression and repression were intensified by the Government with every day but it seemed that they had placed implicit faith on a bund of sand to stem the tide of a mighty flood.

Press Law

The growing influence of the newspapers on the public mind unnerved the Government and it was thought advisable to take steps for bringing them under absolute control. Before June 3, 1907, when a circular was issued by the Government of India, Home Department (Public), the policy relating to newspapers was that "the local Governments intending prosecution against a newspaper were to submit the whole case to the Central Government for sanction detailing the circumstances under which it had been decided to proceed against a paper and the action which it had proposed to take".

This salutary rule was given a go-by and the Government of India empowered the Local Government to institute prosecutions in all cases where the law had been infringed. The authority thus obtained was freely, and with vengeance, exercised and prosecutions were started against newspapers all over India, particularly in the Punjab, Bombay and Bengal. Troubles descended on the devoted heads of the editors, printers, owners of printing presses, etc., not excluding hawkers and distributors of such printed matters including pamphlets and leaflets. In such cases the provisions under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code were liberally applied.

Stirrings in Punjab

(1907-08)

When Bengal had been passing through an unprecedented upheaval over the Partition of the Province, Punjab was stirred to its very depths by a Government measure unwise and provocative to the extreme. The steps adopted by the sturdy peasantry of the Punjab were immensely successful in forcing the Government to revise its policy and in bringing the Punjab officials to their senses.

The excessive land-tax with a further addition of irrigation and other rates ignited the dry fuel that Punjab had been at the time. It was stated that the "the demands of land revenue were excessive, the irrigation rates still more excessive, and the rules and regulations of the most exasperating kind." To add to the resentment of the affected people, the officers of the Canal Colony with a very poor conception about their duty tried to coerce to submission two millions of people cultivating three million acres "as if they were dealing with a little model farm." *The Pioneer* expressed its opinion that "a poker-backed Prussian official was mild in comparison with the canal bureaucrats."

In utter disregard of the temper of the sullen and disgruntled peasantry and giving a go-by to administrative tact, the Punjab Government brought in the Colonisation Bill to force all its foolish measures down the throats of an unwilling and sullen peasantry by threats of imprisonment. The Bill was intended for rewarding old soldiers and to facilitate recruiting for the future.

It was in the Chenab Colonies, where there had been no reduction of irrigation and land-tax that the bitterest opposition prevailed. Cases were started against six members of the Bar, three being barristers of the London Inns of Court at Rawalpindi for inciting the subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor to rebellion.

Three men were arrested in early May, 1907, and were kept in prison, bail being refused, for five months. When the case came up for hearing all of them were acquitted of any complicity

in sedition. Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh were deported and the agitation at once assumed an all-India character.

The ferment in Bengal infected the minds of the redoubtable Punjabis. A daily story of "assault, of boycotting and general lawlessness" from East Bengal reached Punjab and the newspapers there made caustic comments on them. Signs of activity and unrest were visible more in the urban areas than in the rural. Attempts were made to kick up trouble in the important cities such as Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Lyallpur. Seditious speeches were openly delivered and Europeans were insulted at the first opportunity. Rioting broke out over the judgment of the *Punjabee* and measures were adopted to strengthen the hands of the agitators in the Chenab Canal Colony and Bari Doab. A confidential official note contained that pains were taken

"to turn every incident to anti-British feeling and to inflame the passion of the Sikhs, that the police were being pilloried as traitors to their fellow countrymen in connection with the agitation and were advised to quit the service of the Government, while the invitation was addressed to the Indian soldiers."

The note continued

"that some of the leaders looked to driving the British out of the country or at any rate from power, either by force or by passive resistance of the people as a whole and (that) the method by which they had set themselves to bring the Government to a standstill was by endeavouring to stir up a strong feeling of racial hatred."

Searches and arrests continued unabated. Complicity with Bengal was established by the discovery of a bomb-manual used by the accused in the Alipore Conspiracy Case.

The people in turn lost their temper and violence reared up its head in the chief towns of Punjab, such as Lahore, Delhi, Rawalpindi, etc. There was bloodshed on both sides and no case of violence on the part of the authorities was allowed to pass off smoothly, there being fight almost everywhere unequal though it might have been.

The discontent permeated to the barracks of soldiers and caused restiveness amongst them. It was too much for the military authorities to view the matter complacently and Lord Kitchener had to intervene in person for the repeal of the "fatuous Colonization Bill".

Punjab's active resistance produced its repercussions in Bengal and the Bengalis were asked to take a leaf out of the book of the Punjabi brethren. The *Yugantar* wrote on June 16, 1907, under caption: *The Lathi as a Remedy*.

"In the Punjab a hue and cry was raised as soon as the water rate was enhanced. The period of making representation and submitting petitions did not last more than two weeks. The people then applied the remedy which is applied to fools. There were a few broken heads and a few houses were burnt down, and the authorities gave up the idea of enhancing the water rate. The Colonisation Act too became inoperative. How wonderful the remedy; *the Kabuli medicine* is indeed the best of medicines."

Contempt for the Law Courts .

(1907-08)

The Yugantar

With the growing tempo of nationalism manifesting itself through the newspapers the Government vigorously started a larger number of prosecutions under the law of sedition against editors marked for their outspokenness. To meet this challenge the policy of ignoring the law courts was resorted to by the party concerned and some other public men connected with the trial refusing to participate in the proceedings of the court.

The first test was made in the case of the *Yugantar* with Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta (brother of the great Swami Vivekananda) as its Editor, who was prosecuted for sedition for an article appearing in its issue of June 16, 1907. When the trial had just started the Editor made the following statement on July 22, 1907:

"I, Bhupendra Nath Datta, do hereby beg to state that I am the Editor of the Journal *Yugantar* and I am solely responsible for all the articles in question. I have done what I have considered in good faith to be my duty by my country. I do not wish to make any other statement or to take any further action in the trial."

The articles alleged to have offended the law were *Bhoi Bhanga* (Away with Fear) and *Lathyousadhi* (The Stick-medicine) or 'the Politics for Indians.'

The judgment of the Magistrate was delivered on July 24, 1907. It was to this effect:

"The article entitled (*Bhoi Bhanga*) 'Away with Fear' commences with the assertion that the British Empire is a huge sham—house without foundation and that a slight push will bring it down in fragments.... The writer says that owing merely to the foolishness of his countrymen that the British Empire continues to exist.... its strength has been exaggerated and he describes it as a bogey which needs only a push to ensure its downfall.

"He then refers to the events in the Punjab and in this connection the article headed '*Stick Medicine*' is more explicit for the writer alleges that in the Punjab an outcry was raised as soon as the water-rate was enhanced and the people devoted only a short period of time to the making of constitutional objections to the enhancement and then resorted to violence. They applied, he says, the remedy which is always applied to fools, ... heads were broken, houses burnt and the authorities abandoned the idea of enhancement. There is no such wonderful remedy, he concludes, as the *Kabuli* medicine."

Prosecution of newspapers was looked upon with great disfavour and the ultimate result according to the *Sandhya*, (July 22, 1907), was likely to engender a spirit of revenge. It plainly told that,

".... Hidden amongst the mango groves of Plassey, without having even a semblance of battle, and by fraud, forgery and deceptive means, they have taken possession of Bengal. That is why they fail to understand us. Now they have the audacity to tread on the tail of a cobra. The very sedition cases.... will start the fire.... We know that you are thick-skinned and cannot understand subtle words. The Bengalee now wants to settle accounts with you.

"You seek introduction to us by treading on our tail. Do whatever you please. Only remember the hideous cobra and its sting (bite)."

On the conviction of Bhupendra Nath, *The Bande Mataram* wrote a classic editorial giving the viewpoint of a nationalist in all its aspects with particular stress on the inalienable right to freedom of the oppressed people of the world. (*Idc* appendix)

APPENDIX

The Bande Mataram on July 28, 1909⁷, wrote on the conviction of Bhupendra Nath Datta, the Editor of the *Yugantar* :

The bureaucracy as usual has over-reached itself in instituting a case under the sedition clause against the Editor of the *Yugantar*. The *Punjabee* prosecution did untold harm to their prestige and helped to shatter the not over-abundant remnant of their moral ascendancy; its work was negative and destructive.

But the *Yugantar* prosecution has been a positive gain to the national cause; it has begun the positive work of building up the moral ascendancy of the people which is to replace that of the alien and nullify his mere physical superiority. This momentous result the editor of *Yugantar* has brought about by his masterly inactivity. His refusal to plead has been worth many sensational trials. It has produced an enormous effect on public mind all over India not only as an individual instance of moral courage and readiness to suffer quietly, and simply, as a matter of course as one's plain duty to the country, but as the first practical application in the face of persecution of the sheer uncompromising spirit of Swarajism. For the first time a man has been found who can say to the power of alien imperialism, 'with all thy pomp of empire and splendour and dominion, with all thy boast of invincibility and mastery irresistible, with all thy wealth of men and money and guns and cannon, with all thy strength of law and strength of the sword, with all thy power to confine, to torture or to slay the body, yet for me, for the spirit, the real man in me, thou art not. Thou art only a phase, a phenomenon, a passing illusion and the only lasting realities are my Mother and my Freedom.'

It is well that we should understand the real issue on which all other depend and from which they arise. The question is not whether one Bhupendra Nath Dutt published matter which we knew to be likely to bring the Government established by law, to wit certain mediocrities in Belvedere, Darjeeling, Shillong or Simla who collectively call themselves the Government of Bengal or of India, into contempt or hatred, or to encourage a desire to resist or subvert their lawful authority. If that were all, we might argue the question whether what he did was wise or what he wrote was true or mistaken, legal or illegal. As it is, these things do not matter even to the value of a broken *cowrie*. The real issue for us nationalists is something quite different and infinitely more vital. It is this. 'Is India free', not even 'Shall India be free?', but 'Is India free' and am I as an Indian free or a self-bound to the service, the behest or the forced guidance of something outside or alien to myself and mine, something which is *anatman*, not myself? Am I, are my people part of humanity, the select and chosen temple of the Brahman, and entitled therefore to grow straight in the

strength of our own spirit, free and with head erect before mankind, or are we a herd of cattle to live our own life or only a life prescribed and circumscribed for us by something outside ourselves? Are we to guide our own destinies or are we to have no destiny except nullity, except death? For, it is nonsense to talk of other people guiding our destinies; that is an euphemism for killing our destinies altogether; it is nonsense to talk of others giving us enlightenment, civilization, political training, for the enlightenment that is given and not acquired brings not light but confusion, the civilization that is imposed from outside kills a nation instead of invigorating it, and the training which is not acquired by our own experience and effort incapacitates and does not make efficient. The issue of freedom is, therefore, the only issue. All other issues are merely delusion and *Maya*; all other talk is the talk of men that sleep or are in intellectual or moral bondage.

We nationalists declare that man is for ever and inalienably free and that we too are, both individually as Indian men and collectively as Indian nation, for ever and inalienably free. As free men we will speak the thing that seems right to us without caring what other may do to our bodies to punish us for being free men, as free men we will educate ourselves in our own schools, settle our differences by our own arbitrations, sell and buy our own goods, build up our own character, our own civilization, our own national destinies. Your school, your administration, your law courts, your manufactured articles, your legislative councils, your ordinances and sedition laws are to us things alien and unreal and we eschew them as *Maya*, as *anatman*. If men and nations are inalienably free, then bondage is an illusion, the rule of one nation over another is against natural laws and, therefore, is a falsehood, and falsehoods can only endure so long as Truth refuses to recognise itself. The princes of Bengal at the time of Plassey did not realise that we could save ourselves; they thought that something outside would save us. We were not enslaved by Clive, for not even a thousand Clives could have had strength enough to enslave us. We were enslaved by our own delusions, by the false convictions, by the false conviction of weakness. And the moment we get the full conviction of our strength, the conviction that we are for ever and inalienably free, and that no body but ourselves can either take or keep from us that inalienable or priceless possession, from that moment freedom is assured. So long as we go on crying, 'We are unfit, we are unfit', or even doubt our fitness, so long we shall make and keep ourselves unfit. It is only the conviction of freedom that makes and keeps men fit for freedom. To create that conviction, to encourage and make habitual that practice is the whole aim of the new movement. Nationalism is the gospel of inalienable freedom, Boycott is the practice of freedom. To break the Boycott and to stop the preaching of nationalism is the whole object of the bureaucracy. *The Times* saw this when it singled out the writings of *Bande Mataram* and *Yugantar*, the speeches of Bepin Chandra Pal and his like, and above all, the Boycott as the root of all evil. Behind all technicalities

this is the true and only issue in these sedition cases. The nationalists declare that Indians are for ever and inalienably free man and vindicate their right to preach this gospel; Mr. Morley and the bureaucrats tell us we are for ever and inalienably property of England and would pursue our preaching as a crime. Who or what shall reconcile this fundamental and irreconcilable opposition?

The Bande Mataram

The Bande Mataram prosecution, on August 26, 1907, afforded another opportunity for flouting the authority of the law courts. Bepin Chandra Pal was summoned as a witness for the prosecution against *The Bande Mataram* and he declined to participate in the proceedings of the courts. When on August 26, 1907, he was called upon to take the oath, he bluntly refused saying: "I have conscientious objections to be sworn in or to take part in the proceedings." The Magistrate was apparently irritated and enquired:

"Have you conscientious objections to be solemnly affirmed?"

Witness : I decline to take part in these proceedings because I consider it....

Court : I have nothing to do with that. Have you conscientious objections to be affirmed in any other case?

Witness : No. But I have conscientious objections to take part in this case.

Court : You must take it in this case then.

Witness : I decline to do that.

Court : Questions will be put to you and if you refuse to answer then you must take the consequence.

Witness : On conscientious grounds, I must refuse.

Bepin Chandra Pal was then in a separate case prosecuted on a charge of contempt of Court. Totally unconcerned he made a statement before the Magistrate, on September 19, 1907, giving reasons for his action in the following language:

"It is no doubt the duty of every member of the society to help the administration of justice to give evidence in the interest of social well-being, but when prosecutions prompted by executive policy the consideration of which is outside the jurisdiction of the law courts, are against that very interest, the duty of the individual must on the self-same ground be necessarily different. I honestly believe that the prosecutions like that of *The Bande Mataram* are unjust and injurious; unjust,....because they are subversive of the rights of the people, and injurious, because they are calculated to stifle freedom of thought and speech, nor are they justified in the interest of public

peace. I had, accordingly, conscientious objection to take any part in the prosecution. I, therefore, refuse to be sworn or be affirmed in that case. I had no intention of showing disrespect to the Court before which that case was pending. As I was not permitted to make this statement (at the time), I do so now."

Bepin Chandra was convicted and awarded simple imprisonment for six months. It may be mentioned that there were disturbances both inside and outside the court room on days the case was called for hearing. It spread to places near about the court where the police and the younger section of the public came into open clash. Prosecution was at once started against some of them. In one of such cases a young lad of fifteen summers was awarded fifteen stripes.

The judgment was received by the agitated public with the utmost indignation and it was one more fact that literally added fuel to the fire of discontent that was raging at the time throughout Bengal and helped in intensifying the tempo of the movement against the Government.

The *Punjabee* thus commented on the judgment of the case (quoted in *The Bande Mataram*, September 22, 1907) :

"One need not be sympathiser or admirer of *The Bande Mataram* newspaper to come to the conclusion that the prosecution which has been started against it, instead of establishing any healthful principles conducive to order and peace, is likely rather to bring about situation which must engender irreverence instead of respect for the law. The sentence passed upon Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, which came off as an offshoot of the case, has already gone a good way in this direction. Mr. Pal's case shows that there is nothing of the disorderly or law-defying spirit even in the foremost exponents of the new movement, but that some of them are actuated by principles and motives high above the common level. These principles and motives imply a nobler ideal of human relations than the European Civil and Criminal Codes have been able to reach and for these principles their exponents are ready to suffer rather than be instruments of bringing harm upon others. For what Babu Bepin Chandra Pal has been punished? Certainly not for anything that can be called immoral or unworthy, not to say criminal. He has paid the penalty of possessing a higher ideal of duty towards his fellowmen than the legislators have had the wisdom to foresee. To call his offence 'contempt' of Court is misuse of language, for there was no spirit of contempt or defiance towards the Court in his action; only he expressed his inability to be a party to the carrying out of what he believed to be an unrighteous policy of the executive. He may have been right or not in his point or view, but his offence at the worst was merely technical, and not one implying moral depravity such as constitutes a crime."

The *Punjabee* truly expressed the mind of millions of Indians that felt extremely agitated over the outcome of the case.

The *Sandhya*

Amongst a galaxy of redoubtable heroes of the Swadeshi days Brahmabandhab Upadhyay was a figure scintillating in its own brilliance. He was one of the most intrepid men who put heart into many a drooping spirit; exposing himself most recklessly to the onslaughts of bureaucratic sallies. He is reckoned as a principal factor in bringing about a new spirit in the country.

The country, in addition to his other qualities of head and heart, knows him most as the Editor of the *Sandhya*, one of the very few newspapers the articles of which breathed fire and inspired a nation into activity from stupor. As its motto it wrote on March 30, 1907, "If death come in the striving, that death will be converted to immortality." Further on May 10, 1907, he wrote: "Listen and you will hear the Mother's trumpet sounding. Mother's sons do not tarry, but get ready; go about from village to village and prepare the Indians for death."

He had no doubts in his mind that his writings would bring the whole weight of the Government's ire on his head, but he did not take a step backwards on his resolve to see the Motherland free from foreign yoke. About the chances of his own suffering he used to say (October 29, 1907):

"Oppression and tyranny are of no consequence to a people who consider it a sin to identify the body with the soul. Who can oppress a people in whose view the physical body is so contemptible as to be fit to be thrown away like a piece of torn rag? Those who think that the body is everything, are afraid of oppression. What need I fear as I am a Bengali Brahmin? If the *feringhi* should dare put me in the rack, I shall throw my body before his face as if it were torn *Thanthania* slipper." (*Thanthania* is a place in Calcutta well-known for the manufacture of country slippers.)

For sarcastic and vitriolic writings making the objects of his attack look small and worthy of nothing but ridicule, he had no parallel. When necessary, his pen would pour forth a flood of burning lava of courage making the timid and the wary forget their weakness. The captions of his editorials would at once catch the imagination and the solid arguments, presented in a most

enchancing, sometimes poetic style, would seldom fail to carry conviction with his readers.

He was persecuted in a most heartless manner till his death. His paper the *Sandhya* was proceeded against for seditious writings over and over again but his indomitable spirit would soar high over petty or selfish considerations.

During the publication of a series of editorials with which this note is principally concerned, it came to be known that warrants for the search of the press where *Sandhya* was printed as well as the arrest of its Editor were in contemplation of the Government. The press was searched on August 30, and the Editor arrested on September 3, 1907. He was taken to the thana and released on bail.

The case was started as everything was ready almost immediately and from day to day Brahmabandhab would stand in the box showing no signs on his countenance the pain that hernia caused him to suffer. He would not permit his Counsel to ask for a seat as he was determined not to ask any favour from an alien Magistrate before whom he was undergoing his trial. And it never occurred to the Magistrate to show a little courtesy to a fairly old and highly educated man of wide culture to offer a seat.

Almost at the initial stage of the case the Editor made the following classic statement before the Court on September 23, 1907:

"I accept the entire responsibility of the publication, management and conduct of the newspaper *Sandhya*, and I say that I am the writer of the article *Ekhan theke gechi premier dai* which appeared in the *Sandhya* of the 13th August, 1907, being one of the articles forming the subject matter of this prosecution. But I do not want to take any part in this trial because I do not believe that in carrying out my humble share of the God-appointed mission of *Svaraj*, I am in any way accountable to the alien people who happen to rule over us and whose interest is and must necessarily be in the way of our true national development."

The offending article, *Now I am engrossed in Love* as has been said, appeared on August 13. The prosecution discovered sedition in several others, written before and after the 13th and contemplated prosecution after the judgment in the case under hearing had been delivered.

The very captions were remarkable for expression of forceful

ideas, not to speak of their contents. On August 8, it was "*Yugantar rakta-rakti, feringider phatlo pitti*", (at Yugantar [Office] there is free flow of blood; the feringhis having their bile-sac burst are trembling in terror); on the 9th: "*Dhiler badale patkel*" (Tit for Tat); on the 12th: "*Kalighate jora panta, ekta kalo ekta sada*" (At Kalighat, a pair of he-goats, for sacrifice, one is black, the other is white); on the 20th: "*Seditioner hurum durum, feringider akkel gurum*" (Sedition galore, and the Feringhis are dumbfounded); on the 21st: "*Feringhi param dayalu—feringhir kripaya dari gajay, seet kale khai sankalu*" (Feringhi is extremely kind; through his bounty the beard grows, sweet [white] potato is eaten in the winter); on the 23rd: "*Bachha sakal niye jachhe Sri-Brindaban*" (Younglings are being taken to Sri-Brindaban i.e., youngsters are being taken to the prison house).

When the case was called for hearing on October 23, 1907, the Court was informed that the accused had been lying ill in the Campbell Hospital.

On the 26th a medical report (from the Teacher of Surgery) on the condition of the patient was placed before the Court. It ran: "I do not think that he will be able to attend the Court before a month."

The Public Prosecutor, a European, was more vindictive than the Magistrate. He demanded the presence of the Surgeon and to declare, perhaps on oath, before the Magistrate his opinion. Fortunately for the Surgeon, the Magistrate overruled the contention of the Government Pleader.

The bureaucracy was not satisfied with what had been done to the accused. It brought a second charge of sedition, perhaps with many more in the offing had Providence not stood in its way. The Magistrate cancelled the previous bail bond and threatened to hurry him into jail as soon as he would be pronounced fit to be discharged from the hospital.

In the hospital due to deterioration in his condition, the patient was operated upon for strangulation of hernia. Everything had been progressing satisfactorily when all on a sudden on October 26, 1907, the patient developed signs of tetanus at about 8 at night. In the next morning, after a lapse of some twelve hours, the visitors were told that the condition of the patient was serious and he was sinking. He expired an hour later at about 9 a.m.

The last request of the patient made to the doctors was not to make him unconscious by applying chloroform. His thoughts apparently fixed above, probably he wanted to experience in full possession of his senses what suffering He had ordained for him. Perhaps, he wanted to contemplate on the glory of His creation up to his last conscious moments. It might be that his desire was to ponder over the pitiful condition of his countrymen and freedom of his Motherland for which he had so nobly dedicated his life.

Brahmabandhab had absolute faith in himself. He was sure that the snare spread by the *feringhi* government for his imprisonment would completely fail in its purpose. On October 26, 1907, the day previous to his death, he expressed himself as follows:

"I will not go to the jail of the *feringhi* to work as a prisoner. I had never been at any one's beck and call. I obeyed none. At the fag end of my old age they will send me to jail for law's sake, and I will work for nothing! Impossible! I won't go to jail; I have been called." (*Amar dak eke qeche* : The summonses have already reached me)

While himself getting ready for the supreme sacrifice, he issued a call to his countrymen to be ready for the coming struggle. (On August 9, 1907, at a meeting organised in connection with the Boycott celebration at Kalighat, Brahmabandhab said,

"At the altar of Kali both the sin and the virtue of the *feringhi* needed to be sacrificed. The sin of the *feringhi* consisted in his persistence of repressive measures and could be traced to the battle of Plassey where the *feringhi* hidden amongst the mango grove usurped the sovereignty of India."

He appealed to the fathers all over Bengal to consecrate at least one of their children to the service of the mother-country. He desired that young-men instead of taking insults and assaults of the *feringhi* lying down must learn to repay them back on the spot. A brave attitude and occasional scuffles with the *feringhi* would make the latter shake in their shoes.

He was rather bitter against his own countrymen (*Kalo panta* : black he-goats) who were devoid of patriotic feelings and would help the Government in suppressing the spirit of liberty surging in the minds of the people. In the course of a speech he expressed his views about these men in the following vein:

"I fear the black *feringhi*, who had been infatuated by *feringhi* manners and customs even more than I fear the *feringhi* race. Our country, our

people, our social system, which are so excellent, seemed to be all blasted by hot wind of *feringhi* luxury. To save the country and the nation the dirty stream of *feringhi* manners and usages must be put to a stop and the people must be persuaded to believe that these are not suitable to our constitution, and therefore, must be harmful. What is harmful should be rejected by all means. Owing to a strange and unnatural love for *feringhi* manners, they have passed current in this country. To get rid of this love, we must create dislike."

In his death under peculiar circumstances the intellectuals instead of losing heart thought that through *ichha-mrityu*, death at will, the patriotic yogi electrified the imagination of the people and that by his death he would work more effectively than he would have ever hoped to do in flesh and blood.

Others found the hand of benign Providence in this melancholy event. Brahmabandhab's death filled the hearts of the people with hopes of liberty. On the receipt of the news of his death wrote *The Bandu Mataram* on October 28, 1907, that

"if anything was necessary to overcome our scepticism, the sublime close of this great indomitable nationalist.... invincible in life and in death,.... furnished that one logic about the ultimate triumph of freedom."

A better appreciation of the great man was published in its issue of November 3, 1907, which ran thus:

"In the most dramatic and miraculous march of events which mark the progress of nationalist movement in India, the closing of the earthly career of Upadhyay Brahmabandhab, the brave and renowned editor of *Sandhya*, in the Campbell Medical Hospital on Sunday (27. 10. 07) morning, strikes the imagination in a peculiarly powerful way. His was a personality which of late came to be discussed under every roof of Bengal for the inspired and forceful statement he had made when placed on a charge of sedition before a servant of the bureaucracy. He told him to his face that he owed no responsibility to an alien bureaucracy for preaching the God-appointed mission of *Swaraj*. The statement might have appeared quixotic to many. To the eye of Faith and Hope, however, the future stands self-revealed. The man of faith speaks uncommon things.... he speaks strange truths.... for he is a prophet. He knows the will of Providence as Whose instrument he works. The messengers of Liberty have a despot-defying strength which knows no compromise.... knows no defeat. All who work in the train of despotism, hangman, priest, tax-gatherer, soldier, lawyer, lord, jailor, and sycophant try to rivet their iron chains on the Messiah of human emancipation, but he eludes their grasp and travels to spheres where kings have little power. The passing away of Upadhyay Brahmabandhab when the bureaucracy was pursuing him with the most unedifying vindictiveness proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that when the infidel supposes that he can

very well triumph with the prison, scaffold, handcuffs, iron necklace and lead balls at his command, Faith twists him with his audacity and takes his victim far out of his reach."

The nationalist cause suffered a great loss at the time at the demise of one of its mightiest stalwarts.

The Ignition Point

(1906-1908)

Precursor

It may be stated that the Anusilan Samity brought into being by Satish Chandra Bose in 1902 had been growing up in its own way under P. Mitra as its head. Jatin Banerji visited Calcutta at the time to explore the possibility of initiating youngmen into the use of arms. In 1904 Barindra Kumar Ghose came from Baroda with the express object of "preaching the cause of independence" as a political missionary. He had to go back somewhat disappointed. The agitation against the Partition of Bengal had been gaining momentum and the soil was found very suitable by him when he came back for sowing the seeds of discontent against the ruling authority. It was thought by the leaders of the secret societies that purely political propaganda was not sufficient for such a great cause. In addition, the mental make-up of the youth of the country should have a spiritual background so that they might prepare themselves to remain firm in the face of dangers. The time was ripe and one by one youngmen of the middle class *bhadralok* family slowly but steadily moved towards the centres beset with the greatest dangers to human life. Some of them were highly educated, with knowledge in various fields of life and some, to the greatest advantage to the Society, with the knowledge of preparing high explosives. Books such as *Nitro Explosives* by Stanford, *The Swordsman* by Alfred Hutton, *A Handbook of Modern Explosives* by Eissler, *Modern Weapons and Modern War* by J. S. Bloch, *Field Exercises*, *Manual of Military Engineering*, *Infantry Training*, *Cavalry Drill*,

Machine Gun Training, Quick Training for War, etc., etc., were acquired in secret and the best use was made of them. (*Report of the Sedition Committee*, 1918; p. 102).

Preparation

By 1906 the country entered the stage of action from the incubatory stage of preparation. Secret societies worth the name such as the *Atmonnati Samiti*, etc., came into existence here and there all over Bengal, particularly in the new province of Eastern Bengal. Plans were completed not only for strengthening the organisations but also for translating them into action.

For violent actions arms are more necessary than anything else. The means were indicated in the writings of the *Yugantar*. These were to be drawn from internal sources such as from soldiers, smugglers or careless owners. But this method was for all practical purposes considered to be absolutely inadequate. The workers were not slow to move to Chandernagore, the small French possession near Calcutta, where the rules of possessing arms were rather liberal (with the only restriction that it should not be exposed in the street by the owner) and importations easy through post. The revolutionaries began to place orders for arms with France and get their supply in small lots from time to time. While only two guns and six revolvers were received in Chandernagore in 1906, in 1907 the number of registered parcels rose to 34 most of them containing revolvers, all despatched from St. Etienne, the Government Arms Factory in France.

Pledge

Needless to say that secrecy was the most important factor in the organisation of societies out to act in a manner which invited upon themselves the direst punishment in the armoury of the law and the executive authority. In the enlistment of members some sort of pledge had had to be taken by everyone coming within their fold. This had been the case with every 'Society' since its inception. Administration of oaths brought the societies very near the model of the Russian revolutionaries. It redounds to the credit of the pioneers that the secrecy enjoined on the members was well maintained for a long time and far-flung organisations,

almost under the nose of the authority, grew up gradually in very distant parts of Bengal.

With the growth of the *Samitis* and "having regard to the place where, the time when, and the person and persons concerned", it was found necessary to have strict supervision and inspection over them. The organisers had to make some efficient arrangements for dividing the whole of Bengal into divisions and subdivisions, from "the Central *Samitis* going down to the *Mahakuma Samitis*." To achieve the best result the right person with the right mission must be in charge of the centres so that the work could be carried on in a most thorough-going manner.

There were different types of oaths according to the status of the workers. The initial and final vows were meant for all ordinary members, the initial to be taken at the time of admission into the *samiti* and the final after the novice had reached a certain stage of culture or attachment. The two special vows were intended only for the members of the inner circle; and amongst them also there was obviously a gradation.

The *initial* vow is harmless. The member undertakes never to separate himself from the *samiti*, to be loyal to its interests, to keep his own character immaculate, to carry out the orders of those in charge without question, to be proficient in gymnastics and drill, to keep secret from all non-members, to master the art of self-defence, and to work out the welfare of the country and gradually of the world.

The *final* vow opened with a declaration that no internal matters whatsoever relating to the *samiti* were to be divulged to any one; nor to be even discussed unnecessarily. The member who took his final vow undertook to carry out unquestioningly the orders of the *parichalak* or the head of the *samiti*, to keep him informed of his own whereabouts wherever he might be, to inform the chief of the existence of conspiracies against the *samiti* and under his orders to remedy them; to return to duty whenever the President might command, to consider no kind of work as humiliating, to cultivate self-abnegation and self-sacrifice and to keep secret from all persons not equally bound by oath the instructions that he had received.

Under the *first special vow* the member undertakes to remain attached to the circle till its object has been fulfilled, to sever the

tie of affection for parents and relations, for hearth and home, to render absolute obedience to the leader in the work of the circle and to give up vicious habits of all description.

The *second special vow* enjoined that the member undertakes to stake his life and all that he possesses to, accomplish the work of the circle, called the circle for the enhancement of good sense, to keep the inner secrets inviolate, and never to discuss or mention them, to carry out commands without question, to preserve the secrecy of *mantras*, to conceal nothing from the leader, never to deceive the leader by untruth, to be always engaged in the practice of religion, to lead an ideal life before the public and finally to mete out just punishment to those antagonistic to it.

With reference to the rules of conduct the same secrecy was strictly enjoined. There is to be no unnecessary discussion whatsoever with anybody, not to write letters even to relations without the same being censored by the leader. Any money, from whatsoever source it might come, was to be regarded as the common property of the society. All weaknesses in the members and deficiencies of the *samiti* were to be brought to the notice of the leader and remedied by every possible means. The duties and responsibilities of the leaders of different units were also given in every detail more particularly those relating to the maintenance and improvement of the *samiti*, physical exercise, collection of fund and so on and so forth.

Outburst

Before there was any outward manifestation of revolutionary activity, the secret societies had established themselves on a firm footing and had been extending their ramifications far and wide. As has already been said that the Partition of Bengal in October 1905 and the repression that followed on those who worked with the ultimate object of getting the Partition annulled through peaceful means, gave a fillip to the spirit and strength to the hands of those who thought that the organised violence of the Government should be met by counter-violence however feeble.

The first full picture of an well-knit organisation of determined youngmen came to light when the Alipore Bomb Case was started following the Muzaffarpore outrage in April 1908.

In the meantime stray attempts at revolutionary action were being made by impatient boys and now it is known for certain that in August and September 1906, and in May 1907 overt acts were planned in North Bengal but abandoned.

In October and November 1907, two plots for blowing up the Lt. Governor's train ended in nothing. The first act of any significance was the attempt to wreck the Lt. Governor's train at Narayangarh in Midnapore on December 6, 1907, the explosion showing that some success has been attained in the manufacture of bombs inasmuch as the explosive though failed in its objective, caused a hole as big as five feet deep and five feet wide.

Incidents of no great import occurred but that the attempt on a former District Magistrate of Dacca on December 23, 1907, with a shot on his back in Faridpur was one of a daring nature and alerted the Government about the serious proportion that "the *Swadeshi* agitation" had been assuming.

This was followed by an attack by a bomb on the *Maire* of Chandernagore on April 11, 1908, while he was at dinner. It became known that unlike his predecessors in office, the gentleman had been trying seriously to prevent import of arms from foreign countries through this patch of the French territory.

Failures at the initial stage could not deter the young firebrands from planning bigger actions. The motto that influenced them was to the effect that:

"Sometimes failure is even more glorious than success. It is better to defy a hostile fate by choosing out the surest way to Death, proudly throwing away the poor resources of physical life and prosperity and so making Fate ashamed of the pooriness of its victory."

One incident that took the first toll of revolutionary activity of the twentieth century involving a valuable life, that of Prafulla Chakrabarti, deserves special mention.

CHAPTER THREE

A DETERMINED STEP

(1908-1913)

A Daring Experiment

(1908)

After various experiments a complete bomb could be prepared from Ullaskar's formula. It was time that a test should be carried out to examine its effectiveness. In February 1908, the Dighiria hill of modest height in Deoghar was selected for the purpose.

After making way through dense thickets at the foot of the hill, a place on the top was selected. There was a huge slab of stone, which was chin-high on the steep side, almost rising perpendicularly from the ground, and the other side sloped for about 15 to 20 yards towards the foot of the hill in mild gradient.

Shelter for protection was taken at a safe distance. Prafulla Chandra Chakrabarti was entrusted with the task of throwing the bomb on the slope of the hill while standing behind the slab. He had directions to sit down immediately the bomb was let off. The caution against waiting was palpably disregarded. Unfortunately before the bomb had received the impact of the ground the highly inflammable substance in it got ignited by the contact with air; a slight spark and a very small quantity of smoke were barely noticed when it exploded in mid-air producing a terrific sound, its echo reverberating from hill to hill. Simultaneously the comrades shouted out of glee: 'a grand success' from their respective stations.

It was apparant that the explosion occurred before the anticipated time, before Prafulla could hide himself behind the

'shield' and a part of the bomb-splinters may be, hit Prafulla on the head. A portion of the forehead with one eye was seen smashed and a quantity of the brain material oozing out through the wound. Prafulla, a moment before, so blithe, bubbling with the exuberance of youth, burning with spirit of patriotism lay still, all signs of life having left him in the fraction of a moment.

It was a problem with the young friends of Prafulla with regard to his mortal remains. Burial in the rocks of Dighiria Hill, where because of the rocky soil and dearth of implements, to dig a grave was out of the question. Cremation was not at all possible due to want of dry logs and twigs and in quantity sufficient for the purpose. Moreover, that was likely to draw the attention of the local people. Decision was taken for leaving the corpse over there to be devoured by wild animals.

It lay unattended. The next day the friends visited the place and found Prafulla lying just in the same manner as he was left—and as the friends said, without much putrefaction or decomposition of any sort. On the second day, when the friends went there to have a last look before leaving Deoghar for Calcutta, it was not there; even a most diligent search failed to discover even a shred of his clothing! It is a matter of guess as to how and where Prafulla disappeared even when life had become extinct.

The Birched Hero

(1907-1915)

'Discard Fear' had been the cry of *The Bande Mataram*, the *Yugantar*, the *Sandhya* in Calcutta and the nationalist papers of other parts of India particularly of Punjab. In a short time it did not fail to produce the desired result. Tales of skirmishes between the natives of the soil and the foreigners came thick and fast and where the 'white-skinned' opponent had been worsted, it produced a thrill of joy in the minds of even the common people not so much interested in the fight for country's freedom.

In *The Bande Mataram* prosecution case wild enthusiasm was

created in the public mind by the refusal of Bepin Chandra Pal to depose against Aurobindo, the Editor of the Paper. Young men would throng the police court in Lal Bazar, shout *Bande Mataram* and adopt other methods of expressing their hearty support to the stand taken by the witness. The hearing of the case, before Kingsford, had been proceeding on August 26, 1907, and the usual crowd was present in the court compound. As was usual in other days an order was passed by the Magistrate to drive out the noisy young men and to teach them lessons in good behaviour. The large number of helmeted and red-turbaned police would at once set out to give effect to the order by using their well-seasoned long (regulation) *lathis* and make a liberal use of them on the assembled public.

Indiscriminate beating caused a stampede in the unsuspecting passers-by and many were very badly hit and sustained more or less serious injuries. A young boy of fifteen took courage and tried to return the blow which was freely exchanged between him and a police sergeant. The incident was reported in great detail and with great gusto in the nationalist press. The *Sandhya* described it on August 31, 1907, thus:

"Everybody who saw Susil's heroic conduct of the affray at Lal Bazar was amazed. Susil, when he saw a red-faced *daroga* assaulting a number of people without any provocation, stepped into the fray and in so doing got assaulted.... Susil is a youth of 15, whereas the red-faced one was a huge and heavy fellow. But Susil's zest was a thing to see.... The red-faced fellow was thoroughly worsted..... Let nobody get frightened by the big show the *feringhi* fellows make. Inside them is all straw and Susil dragged it out and smashed up their showy exterior."

A criminal case for assault was started on the complaint of the sergeant in the Court of Kingsford, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, on August 27, 1907. A story of the assault was given by the complainant. The accused replied:

"I don't know anything about being guilty or not. I was coming from Sealdah. At a short distance from Lal Bazar I saw a large gathering. I came to the place and tried to ascertain what the matter was. At this moment this sergeant (pointing to the complainant) came and assaulted anybody and everybody he met there. I returned the blow. He then began to beat me again and again and to prevent him I too returned the blows. A few other police officers came up and threw me down into the street."

The bias of the trying Magistrate against the accused even before any evidence had been tendered was expressed in the words: "There is a feeling among young men that the Bengalis can resist the Police." The defending lawyer retorted that the police believed in their turn that they could do anything and everything with the Bengalis. Even yesterday the police assaulted many in this Court.

Kingsford: Why not? They should be bludgeoned as in other countries.

He ordered the boy to receive fifteen stripes "by way of student discipline".

There was a sense of horror in Bengal and outside at the inhuman severity of the punishment. Young Bengal took upon itself the task of dispensing justice to Kingsford. An English Paper, *The Nation*, commented that

"the flogging of an educated man for a political offence is surely a novel infamy." The flogging of politicals is rare even in Russia. Its frequency under Austrian rule in Italy was one of the circumstances most potent in alienating even the sympathy of English Conservatives in 1848."

And in 1907 the Liberal Lord Morley accorded approval by promoting Kingsford in his service.

The Bande Mataram eulogised, (November 11, 1907), Susil for the simple reason that when brutally flogged in jail he maintained such a stoic attitude that he did not move or stir because he thought it "derogatory to national cause to betray any sign of weakness to the servants of the bureaucracy." According to the Paper the list of convicted young patriots had been growing larger and

"everyone of them displayed such unprecedented moral courage that it called forth universal admiration and struck terror into the hearts of the bureaucracy."

It continued:

"Fill up the gap in our files,
Strengthen the wavering line,
'Stablish, continue our march
On to the bound of the waste,
On to the City of God."

Susil's *alma mater*, the National College, closed for a day in

his honour. He was congratulated in a big public meeting held in College Square on August 28, 1907, on his valiant coming out of the ordeal. Surendra Nath Banerjea sent a gold medal to the President of the meeting to be awarded to the hero. The meeting over, he was taken in a hackney carriage round the city in accompaniment of the famous song:

*"Jai jabe jiban chole,
Jagat majhe tomar kaje 'Bande' Mataram' bole ;
Bet mere ki ma bholabi, amra ki mar sei chhele,"*

"Let life depart if it will in carrying out your work uttering *Bande Mataram*."

Would you make us forget our Mother by flogging?
Never think that such sons of our Mother we are."

After a lapse of nine months Susil was arrested on May 15, 1908, in his village home in Baniyachong, Sylhet, and placed on trial in the Alipore Conspiracy Case with Aurobindo, Barindra and other stalwarts of Indian Nationalism. He was found not guilty by the Assessors and the Judge disagreeing with them awarded him seven years' rigorous imprisonment. In the High Court appeal the two Judges differed and his case with that of three others, was referred to a third Judge. He was acquitted of all charges on February 18, 1910.

Susil Kumar appeared in another role in 1915. On April 28 a few young men appeared at Pragpur in the Nadia district in two boats. They seemed to have come from a long distance. Two dacoities were committed in the locality on April 30 and on May 2, 1915, in which these young men were apparently involved. Chased by the villagers they crossed the river to reach Khalilpur. There they got down to cook food in a cowshed when they attracted the notice of a man to whom they would not disclose any name. It aroused his suspicion and he informed the police. A party of policemen hurried to the scene and some of the strangers got into the boat. The police fired shots which were replied. There was exchange of shots between the retiring men and the police. One of the fugitives slipped his foothold and the firearm in his hand let off a bullet which hit one of the comrades. The body was at once lifted on the boat. It started at full speed chased by the people on the river bank and by the police in boats that had been

requisitioned and had arrived in the meantime. It was a tense situation for the fugitives. Darkness of the night deepened by gathering clouds and a raging storm helped the escape.

The boy hit by the stray bullet was the 'birched hero' Susil Kumar Sen. He was alive just to ask his comrades to sever his head from the body on his death and throw it away which would relieve them of the load of a carcase. Moreover, in such a case, even if the body was found, identification would be difficult and the chances of a successful Government prosecution would be meagre.

The advice was followed to the letter. On May 6, 1915, at the Kristopur Chur (Khalilpur) a policeman noticed a bamboo stuck in the mud near the brink and also a small portion of boat above the water. The place was thoroughly searched and a spent cartridge was found. A drag-net was used in the shallow water and pieces of cloth were found but not the body.

Susil Kumar got seriously into the service of the Mother-land in his early youth. He is known to have delivered the "book-bomb" to Kingsford's house sent for killing him by an explosion as soon as the book had been opened. He happened to be one of the group of young men responsible for the death of Inspector Suresh Mukherjee at the crossing of Manicktola and Cornwallis Streets.

He was a boy exceptionally endowed with intellectual and moral qualities and he followed upto the last day of his life his mission with uncommon zeal and devotion till cruel hand of death brought respite on May 3, 1915, to a restless spirit.

A Portentous Phase

(1908)

The terrible repression of the people of Bengal at the hands of the police and ruthless suppression of outlets of public resentment to Government measures forced the movement to go underground. The secret political organisations that had hitherto come into existence but was in a moribund condition decided upon meeting force with force irrespective of the consequences. Removal of brutally oppressive Government officials, of which there was precedent at Poona (June 22, 1897), was given a high priority in the programme of revolutionary action in Bengal.

Indications were very clear that Indian nationalism had been entering upon a new and portentous phase the ultimate significance of which was at that time very difficult to gauge. It literally started with, (*The Statesman* : May 4, 1908) "the partition of Bengal, the crowning folly of Lord Curzon's regime" and "a different spirit had manifested itself whose weapons are apparently to be bombs and dynamite." Fuel was added to this spirit by the judgments of Kingsford, Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, from August 1904 to March 1908, inflicting merciless punishments to all who showed signs of patriotism in their action and or in their writings. The Government had been feeling nervous about Kingsford's safety and he was transferred from Calcutta as the District and Sessions Judge of Muzaffarpore on March 28, 1908.

It was decided upon by the leaders that Kingsford must die and for this reason his track should be followed wherever he might go. Two young boys were selected for the purpose and sent to Muzaffarpore with the necessary weapons for the murder of Kingsford.

Commissioned with their task Dinesh Chandra Ray and Khudiram Bose reached Muzaffarpore at the end of the third week of April, 1908 and put up in a room in a Dharamshala. They ran short of funds and took a loan from a local gentleman, an influential employee of a local Zemindar, with whose help they

could also find shelter in the Dharamshala. They received a money order from Calcutta through this gentleman who was later hauled up before the Court for rendering help to these boys.

The two young heroes waited for a week for a suitable opportunity. Kingsford did not move out of his quarters and go anywhere except to the Courts. They once visited the place but desisted from taking any action because of the chance of a large number of innocent lives getting involved.

On April 30, 1908, the two friends reached a place in front of Kingsford's house at about 8 p.m. and kept waiting under a tree for their victim.

While Dinesh and Khudiram had been waiting in ambush Mr. and Mrs. Kingsford and Mrs. and Miss Kennedy had been playing bridge at the club at about 8-30 p.m. They left for home in two separate open 'carriages both very similar in appearance and each drawn by a single horse. The house of Kingsford was situated very close to the Club and Kennedy's, a mile away.

The vehicle in which Mrs. and Miss Kennedy were seated preceded that of their friend's Victoria by a few seconds. As the first carriage drew level with the first entrance of Kingsford's grounds, Dinesh and Khudiram sprang from the shadow of one of the tall trees that lined the broad thoroughfare separating the residential buildings from the maidan.

At the time they had in their possession three revolvers and one bomb. Evidently if the bomb had failed in its purpose, they would have to take recourse to the use of the revolvers to complete their job.

The psychological moment arrived and Khudiram ran deliberately towards the carriage and poising the bomb in his outstretched arm above the head threw it with full force at the carriage which he believed to have been carrying Kingsford in its hold.

The sound of the explosion startled the town. Both Mrs. and Miss Kennedy and the syce were seriously injured. The carriage was shattered and nothing but the ribs of splintered woodwork was left of the rear portion torn and rent and charred by the explosion. Miss Kennedy died within a few minutes of the explosion, and Mrs. Kennedy a little later.

It was sheer good luck that saved Kingsford from a sure death. Incidentally it may be mentioned that an attempt was

made to kill him while he was in his Garden Reach house in Calcutta through a novel bomb placed inside a book. It was a tin case of picric acid concealed inside the body of the book of 1200 pages, 600 of which had been scooped out to accommodate it. Springs were set in such a manner that on the cutting of the string with which the book was tied up, the cover would fly open and a detonator of fulminate of mercury would be struck by a nail.

The 'book bomb' was sent to Kingsford and the *chaprasi* put it on the table of the *sahib*, who in turn placed it among his other books on the idea that it was returned by some friend who had taken it on loan. The book was hunted up in connection with the case. The spring was rusted but the explosive was found in tact.

The two assailants immediately left the place leaving their shoes at the place which indicated that they had been going barefooted. Thus the shoes supplied a valuable clue to their arrest. There was also found a tin can near the football posts on the maidan. It served as a container of the bomb that was carried to the scene of occurrence. After covering a long distance they parted company one running towards Samastipore and the other in another direction.

An alarm was sent forth to different quarters for the apprehension of the culprits. The District Superintendent of Police sent two Sub-Inspectors down the railway line, one to Bankipore and another to Mokameh with instructions to leave constables at each station along the route and to arrest all suspicious or suspected persons. Among the men thus sent two were despatched to Waini station by train.

Dinesh Chandra Ray

From the place of occurrence Dinesh Chandra Ray reached Samastipore, a railway station on the B. & N. W. Railway on May 1, 1908 and took an inter class ticket for Mokameh Ghat. He had in the meantime changed his dress and was at the time wearing new clothes and a new pair of shoes. He attracted the notice of a Sub-Inspector of Police, Nandalal Banerjee, who on the expiry of his leave had taken the train from Muzaffarpore to rejoin his duties at Singhbhum.

The appearance of Dinesh aroused suspicion of the Sub-Inspector who suspected him as having some connection with the outrage at Muzaffarpore of the previous evening. He got into the same compartment with Dinesh and started conversation with him on various matters. .

Dinesh got down at Semuriaghat and proceeded towards the Ganges to allay his thirst. He came back but because of his disgust at the other man's inquisitiveness, Dinesh got into another compartment. Alighting at Mokameh Ghat he purchased another inter class ticket for Howrah.

The Police Officer here tendered apologies and again became friendly with him. Meanwhile he had telegraphed his suspicions to Muzaffarpore and at Mokameh Ghat received a telegram directing him to arrest the suspected person. On the strength of this message Dinesh was arrested, but because of his great physical fitness he was able to wrench off and dash down the platform pursued by two constables who had by previous intimation been kept there on guard. Almost at the end of the platform after finding that escape was impossible he turned back and fired a shot at the constable nearest to him. The bullet missed and the constable closed up with his victim.

Dinesh somehow managed to release his hand with great effort and fired two shots at himself from his Browning pistol, one of which entered under the chin and the other passing through his left collar bone. Death was instantaneous.

On May 1, 1908, at about 6 p.m. the second martyr in the cause of freedom, the first being Prafulla Chakrabarti, sacrificed his life at the Altar of the Motherland. The *Hitakari* (June 15, 1908) commented :

"His soul has now flown to a higher tribunal where kings and beggars, revolutionists and their rulers stand on the same level and no distinction is made of their respective positions in the dispensation of Justice."

The head of Dinesh was severed from his body and was brought down preserved in spirit of wine, to Calcutta, for identification. After a lapse of a few days it was established beyond doubt that Dinesh Chandra Ray was no one else than Prafulla Kumar Chaki of Rangpur.

Prafulla was a remarkable lad when he joined the revolutionary party. He possessed enormous physical strength and an

iron constitution. In this respect he was the best boy in the Rangpur National Institution. During a visit to that district on a secret mission, Barindra Kumar Ghose was very much impressed with Prafulla's qualities of head and heart and his courage marked him out for the first deadly venture that was to strike terror into the heart of every oppressive ruler. It was unfortunate for the country that this attempt misfired and ended in a grim disaster. (*Vide* Appendix 'A', p. 168).

Khudiram Bose

Khudiram dashed towards the railway line with the idea of reaching a station and thence proceed to Calcutta. He reached Waini, a station on B. & N. W. Rly., a distance of twenty-four miles from Muzaffarpore. He was barefooted and quite exhausted due to the strain of the journey of such a long distance without food and drink.

He strolled into the bazar a few yards from the Waini Station and was seen at about 8 a.m. eating a handful of parched rice near a shop. When just going to drink, he was arrested by the police.

He was elaborately questioned by the Police Officer. In reply, apparently evasive, he said that he was on his way to Bankipore. When it was pointed out to him that in such a case he ought to have alighted at Muzaffarpore and not at Waini, all he could say was that he felt extremely thirsty and got down at Waini to quench his thirst. At the time of his examination he once tried to slip away but he was firmly held and pinioned. He tried to draw a revolver from his coat, carried under his arm, but was prevented from giving effect to his desire.

When arrested Khudiram had in his possession two revolvers, one of which was fully loaded, Rs. 30 in notes and coins, 37 rounds of ammunition, an Indian railway map and cuttings from a local time-table.

The suspect was brought back to Muzaffarpore by the evening train; the station was densely crowded by people anxious to have a look at him.

When he alighted from the train his appearance did not betray the slightest sign of agitation or fear. He was calm and collected and had even a cheerful look, but without any trace of bravado.

As he seated himself in the carriage for the police station he shouted *Bande Mataram*. But for the undaunted look in his eyes, no one could even dream that the slender faint-looking lad of 18 or thereabouts to be the performer of an act, the sound of which echoed and re-echoed till it reached the horizon.

In his statement before the District Magistrate he said that he had intended to kill Kingsford as he looked upon the latter as the greatest tyrant in India and that he threw the bomb on the carriage on April 30, in the belief that it had been carrying Kingsford and not two innocent and unfortunate ladies.

The Muzaffarpore Bomb Case was opened on May 21, 1908. The prisoner's non-chalance was remarkable. He did not, as if seem to realise the ultimate end awaiting him. During the proceedings the accused looked as unmoved as stone and during part of the trial he was seen to doze. He gained two pounds in weight during the undertrial period and he betrayed no emotion whatsoever.

The accused was committed to the Sessions on May 25, and the trial commenced on June 8, 1908. The prisoner pleaded guilty. The case ended on June 13 with a verdict of death. When the Judge addressing the prisoner enquired whether he had understood the implication of the sentence passed on him, he nodded and smiled. His face brightened up: it seemed that he had had nothing to do with it.

On June 11, 1908, he had an informal talk with his lawyer in the course of which he said:

"I am a resident of Midnapore Town and have no father, no mother, brother or uncle, paternal or maternal. I have got a sister, my elder, who has got many children, the eldest being about my age.

* * * *

I read up to the Second Class. I gave up my study two or three years ago. Since then I began to take active part in the *Swadeshi* Movement.

I wish to see Midnapore for once and my sister and her children. I have no trouble in my mind.

I am treated fairly well in jail. The food is coarse and quite unsuited to me which has told upon my health. Otherwise I am not ill-treated. I am confined in a lonely cell, where I am

kept day and night. I am allowed only once to come out, when I go to bathe. I am tired of being alone."

To a question by the lawyer Khudiram replied that he had no cause of fear. He had read the *Gita* perfectly well. There was no question of his pleading not guilty as he felt fully conscious of his responsibility in the matter and he was sorry that Kingsford was still alive and that two innocent ladies had been killed instead.

The stoic attitude of Khudiram was not relished by the trying Judge who remarked:

"I am unable to find on the face of it any ground for mitigating the penalty, and I need not prolong the prisoner's agony and suspense, if indeed he feels, as I would feign hope him capable of feeling by saying one word more."

An appeal was preferred in the High Court on July 6, 1908. After a short hearing the sentence was confirmed on July 13, 1908.

Khudiram's execution took place on August 11, 1908, punctually at 6 a.m. in the Muzaffarpore Jail.

He walked to the gallows firmly and cheerfully and even smiled when the cap was drawn over the head.

A quiet funeral on the Gandak finished a stormy career that had from adolescence served the Motherland with unflinching devotion unmoved by the frowns of the minions of foreign Government holding India with brute force. (*Vide* Appendix 'B')

Kingsford did not die but the shock and fear of life were so great that he fell ill and left for Mussoorie with the entire family on May 3. His enthusiasm displayed in the trial of political cases in Calcutta left him for good and for all practical purposes he was dead to Indian administration though living in flesh and blood.

The Empire (an evening daily) published the following editorial on August 11, 1908:

"Khudiram Bose was executed this morning....it is alleged that he mounted the scaffold with his body erect. He was cheerful and smiling.... It is said that when his pleader visited him in the jail the day before the execution, Khudiram told him that he would die as fearlessly as the Rajput women of old did on funeral pyres."

Khudiram had a golden past so far as unstinted service to the country was concerned. He had even in his younger days no fear of the police or for his sufferings at their hands.

On April 1, 1906, an Industrial Exhibition was opened at

Midnapore in the presence of the District Magistrate when shouts of *Bande Mataram* were raised by some boys and everybody was struck with terror because of the consequences of this unpardonable offence. On the closing day of the *mela* (fair), a leaflet was distributed containing abusive language against the English rulers in India.

Previous to this on February 28, a mere boy of 15 was arrested by a Head Constable for having in his possession three copies of the offending leaflet. The boy who was no other than the hero Khudiram, was ready to go wherever he was wanted to by the police, but he insisted on having his hands free as his offence had not yet been proved or even cited. He must be treated as an honourable citizen. He was insulted by the same constable for his attitude and he tried to drag him by force to the local Police Station. Khudiram felt indignant at this treatment and he wrenched his hand by force and left the place.

From the next day, i.e., March 1, 1906, police investigation was started with great vigour and several respectable gentlemen, together with an informer, were summoned to the Magistrate's quarters where they were shabbily treated. On the top of it, a Government employee of some standing was served with a notice of dismissal.

Khudiram, because of his leanings towards *Swadeshi*, had to leave his family and to take his residence in a boarding house attached to the local weaving school. On May 31, 1906, two Sub-Inspectors and about ten constables forced their entrance into the boarding house at 1 a.m. and arrested Khudiram from amongst a number of other boys sleeping there.

Experience of the lock-up thus started with Khudiram from this tender age. Bail could not be secured in spite of the best efforts. He bore the trial patiently and heroically.

On April 4, 1906, Khudiram was released on bail. On April 17, he was committed to the Sessions on the ground that "on or about 28th February at Midnapore old jail compound he attempted to bring the Government into hatred or contempt" (Section 124A I.P.C.) and "with intent to incite or which was likely to incite the native community against the European community and thereby committed offence under section 506 I.P.C. (criminal intimidation) by circulation of leaflets."

He was brought before the Court with his hands firmly handcuffed as if he had been a hardened criminal with records of escape from custody behind him.

He was allowed bail on April 18 and his case was, on the ground of his tender age, withdrawn on May 16, 1906.

This early lesson laid the stone of a solid foundation of a service and sacrifice in future.

A few among the revolutionists expressed their sorrow at the death of two innocent ladies in the belief that their future efforts might fail by the curse of God. The *Yugantar* (article reproduced in *The Englishman*: June 9, 1908) tried to dissipate the nervousness of such faint-hearted fellows with the following exhortation:

"If any youth aspiring to freedom has really said so, then he has not yet become fit to obtain freedom. Hard-heartedness is necessary to trample the enemy under foot. When during the *Treta-yuga*, the *Rakshasas* were perpetrating frightful oppression in the Dandaka forest, Rama extirpated the whole race of the *Rakshasas*, Lakshman Thakur cut off the nose and ears of Surpanakha, the beautiful sister of Ravana, and then let her go. It is not necessary to give illustrations if in the attempt to destroy the enemy a woman is accidentally killed. Then God have no cause of displeasure like the English. Many a female demon must be killed in the course of time in order to extirpate the race of *Asuras* from the breast of the earth. There is no sin in this; no mercy; no affection!" (*I'ide* Appendix 'B', p. 169).

APPENDIX

(A)

A correspondent from Bogra wrote to *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* on May 30, 1908, on Prafulla Chaki:

..... That a boy of such a tender age, meek and docile would come out of such a "sleepy hollow" as Bogra to join a secret brotherhood was beyond our conception.

Born of a quiet, religious family, and the youngest of the five children of the late Rajnarain Chaki of Behar, a village some twenty miles north of Bogra, Prafulla instead of being 'gay' as his name indicates, was dedicative and thoughtful from his early boyhood. He was rarely seen at play with his comrades, but would sit alone for hours in a pensive mood.

Although of a somewhat dark complexion his broad forehead, "pencilled" eye-brows and resolute face indicated a strong mind.

He was one of the eighty boys who left the Rangpur Zilla School as a protest against the interfering measures initiated by the Fullerian Government and formed by the stand they made the nucleus of national education in Bengal.

Though his career has been wild and brief, he came of a cultured and well off family...

Prafulla took formal leave of his mother more than a year ago; the mysterious words of farewell he uttered were then Greek to the old lady, but are now full of meaning.

Even in his fearful new mission he could not forget his mother, and wrote two letters to her from different places without any postal designation; but assuring her at the same time that 'her child' was not unhappy in the least and not uncomfortable in his present situation. Moreover, he informed her that he had espoused the order of *brahmacharya*, and was making fair progress in his religion, and in the study of his subjects and there was no case of anxiety for him.

All went on smoothly till the beginning of this month, when the whole family were rudely shaken by the news of the tragic end of their beloved. When the cruel news was flashed in the Papers that the head of the deceased had been severed from his body and preserved in spirits, people were literally stunned with horror.

Verily, we could not make out what the paternal Government would gain by this unseemly act, when photos for identification had already been taken. The dead bodies even of enemies are respected by all civilized nations. The revolting decapitation of the corpse reminds one of the treatment which the Committee of Public Safety, during the French Revolution, meted out to the dead body of Valaze, one of the Girondists who made away with himself with a poniard, just after the sentence of death was passed on him. The President decreed in ghastly words that the warm corpse of Valaze would be carried to the prison, conveyed in the same cart with the accomplices to the scaffold, and interred with them.

I close this imperfect, and hasty sketch with the last words of Prafulla as he stood on the brink of eternity: 'Ha, Ha. You a Bengalee, my countryman, have come to arrest me.'

(B)

The Bande Mataram, (August 16, 1908, editorial for August 12, 1908) presents before its readers the spiritual side of the action that transcended the fears and misgivings of the flesh:

His last wish was to partake of the 'Prasad' of the local deity by way of receiving its blessing. In the prison he was absorbed all day in the

study of religious and patriotic literature. He was preparing to die and his conduct on the scaffold....shows how complete was the preparation. He has completely falsified the theory that it was an artificial enthusiasm that supplied him with the motive of his action. He all along knew to what extent he was responsible for the crime. But that he was prepared to bear his full share of responsibility cannot in the least be doubted. His ambition was perhaps to die for his country like the Rajput women on the funeral pyres. Beautiful as he was like a fairy nobody could suspect him to be an assassin. During his trial at Muzaffarpore a Beharee gentleman came to scoff but remained to doubt his crime and admire his conduct. But now that he died so fearlessly the assassin is totally merged in the hero. It is not given to every man to overcome the weakness of flesh in this way. People can never forget how the Spirit got the better of the flesh in this young man. We are really reminded of the spiritual strength of yore.

Philosophy of the Bomb

(1908)

The echo of the Muzaffarpore explosion reverberated throughout India and reached the shores of England before it died down. The nationalist press while condemning the act commended the spirit of selfless sacrifice of the two young lads, one of whom took away his life with his own hands and another who lost it on the gallows.

Naturally enough the British-owned Papers all over India went into hysterics and demanded the heads of the known as also of the unknown leaders and men of the revolutionary movement on a charger.

Some of the nationalist Papers advised caution and urged upon the Government to find out the real cause of such unrest and violent manifestation of temper of a class of people who had by now developed one passion and that of liberty irrespective of the sufferings they have had to undergo.

"The remedies suggested by the Anglo-Indian Press is sure to fail," wrote the *Kesari*, (May 5, 1908), "as these have failed in Russia and elsewhere."

It was followed by the *Prakash*, (May 5, 1908):

"The English have been greatly frightened at the change which this engine of destruction has wrought in the politics of the country."

The Punjabee, (May 6, 1908), rightly analysed the cause as the result of a deep-seated malady:

"It shows the depth of intensity of discontent which brought about by the existing state of things and has converted even the timid, docile, westernised Bengali into an anarchist."

It is incumbent on the Government "to deeply ponder over the causes that are leading people to commit such offences" advised the *Kal*, (May 8, 1908). There can be no effect without a cause and the Indians must have been given sufficient incitement "to resort to violent means." Moreover the Bengalis have overcome their fear for the prison and the gallows. The *Hind Swarajya*, (May 9, 1908), stated that "they declare in open court, their readiness to die in the country's cause."

In analysing the spring of action the *Mahratta*, (May 10, 1908), held that the action "was criminal in character" goes without saying, "but there was not the shadow of self-interest which is the usual motive for crimes There is no private grudge, no mean spite, no sordid revengefulness against any individual. The confessions made appear on their face to be straight forward and honest; and they prove that the boys were guided by the sole consideration of the futility of the ordinary methods of political agitation and the irresistible desire to make terrible protest against the existing state of things so far as lay in their power, and . . . the remote responsibility lies on the head of the Government itself."

The attitude of Englishmen "in maintaining a permanent sway over India simply for the sake of Imperialism" says the *Bhala*, (May 11, 1908), will exacerbate Indian sentiment still more "which every now and then make its existence felt by means of bomb outrages."

The same argument is advanced by the *Kesari*, (May 12, 1908), in which it treats the matter of bomb outrages and their causes in great detail. It argued,

"The desire of the people gradually to obtain the rights of *Swarajya* is growing stronger and stronger and if they do not get rights by degrees, as desired by them, then some people at least out of the subject population being filled with indignation or exasperation will not fail to embark upon the commission of improper horrible deeds recklessly.

* * * *

"If rulers do not want them, they should impose restriction upon their own system of administration.

"All thoughtful people seem to have formed one opinion that the bomb party has come into existence in consequence of the oppression practised by the official class, the harassment inflicted by them and their obstinacy in treating public opinion with recklessness. The bombs exploded owing to the official class having tried the patience of the Bengalees to such a degree that the heads of the Bengalee youths become turned. The responsibility of this calamity must, therefore, be thrown not on the political agitation, writings or speeches, but on the thoughtlessness and obstinacy of the official class."

It is the motive, that lends strength to the mind and hands of those who fearlessly come forward to court death. In this violent action the *Mumukshu*, (May 14, 1908), finds

"a divine dispensation that the Bengali race which has long been looked upon as most pusillanimous should have produced a score of youths ready to sacrifice their lives for their country, and Chapekar-like undergo any punishment with dauntless courage and cheerfulness"

Certainly they will be punished heavily

"but all who think of their extraordinary courage, their outspokenness, and their noble and pure motives cannot but feel admiration for them, and even those who condemn them for their thoughtless actions cannot but praise their disinterestedness. Their aim might be mistaken but their motive was pure. Will any one ever be able to court death without pure motives?"

The effect of the outrage will produce a sense of "insecurity of lives in India in Englishmen" (*The Hind Punch*: May 13, 1908).

There can be no regrets over the outrage which killed "only two women", according to the *Swarajya*, (May 16, 1908),

"because the police must have sent many thousands to the other world by their persecutions. Their (the patriots') conduct is quite unselfish and they had devoted themselves solely to the service of the country.

* * * *

"Why should patriots, whose motive is to render service to the country be dubbed anarchists? They are as good patriots as the Moderates or the Nationalists, if not better; perhaps their patriotism having reached its acme may have followed a wrong direction."

Further dilating the point the Paper says in the course of the same article:

"The band does not appear to be mean-minded, but far-sighted in their aims and unbending in their determination. They have placed before them

the noblest ideal of independence and they did what they deemed to be their duty to achieve it! It is clear that though their brains were on fire, their hearts were strong and holy. Their souls were not stained with guilt of the ordinary murderers or dacoits."

The *Dnyanottejak* (May 16), the *Jain* (May 17), the *Bhala* (May 21) wrote in the same strain extolling the motive of the action.

The Muzaffarpore incident takes a different colour because those who have "organised these plots" are "not ignorant or uneducated men". It is necessary to explore the reasons writes the *Gujrati* (May 17, 1908) :

"What then is the reason that educated men, though well aware that they will have to sacrifice their lives, launch themselves into such dangerous undertakings? When such political madness seize the educated, the authorities should infer that the people have no longer the patience to suppress their dislike for the administration."

A thorough disregard for personal safety, the noble motive and rare courage displayed by two young lads extort unstinted admiration of the *Sudhakar*, (May 16, 1908), but it has no sympathy for their dastardly action.

The real motive of the outrage in both Poona and Muzaffarpore is ascribed by the *Vihari*, (May 18, 1908), to the oppression of the English officers concerned, viz., Rand and Kingsford. And "there is not a single man who would not admire these anarchists for the nobility of their aspiration."

The birth of the bomb presages the advent of a new era. The *Kesari*, (May 26, 1908), writes:

"Neither the Jubilee murder of 1897, nor the reported deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, nor the reported tampering with the Sikh regiments had produced so much commotion, and English public opinion seems inclined to regard birth of the bomb in India as the most extraordinary event since the Mutiny of 1857." (*Vide* Appendix)

The *Yugantar* which had been suppressed earlier reappeared on May 5, 1908, and the very same issue contained articles which plainly and without reserve called upon the people to loot the treasuries and in the name of the *Chamunda nrimunda-malini karal-badani Kali* to engage in war with the enemy.

The *Hitakari*, (May 28, 1908), was not slow in holding before

its readers the distinction between the 'revolutionaries' and 'anarchists' and it boldly asserted that

"they (the boys of Bengal) do not desire the subversion of law and order as European anarchists do, although their conduct may lead to disorder and confusion."

They should be judged by the motives that forced them to resort to bomb-throwing. It balances the argument of the calumniators of the action and the point of view of the actors themselves:

"If it is said that Khudiram was guilty of murder, cowardice and of using infernal weapons, the revolutionists can reply that every ruler who oppresses the people and sends them to the gallows is also guilty of the same crime. It may be said that Khudiram is a fiend because he killed two innocent ladies. It is true; but will a judge be considered a fiend if by mistake he sentences an innocent person to be hanged who has been sent up for trial by the police willingly or unwillingly?"

There are always two sides of any action out of the ordinary. It is difficult to reconcile these conflicting views. But there were no two opinions about the loftiness of their ideal. Writes the *Hindusthan*, (May 29, 1908), to the following effect:

"The principal characters were praised by some for their heroic unselfishness, denounced by most for their crack-brainedness, admired by a few as idealists and abhorred by many as Nihilists. However much opinions varied on one point, all agreed that there was no touch of meanness in them. Grand and lofty they loomed in the simplicity and truthfulness of their avowals."

The *Yugantar* declared, (May 20, 1908), that

"the country is impatient to take vengeance on the traitors. The hour of vengeance is come and those who gave the police information and even those who may be mistaken for the traitors will suffer.

"The *shastras* say: Be he brother, or father or son, kill him if he be a traitor; there is no sin in it.

"The handful of police and soldiers will never be able to withstand this ocean of revolutionists. These prisoners may die but thousands will spring into existence. Don't be afraid! With the blood of the heroes the soil of Hindusthan is always fertile. Don't be broken-hearted. There is no dearth of heroes. There is no dearth of money. Glory awaits you! A single frown (a few bombs) from your eyes have struck terror into the heart of the foe! The uproar of panic has filled the sky! Before the curtain has actually been raised a glimpse of the splendour of the stage, while the

orchestra still plays, has made the heart of the audience mad with joy. Swim with renewed energy in the ocean of war!

"The mental condition of the prisoners (of the Alipore Conspiracy Case) is excellent, some have gone to heaven by killing themselves and snapping there fingers at the enemy; others have bidden eternal farewell to their comrades."

In securing equilibrium between two contending forces, society seeks its own level, (*Kesari* : June 5, 1908), for finding out some means :

"It is true that no thoughtful man would lend his support to such murderous excesses, but eminent historians have pointed out that even such wicked tendencies have in them a latent power of doing good and therefore such men should not be looked upon as the enemies of mankind.

"... Society automatically gives birth to certain harsh remedies when the two powers are disproportionately balanced and secures equilibrium."

The contention of the *Kesari*, (June 9, 1908), is that the cry that has been raised by the Government of India "that the cult of the bomb in Bengal is destructive of social order just like its prototype in Europe" is not the whole truth. According to the Paper

"while the cult in Europe is the outcome of the wealthy classes, the Bengal cult has got at its root an excess of the patriotic sentiment."

It goes on :

"The English have evidently emasculated the whole nation and reduced it to a state of impotence simply to enable even the lowest of their officials to exercise their high-handed sway with impunity. The English possess neither the magnanimity nor the power of the Moghuls who never disarmed the Indian.

"As compared with the Imperial sway of the Moghuls, the English Empire in India is extremely weak and wanting in vigour from the point of view of military strength. The Emperor Aurangzebe exercised tyranny of various kinds over the Hindus from the point of view of religion though not from the point of the distribution of wealth; and his ten or twenty lakhs of troops also perished completely during his Deccan campaigns of ten or twenty years. Still the Empire of Delhi lasted for one hundred and fifty years....albeit in a hobbling manner, after his death. If the English army in India were to be confronted by difficulties similar to those which Aurangzebe's forces encountered then the English rule will not last in India even for a quarter of a century after (that). The principal reason of this is that the English remain in India like temporary tenants or mere birds of passage."

The people are disarmed while the Government has all the military strength in its favour. The result is that the Britishers think themselves the absolute masters of the situation. But the bomb has changed all this. Because,

"hitherto the Government had no means of knowing the degree of desperation to which some of their hot-headed subjects have been driven through exasperation at Government measures. The people only petitioned and their representation was regarded as mere froth worth no attention."

"The bomb has put a potent weapon into the hands of the people and it has lessened the respect for the military prestige of the Government. England will not henceforward be able to carry on the administration of the country in a smooth manner unless Englishmen deign to take people more into their confidence.

"Manufacture and possession of arms can be prevented by law and police supervision, but the same cannot be said about the bomb. It resembles more a magical charm than a visible object manufactured in a factory.

"The bombs required by hot-headed madcaps bent on violence do not require large quantities of materials for the manufacture as was shown by the bomb-factory unearthed at Calcutta. It appears that the Government have failed to learn a lesson from the discovery. No law possesses the power to keep the knowledge of the manufacture of bombs from those that are bent upon using them, for such knowledge is no longer regarded as a secret in Europe. It is still a secret in India, but if a policy of repression succeeds in adding to the number of the hot-blood in the country, the knowledge will in no time spread to the other parts of India from Bengal."

There were several other Papers particularly in Maharashtra and Bengal which indirectly supported the Muzaffarpore outrage. One of these was the *Kal* which wrote:

"People are prepared to do anything for *Swarajya* and they no longer sing the glories of British rule.... Bomb-throwing in India is different from bomb-throwing in Russia. Many of the Russians side with the Government against these bomb-throwers, but it is doubtful whether much sympathy will be found in India. If even in such circumstances Russia, got the Duma, *a fortiori* India is bound to get *Swarajya*. It is quite unjustifiable to call the bomb-throwers in India anarchists. Setting aside the question whether bomb-throwing is justifiable or not, Indians are not trying to promote disorder but to obtain *Swarajya*."

Giving an estimate of the Bengali character, the *Aftab*, (August 2, 1908), says that the boys have conquered the fear of death and any attempt to suppress the resolute spirit of the patriots would intoxicate their mind and add strength to their muscles. The language and argument would be read with interest:

"A change seems to be passing over the country. It commences in Bengal the people of which were first to be swayed by the creed of nationalism. They used to be regarded as cowards by their fellow countrymen, but this estimate of their character has turned out to have been unfounded. They are proving themselves as the saviours of India. They have lost all fear of death, while imprisonment has no terror for them. Blessed are those who sacrifice their lives for their country and make themselves immortal thereby. The Bengalis are resolute and no power can stand in their way. The more Government tries to suppress them the more they will gain in strength."

If nothing else the prestige of the Government received a very rude shock from which it could seldom recover in later years.

APPENDIX

(A)

Extracts from the article under caption *Philosophy of the Bomb* published in the *Kesari* on May 26, 1908:

Owing to the murders of 1897, the attention of the authorities was directed towards the disorder (in) plague (administration), and since that time the aspect of the plague administration began to change and complete transformation took place in the plague administration soon after. It is at present being asserted that the Government care two straws for the bombs of the Bengalis. What do the words care 'two straws' mean? The Bengal bomb-makers have themselves admitted that the English Government cannot be overthrown by the bomb.

Some things must be viewed from the people's stand-point; it is by no means enough to look at them only from one's own point of view. The light had not dawned upon the minds of authorities. The light dawned (upon their minds) owing to the murder of Mr. Rand and the conceit of wisdom having produced knowledge (within itself), the conceit left the authorities so far at least as plague administration was concerned. What was there amiss in this? Where was stigma cast upon the might of the British Government in this? That (one) should not forget to make use of the eyes while walking. When is the (lesson) to be learnt if not when one has (actually) submitted?

Just as the liquor shopkeepers and the prostitutes in a village (feel) overjoyed to hear the news of the death of the father of a licentious son, so *The Bombay Times* (which is) stupidly intoxicated by nature, and some native (news) papers of Poona (and) Bombay included amongst journals indirectly supported by Government, seeing that the troubled times of the bomb have overtaken Government, are beginning to think that they would

(now) fare sumptuously. This (overjoyed) band of blackguards are saying to Government that the Government have had the stumble (in the shape of) the bombs owing to the writings in newspapers and the speeches of the national party; (and) that, therefore, paying without any heed to the bomb, Government should muzzle these papers and speakers.

In 1897 these set of blackguards had brought very similar imputation (against newspapers) and Government have tasted, in the shape of bombs, the bitter fruits of that policy of repression that has been continuously maintained by them for the last ten years on account of their being half-influenced by the imputations. If Government do not change this policy at this time, its consequence will not fail to be even more terrible than at present to the rulers and the subjects.

It is known to all the mutinies and revolts of the Nihilists, that frequently occur even in Russia, take place for this very reason; and looking (at the matter) from the point of view (one) is compelled to say that the same state of things which has been brought about in Russia by the oppression of the official class composed of their own countrymen, has now been inaugurated in India in consequence of the oppression practised by alien officers. There is none who is not aware that the might of the British Government is as vast and unlimited as that of the Russian Government. But rulers who exercise unrestricted power must always remember that there is also a limit to the patience of humanity.

Old and experienced leaders, so far as they are themselves concerned, keep this indignation premanently within certain prescribed limits with the help of (their) experience or (mature) thought; but it is impossible for all the people of the country thus to keep their spirit, indignation or irritability always within such bounds; nay it may even be said without hesitation that the inhabitants of that country in which it is possible for this feeling of indignation to always remain thus within prescribed bounds are destined to remain prepetually in slavery!

(B)

In its inimitable analytical vein the *Kesari*, (May 27, 1908), draws a subtle distinction between the spring of action of the Chapekar brothers and the bomb-throwers of Bengal:

If daring and skill in execution are to be considered, the Chapekar brothers must be accorded the palm over the bomb-throwers of Bengal, but from the point of view of the motive and the means used, the latter deserve the greater praise. The Chapekar brothers had only the oppression resulting from the plague operations in view, they had not before them the larger question that system of administration was faulty, and that there were no hopes of the bureaucracy consenting to change it unless individual members thereof were subjected to threats. Modern military science has

strength and the position of the rulers in all countries has improved by placing the subjects totally at a disadvantage. But if modern science has placed deadly arms of precision in the hands of the rulers, it has also given birth to the destructive bombs.

* * *

If Government does not profit by bombs, it will prove to be its own enemy.

Alipore Debacle

(1908-1910)

The unfortunate episode at Muzaffarpore, on April 30, 1908, resulting in the death of two innocent ladies and loss of life, almost for nothing, of two dare-devil boys of the organisation spelt disaster to the preparation for an armed struggle rather at the initial stage.

The police had long been keeping watch over certain premises used by the suspects. With the incident at Muzaffarpore the police simultaneously searched on May 2, 1908, (i) No. 32, Muraripukur Road, Manicktala Garden, (ii) 38-4, Raja Nabakissen Street, (iii) 15, Gopi Mohan Dutta Lane, (iv) 134, Harrison Road, all in Calcutta, and (v) Sil's Lodge, Deoghar. The total number of persons rounded up was forty-one.

In course of the search the police seized a mass of seditious books and literature, explosives at different stages of manufacture, arms and ammunition, complete instructions in writing for the manufacture of high-explosives, etc. It transpired that the collection of materials and preparation for waging war against the Government had been going on for a fairly long time. It is to be noted that even before the discovery of the conspiracy and preparation just mentioned, there had been some incidents of revolutionary character happening at various places in Bengal. It transpired later that they were carried out by members of the party under arrest. Moreover, as has already been stated, a valuable life was lost in Deoghar in testing the violence of a bomb manufactured with new type of chemicals.

The successful search and arrests on May 2, 1908, and thereafter resulted in the Alipore Conspiracy Case with 38 persons

as accused. The part played by the *Yugantar* was immense and some of the accused in the trial made no secret of the great influence of the inflammatory writings in the said Paper that had incited them to adopt the risky path of freedom.

There were many hundreds of young men who supported the objective of the organisation actively or otherwise. There were many units independent of the Manicktala organisation which had been preparing themselves for the fray in the best manner they could.

The ultimate aim was unfettered independence, but the immediate objective was reprisal or punishment of those who had made themselves a nuisance by their conduct that had been detrimental to the interests of the nation.

The evidence collected from various sources went to show that a number of *bhadralok* youths had entered into conspiracy to wage war against the King Emperor. The accused were "for the most part men of education and strong religious convictions". It was a criminal conspiracy of great magnitude that the revolutionary party had started. The members showed considerable "enterprise, daring and determination" in the pursuit of their ideal.

The accused were placed before a Magistrate in two batches. The trial of the first batch started on May 4, and lasted up to August 18, 1908, and of the second, from October 14, 1908 to March 4, 1909. Of the total number 38 persons of the first batch were committed to the Sessions on August 19, and the second batch on September 14. The Alipore Sessions started on October 19.

On May 6, 1909, the Sessions Judge delivered his verdict awarding capital punishment to two and various terms of imprisonment to seventeen others, including transportation for life to ten. Seventeen accused were acquitted.

The High Court on appeal commuted on November 23, 1909, the death sentences to one of transportation for life and reduced the sentences of others. One was acquitted and one died during the course of the hearing. The Judges differed in the cases of five which were referred to a third Judge. The verdict for acquittal of three and confirmation of sentences of two was delivered on February 18, 1910, bringing the first sensational political conspiracy trial of the British rule to a close.

A Traitor's Doom

(1908)

The Alipore Conspiracy Case had been proceeding along its wonted course before the Sessions Judge. In the first batch was KANAILAL DATTA arrested on May 2, 1908, from 15, Gopi Mohan Dutta Lane and Narendra Nath Gossain, arrested on May 5, 1908, from Serampore. In the second batch was SATYENDRA NATH BOSE, a prisoner convicted in an Arms Act Case, Midnapore. He was first produced before the Magistrate on July 21, 1908.

Without the knowledge but under unremitting suspicion of the co-accused, Narendra was taken out of the prisoners' dock and placed in the witness box for the Crown on the strength of a King's pardon that was tendered and accepted on June 23, 1908. He was examined on June 24, 25, 29 and July 3. He would say before the Court what the police had taught him the previous night. Several political leaders were named who had nothing to do with the conspiracy. Stories were told about the accused which had never occurred. There was a regular consternation amongst the accused more for those that had sympathised with the cause or helped it in their own way than for their own selves.

In the Court and in Alipore Central Jail, where the accused were quartered, Naren was allowed a certain amount of liberty. In the court room he mixed with the police officers and other hangers-on and was as free as any of them till the time came for the prisoners to be taken back to the jail. He was separated from the other accused and put in the European Ward.

A tense situation indeed! Naren's evidence admissible under the law would spell disaster, it was realised, not only to the persons concerned but to the cause itself.

In the meantime, Satyen a sickly fellow attending the court in a prisoner's costume, was absent on July 26, 27 and 28, 1908. He was first removed to the hospital for illness on July 17, and discharged on the same date. He came back to the hospital on July 27. On August 30, he had two interviews with outsiders.

Kanai complained of severe colic on August 30 and was

admitted in the hospital on the same date. He was to help a co-accused who could walk but could not dress himself.

On August 29, 1908, Naren went to the Superintendent of the jail and told him that he had received a message from one of the undertrial bomb case prisoners in the hospital to the effect that he wanted to make a confession. With the Superintendent's approval Naren saw Satyen in the same evening as also on the very next day. A further interview was arranged on the succeeding day, August 31, in the morning.

On August 31, a convict watchman came and informed the man in charge of the European Ward that Satyen wanted to see Naren. Accompanied by Higgins, the convict overseer, Naren started on the fateful journey. When they had been nearing the hospital Satyen was seen waiting on the first floor near the netting of the verandah. He went away towards Ward No. 1 as Naren and Higgins climbed up the stairs. They entered the dispensary room at about seven in the morning. Naren asked Higgins to call Satyen for discussion.

Kanai had been occupying a different ward and was not expected to be present there at the time. He was seen coming from the direction of Ward No. 1. Both entered the dispensary and came very close to Naren. Then the three together went out to the verandah. Higgins was kept waiting in the dispensary.

Before it was ten minutes, the sound of pistol shots was heard. Naren was hurt in one hand and came running towards the dispensary shouting, "For God's sake, save me, they will kill me." He was closely followed by Kanai and Satyen. Higgins pushed Naren inside the dispensary and got between Naren and his pursuers. He grappled with Kanai and in raising his arm to knock the revolver of Kanai upwards was shot in the back of the right hand, the bullet passing through the ball of his thumb. Higgins fell on the floor but almost immediately got up. Naren was standing at the corner of the dispensary and Satyen pointed his revolver at him.

Naren had by this time picked up sufficient wits to run out of the dispensary and get down the steps where he was followed by Kanai and Satyen, both firing while running down. One of the bullets struck Naren on the back of the hip.

Naren and Higgins managed to get out of the hospital.

They followed the passage running towards the east from the hospital gate along the south end of the weaving mill shed. At the south-east corner of the shed, another passage met it at right angles and ran northwards between two portions of the factory to the open space near which were (and still are) the jail gate and the offices.

They were determinedly followed first by Kanai and then by Satyen who fired a few more shots while chasing their prey. Another convict overseer, Linton, came hurriedly to their aid and caught Satyen almost unawares who fell on the ground. Kanai had been keeping his eyes fixed on his victim when Linton came up and caught hold of him. Kanai hit the muzzle of his pistol on the forehead of Linton but failed to secure his freedom. In spite of such a handicap Kanai with supreme effort got loose his hand and fired the last shot at Naren from a very close range. Naren fell as if spinning round with half of his body in the drain and the other half on the pathway.

Both Kanai and Satyen made no further efforts to injure any body else or to secure their own freedom. Kanai threw away his revolver which had discharged all the five shots that it might hold. It was rather of a big size, a R. I. C. '450 bore. Satyen used a smaller one, '380 bore, by Osborne. It had six chambers but contained only four cartridges all of which had been discharged. These revolvers were not ejectors, the spent cartridges had had to be pushed out with the help of a rod.

The *Indu Prakash* made the following caustic remark on the incident on September 5, 1908:

"The Bengal anarchists may be considered to be the most romantic lot in the whole anarchist world, and in point of bravery, rascality and cunning they simply cast into the shade Russian and Spanish desperadoes, quick in action, quick in revenge, smart in overpowering powerful European warders, and smart in getting rid of an approver."

In its view: "The anarchist law is terrible indeed", and their creed in this respect was

"better let go half a dozen spleen-cracking Europeans than allow a traitor to escape."

There was the usual judicial enquiry into the incident and the accused were committed to the Sessions, Kanai refusing the aid of lawyers. He admitted his guilt. The trial opened on

September 7, 1908. A few prosecution witnesses including the two convict overseers and the Medical Officer were examined.

The verdict of the Jury, one of guilty, was unanimously against Kanai. In respect of Satyen, a majority of three against two, declared him to be 'not guilty'.

Kanai was sentenced to death and Satyen's case was referred to the High Court.

On October 21, 1908, the High Court pronounced its judgment awarding capital punishment to both the accused.

The sentence of death fell flat on Kanai. He seemed to be absolutely unperturbed over the event. His countenance disclosed blissful composure of his mind. There was no tinge of sorrow, nor of distress. It looked like a charming lotus in full bloom with its inherent joy in self-fulfilment. He looked at death with the same equanimity as he viewed upon life. It was plain that he had realised the eternal Truth and to him the prison, the guard, the gallows had merged into Nothingness. He gained sixteen pounds in weight which was a proof positive of the inner strength of controlling thoughts and he steeped as if in Heaven's Grace.

After the judgment he refused to see any of his friends or relations except his brother whom he saw on the 9th. He declined to have the last rites done by the priest.

During the night previous to his execution, he slept so soundly that he had had to be roused by the dutiful jail officials for getting ready. He attended to his usual morning duties and got prepared for the exit. He was pinioned at five minutes past six. He walked up to the scaffold escorted by four European warders. He moved on with firm steps and maintained the same callous attitude that had characterised him throughout the trial.

He ascended the steps of the scaffold unaided; the black cap was pulled over his face; the noose was adjusted round his neck. At a given signal the lever was pulled and Kanai dropped a few feet and was next seen hanging by the rope round his neck.

This memorable event of history happened on November 10, 1908, in the Alipore Central Jail at about seven in the morning.

It was decided to consecrate his mortal remains on the funeral pyre at Keoratola, Kalighat. A spontaneous procession of several

thousand men and women moved from the jail gate to the burning ghat.

A very large number of people had already gathered at the cremation ground to show their respect to Kanai. They were found weeping bitterly when Kanai's dead body came within view. A gentleman procured several maunds of sandal wood by raising subscription on the spot.

After the body had burnt out, the small remains of the bones were broken to pieces and carried off as relics. The ashes could not be thrown into the Ganges because a great number of people produced containers including silver boxes and filled them with the residue. Pinches were done up into paper parcels, possibly for despatch to moffusil admirers. Local flower vendors vied with each other to offer their wares free of cost to do honour to the dead.

In the afternoon a procession was formed at College Square to march through the streets with the song *jai jabe jiban chole*, while women had been producing tremendous blasts on their conch-shells. An old man sang:

"Forget the love of all that's dear,
Forego the world's worry and care,
Close in sleep thy shining eyes!
Where no darkness prevails or no tear
Where glory decks the hero's bier,
Up! Kanai, up to Paradise!"

The Revolvers

The public was left guessing as to how the revolvers could be smuggled into the jail where such strict watch was maintained from the gate to the person of each individual accused. Who might be the persons who had carried the revolvers inside the jail and how could they reach the accused. Moreover, how could the accused remain in possession of the weapons in the jail hospital, especially when one was not of an insignificant size which could be easily kept concealed, as it happened to be bulky and of an old Webley type.

The mystery further deepened due to the fact that a general jail parade of all persons was held in the morning of August 30, 1908. Any way, those who could unravel the mystery had not done

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so but it is now known that two friends covered the revolvers held in their hands with their wrappers and while coming out transferred them to the retiring prisoners. It is remarkable that these could be so effectively concealed as to escape detection of the jail officers and warders who had instructions to keep a strict watch over these interviews.

Satyendra Nath

Satyen's execution was delayed for a few days till the result of his petition to the Lieutenant Governor had been known. In the meantime Pandit Shiv Nath Shastri met Satyen at his request in the jail on November 5, 1908. His last letter to a relative disclosed his deep love and respect for his mother. He wrote:

"I have a first and last request to make and that is you will look after my mother in her old age properly. I wish to be cremated with religious service."

Satyendra Nath Bose was executed on November 21, 1908, in the morning and was cremated inside the jail compound.

Profited by the experience of wild public demonstration after Kanai's execution, the Government revised Rule 840 of the Jail Code which empowered the jail authorities to burn or bury the dead body of an executed criminal "unless claimed by their relations or friends." This provision was altered by a Press Communique dated November 17, 1908, directing that

"the body shall not be delivered to the friends of criminal, if in the opinion of the Superintendent, there is likelihood of its being made the occasion of a public demonstration, or otherwise improperly treated."

The Government was determined to stop demonstration in every shape and form. Some people took into their heads to carry an effigy of Satyendra from the jail and perform the last obsequies on the bank of the Ganges. The Government forthwith promulgated an order under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting thereby all procession in connection therewith because "if allowed", it was likely "to cause obstruction and annoyance to the public" and might "disturb public peace and tranquillity". As a corollary the "public must abstain from taking any part in the procession".

Satyen had a political past. He was the Captain of the National Volunteers at the time of the Midnapore Agricultural

Political Conference. When the leaders disagreed on the approach to political issues, he joined the extremist section. He was dismissed from service in the Land Acquisition Department on April 1, 1906.

In a specific case against him in Midnapore, he was charged on June 28, 1908, at the first instance, with abetment of murder at Muzaffarpore. Subsequently, this was altered to one of collecting arms and ammunition for waging war against the British Government. There being no evidence he was enlarged on bail.

As a licensed gun and three unlicensed swords were found in the course of a search of the house where Satyen lived, the police after a month of the institution of the first suit, filed a case under the Arms Act, in which Satyen together with his guardians were implicated.

On July 4, 1908, judgment was delivered under the Arms Act, Sec. 19(c) and (f) for having carried his brother's gun without license. He was sentenced to two months' rigorous imprisonment. On July 18, 1908, his appeal was dismissed by the Sessions Judge. He was in the meantime named as an accused in the Alipore Bomb Case and transferred to Calcutta to stand his trial. Since the spirit of service to the Motherland got the better of him, he was unceasing in his efforts to do something that might weaken the chain that had held India in bondage.

The unprecedented and most unexpected manifestation of public griet and resentment at a time when British administration was held more in awe than respect, showed the direction in which the wind had started blowing. If it had gone to prove anything it was that the suppressed urge for political emancipation had discovered an avenue through which it erupted in an unwonted manner. The British Government tried further to send it underground with the result that there was bloodshed and more bloodshed till Independence was wrested away from the clutches of a stubborn enemy.

Heaven's Award

(1908-1909)

The Muzaffarpore outrage made the Government lose its head and it would not stop carrying its spirit of vindictiveness to the death's door of its prey.

It was apparent to the authorities that the spirit of patriotism had infected even the boys in their teens and they had entered the area of fight with the same degree of enthusiasm and courage as their elders. There were cases when it was found that young boys had been in charge of duty that would do credit to those advanced both in years and intelligence. ASOKE NANDI was a lad of nineteen or just twenty when he was marked with the distinction of having been involved simultaneously in two cases of a serious nature against the State.

Asoke was arrested on May 2, 1908, from 134, Harrison Road, a house which formed one of the branches of a grand conspiracy having its centre at Muraripukur Garden, Manicktala. Firstly, he was charged under the Explosive Substances Act for having in his custody bombs alleged to have been manufactured at Manicktala. He was also charged in another case with conspiracy to wage war against the King along with Barindra Kumar Ghose and others of the Alipore Conspiracy Case.

In the first case started on July 28, he was acquitted by the High Court Sessions on August 7, 1908, and every right-thinking man expected him to be restored to liberty. The Government adopted a different procedure. He was detained in prison in the expectation of a conviction in the second case.

While in prison Asoke developed tuberculosis of the hip-joint and the condition of his health deteriorated at an alarming rate. Bail petition was moved again and again which was rejected summarily by the courts at the intervention of the police.

He was convicted in the Alipore Conspiracy Case by the Sessions Judge and was sentenced to transportation for seven years. An appeal was preferred to the High Court which dragged on its weary length in the usual fashion.

In the meantime the physical condition of the appellant became really serious. He lost eleven pounds in weight from his frail constitution. Bail petition was again moved on May 11, 1909, in the High Court on the ground that as the appeal would not come for hearing before two months, it was apprehended that the accused would be a dead man by then. The Hon'ble Judge of the High Court stuck to the letter of the law and held that the usual practice was that long term prisoners were not admitted to bail pending hearing of the appeals.

The lawyers for the Crown opposed the application on the ground that at the time the accused was in the phthisis ward of the jail hospital which was airy and a very comfortable abode. There was no dearth of respectable supporters of even the most perverted views of the Government. The Magistrate, 24-Parganas, wrote that it was an airy two-storied ward with a double-verandah and was much more suited to open air treatment to phthisical patients. In his benevolence he did not forget to say that it was much better than ordinary Calcutta houses, presumably better than where the patient could be removed.

The Civil Surgeon reported that there were still some signs of vitality in him because he was not in a dying condition. Chitta Ranjan Das (C. R. Das) who had been defending the accused said,

"This open air treatment which is so necessary for a patient did not strike them at all till Your Lordship's Rule was served upon them. Moreover, there was every chance of the accused being acquitted as nothing definite had been proved by the prosecution. On the day the Rule was served the patient was removed to the hospital."

One responsible doctor, a Government servant, reported: "He is very ill." The Judge remarked that the patient's disease had been the sole cause of his solitary imprisonment and now that the arrangements made were suitable and all that could be reasonably expected had been done for the petitioner, the Rule was discharged.

The patient was in a desperate condition of health. Chittaranjan advised the distracted father to move the Lieutenant Governor whose heart might be softer than that of the Judge whose duty of dispensing justice might not harbour any weak sentiment. The father prayed for the release of his son or in the alternative to

suspend the execution of sentence and restore his ailing son to his home pending the judgment in appeal as it was apprehended that he might not live to enjoy it if it was to come from a judgment of the High Court.

On July 2, 1909, by an order of the Government of Bengal, Asoke Nandi was released on bail.

At the proceedings before the High Court on August 17, 1909, Chittaranjan mentioned before His Lordship that Asoke Nandi had escaped the vendetta of the Government and its myrmidons because on the previous night he had gone to a place which the long arms of the law would be too short to reach.

Asoke Nandi was successful in having the judgment of the appeal delivered on November 26, 1909, in his favour, but it was too late for him to enjoy the liberty secured after very many long months of uncertainty in investigation, trial and appeal. It was poor consolation for the parents because their dear son had been spared a prison life in the Andamans for seven years. God in His infinite Mercy released him from mortal coil and relieved him of all troubles that had dogged his path since the sinister eye of the police had descended upon him.

Organisational Ramifications

(1906-1910)

The Muzaffarpore outrage and the Alipore Conspiracy Trial opened the eyes of the authorities to the magnitude and distribution of the revolutionary organisations in Bengal. The far-flung nature of the ramifications of the revolutionaries who were out to drive away the British through the use of arms could be gauged from the findings of some of the conspiracy trials that were started by the Government during the early stage of the movement.

Criminal cases were started against individuals or group of individuals for any particular overt act or for not a very clearly defined conspiracy which was regarded by the public as a multi-purpose measure based on racial arrogance, fear, vindictiveness and administrative inefficiency. Any way, they presented a partial

picture of the revolutionary ideas and activities of Bengal and elsewhere.

Harvey Adamson, Home Member to the Government of India, while introducing a Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council for expeditious trials, without jury, gave an outline of the secret associations, their aims and activities on December 12, 1908.

In the course of his speech he said that disloyal associations known as *samitis* and consisting of volunteers were first founded in 1902 but they did not come much into evidence till 1906. With the intensification of anti-British feeling there was a rapid expansion of such *samitis* particularly in the districts of East Bengal. In his view, "majority of the associations are maintained with the object of training youths in the use of arms and fitting them to take part in a general revolution that is hoped for." They "practise drill, engage in sham fights and parades, encourage a martial spirit with an ultimate object for which there is little attempt to conceal." Moreover, an "insulting demeanour towards Europeans is constantly paraded and it is a cause of common complaint." In some cases there had been reports of serious assaults, of dacoities, endeavour to interfere with investigation and suppression of evidence even to the extent of removing an important prosecution witness from the arena.

The Government received reports that the secret societies had split their work into different branches which can be classified as follows:

One dealing with the publication and the press. The military section prepared bombs and collected arms. The financial section made the collection of funds its main business. The intelligence department watched the movement of the police. According to the exigencies of the situation the most responsible work was allotted to the tried and trusted workers only.

The Government hurriedly passed an Act for suppression of assemblies which, in the opinion of the police were engaged in 'unlawful activities'. By an order published in an Extraordinary Issue of the Gazette of India, dated January 5, 1909, the following associations were declared unlawful:

(i) The Anusilan Samity, Dacca, (ii) The Swadesh Bandhab Samity, Barisal, (iii) The Brati Samiti, Faridpur, (iv) The

Suhrid Samiti, Mymensingh, and (v) The Sadhana Samaj, Mymensingh.

Two months later on March 1, 1909, the Jubak Samiti of Calcutta and the Brati Samiti of Kumira in the Satkhira Sub-division, Khulna, were added to the list.

Individual Prosecutions

(1907-1910)

Enumeration of the political cases of importance of the early (1907-1910) revolutionary outburst would give an idea of the extent of preparation for a wider field of action in a later period.

A large number of political "actions" were resorted to not with the sole object of collection of funds for appropriate use, but also to prepare the young minds for acts of daring, to suffer privations and to culture a mental attitude of detachment to family and less love for life and limbs.

Some of the prominent events with the result of prosecutions are related below in chronological order.

CHINGRIPOTA: One of the earliest events occurred at Chingripota Railway Station, P. S. Sonarpur, 24-Parganas, when railway cash was looted on the night of December 6, 1907. Some local young men were arrested of whom three were placed on trial. For want of corroborative evidence the case was finally dropped on February 11, 1908.

BARRAH: In the District of Dacca, at Barrah, P. S. Nawabganj, a dacoity was committed on the night of June 2, 1908, where four persons, including a *chowkidar*, were killed in the course of pursuit of the raiders. A large number of young men were arrested of whom four were placed before the High Court Special Tribunal on April 19, 1909. The case ended in acquittal on May 10, 1909.

BAJITPORE: At Bajitpore, Mymensingh, on August 15, 1908, a dacoity was followed by prosecution resulting in the conviction of two persons, sentenced to a period of one and half years and one year's hard labour, respectively.

BIGHATI: A case was started against about a dozen persons in connection with a dacoity committed on September 16, 1908, at Bighati, P. S. Bhadreswar, Hooghly. Judgment of the High Court Special Tribunal was delivered on March 29, 1909, in which one accused was sentenced to six years', two to five years' and one to 3½ years' rigorous imprisonment.

MIDNAPORE CONSPIRACY: A case started with about twenty accused in September, 1908. During the course of the trial some of the accused were released on heavy bail ranging between Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 50,000. The case was withdrawn against all the accused excepting three on November 9, 1908. After a protracted trial the convicted persons whose sentences were ten years' for two and seven years' transportation for one were acquitted by the High Court on June 1, 1909.

NARIA: The small village of Naria, P. S. Palong, Faridpur, was the scene of a great commotion on October 30, 1908, when a large number of young men were noticed participating in a case of dacoity. All the raiders decamped with the booty without much trouble. The police arrested on suspicion about a score of persons out of whom 16 were put on trial. At the outset, on February 24, 1909, most of the accused were discharged and two were granted bail. Ultimately the case fell through for want of sufficient evidence.

MOREHAL: About half-a-dozen persons were placed on trial in March 1909 for alleged complicity in a dacoity committed on December 2, 1908, at Morehal, P. S. Krishnagar, Hooghly. All the accused were either discharged or acquitted in the lower court except one. On May 1, 1909, the case of the lone accused was referred to the High Court which sentenced him on July 8, 1909, to undergo rigorous imprisonment for seven long years.

NETRA: In Netra, a village under Diamond Harbour P. S. a dacoity was committed on April 25, 1909, when a large number of men raided a house and decamped with a fairly big sum and jewellery. A number of men were arrested and kept in *hajut* for a considerably long time. A case was started against only a section of the arrested men which dragged on till June 2, 1910, when all the accused were discharged.

The police tried to establish connection with other events

taking place at distant parts of the Province and held in custody more than 50 suspects who along with others were placed on their trial in what is known as the Howrah Gang Case.

NANGLA: About ten persons were arrested in connection with a dacoity committed at Nangla, P. S. Tala, Khulna, on August 16, 1909. The stage was set before a Special Tribunal which started hearing on March 3, 1910. The prosecution pinned its faith on the confession of one of the accused. On March 15, the approver retracted his confession and the case was withdrawn on the very next day. The approver was proceeded against by the Government, may be to save face, before the same Tribunal on June 6, 1910, under Section 345 I.P.C. and was sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment on June 27, 1910.

RAJENDRAPUR: A running train dacoity involving a large amount was committed between Joydebpur and Rajendrapur. Dacca, on October 11, 1909. The culprits decamped with the booty half of which was subsequently recovered during search.

The usual arrest of a lot of young men went on in November but the man most wanted by the police successfully evaded arrest for a long time. In the meantime a case for dacoity was started by the Government in which all the accused in the dock were discharged on or about February 26, 1910.

The absconder was arrested on November 10, 1910, in the Malda District. A case was started against him in the Dacca Sessions Court on April 18, 1911. The jury passed a verdict of 'not guilty'. The case was referred to the High Court and the accused was sentenced to transportation for life in August 1911.

HALUDBARI: In the early hours of October 28, 1909, a dacoity took place at Haludbari, P. S. Daulatpur, Nadia, which was followed by a random round-up of suspects. About ten persons had to stand their trial before a Special Tribunal at the High Court which started hearing the case from April 4, 1910, under Sections 307 and 395 I.P.C. Judgment was delivered on April 25, 1910, in which five persons were sentenced to eight years', one to seven years' rigorous imprisonment. One was acquitted.

MAHISA: In regard to the dacoity that occurred at Mahisa,

P. S. Mahmudpur, Jessore, on July 5, 1910, the party responsible for such actions suffered seriously in man-power. In the case started against the raiders one was sentenced to six years' and another to five years' rigorous imprisonment. The police was on the look out of another man who was arrested on April 5, 1911, at Calcutta. On March 6, the Sessions Judge at Khulna sentenced the accused to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

Conspiracy Cases

(1908-1911)

Besides proceeding against persons alleged to be connected with individual overt acts, the Government started big conspiracy cases to rope in as many persons as it thought to be "undesirable" from its point of view. A few typical cases are enumerated here that took place between 1908-1911 to give an idea of the nature and scope of such trials.

NANGLA (KHULNA) CONSPIRACY CASE: A big case, the Khulna Conspiracy Case, was started against a dozen youngmen on the omnibus charge of being members of a conspiracy to wage war against the King. After the preliminary enquiry a Special Tribunal of the High Court started proceedings on July 18, 1910. Judgment was delivered on August 30, 1910, in which five men were sentenced to transportation for seven years, three to five years', two to three years' rigorous imprisonment. Only one was acquitted.

KHULNA GANG CASE: Twenty persons suspected of complicity in the Nandanpur and Soleganti (Khulna) and Dhulgram and Mahisa (Jessore) dacoities and for incidents at other places were hauled up before the District Magistrate, Khulna, on October 21, 1910. The accused numbering 18 were convicted by the trying Magistrate under Section 400 I.P.C. for being members of a gang of dacoits and awarded various terms of imprisonment. The convicted preferred an appeal to the High Court which was heard on April 2, 1911. All the prisoners pleaded guilty. At the instance of the prosecution, the High Court took a lenient view of the case and all the accused were bound down to be of good

behaviour and in case of lapses to surrender and serve the sentence passed by the Magistrate. One was acquitted by their Lordships. Two absconders were subsequently apprehended and sentenced to long terms of rigorous imprisonment in a separate case.

MUNSHIGUNGE CONSPIRACY CASE: With 17 persons as conspirators the Munshigunge Conspiracy Case was started in Dacca on November 12, 1910. All the accused except three were discharged in the course of the trial. A case was started against the three accused before the Sessions Court on March 2, 1911. One was sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment under Section (4) (b) of the Explosive Substances Act on April 10, 1911. An appeal to the High Court proved infructuous.

DACCA CONSPIRACY CASE: Exasperated at the failure in protecting the property of the citizens of East Bengal, the police took recourse to the most easy step of starting a big case in which there were no less than 55 accused, young and old, students, the leaders of men, persons most respected in the profession of whom 44 were in custody.

Preliminary enquiry for commitment was started on August 8, 1910, and a Special Magistrate began sitting from September 30. The accused were committed to Sessions on November 22. Before the Additional District Judge the case commenced on January 3, 1911, and the Judge delivered his judgment on August 7. Three were sentenced to transportation for life, eighteen to ten years' and fourteen to seven years' and one to three years' rigorous imprisonment. Eight were acquitted. In the appeal before the High Court in October 1911, the sentences of fourteen accused were confirmed and the rest were set at liberty.

HOWRAH GANG CASE: A very big case was started before a Special Tribunal at the Calcutta High Court under Sections 121, 122, 123 I.P.C. on Dec. 1, 1910. The prosecution tried to rope in all persons suspected of complicity in almost all political events of a revolutionary nature including Chingripota, Netra, Haludbari and other dacoities, tampering with the loyalty of the 10th Jats, then stationed at Alipore, murder of Government pleader and police officers, etc. Selected men of as many as twelve political groups were placed among the accused. Judgment was delivered on April 19, 1911. Of the 46 accused originally placed on trial

five were discharged and case against one was dropped. One died. Thirty-three were acquitted and six were further convicted over their sentence in connection with the Haludbari Dacoity Case.

There were several other cases relating to different incidents under the cover of 'conspiracy'. Some of these were the Midnapore (1908), Madaripur (1913), Barisal (1913-14), Raja Bazar Bomb (1914-15), and several others, till the end of the British rule in India.

The history of the revolutionary movement if ever written out in detail, is bound to bring into prominence the contact that was established and the mutual help rendered to different organisations in Northern India under the Punjab and Bengal leaders. This would be an important and interesting subject deserving special attention.

Conspiracy in the South

(1897-1910)

Secret organisations had their inception in the Western India much earlier than anywhere else. The Government came to realise more fully the influence they wielded over young minds and the extent of their preparation after the murder of Rand. It took some further time to get ready for conspiracy cases as such after the assassination of Ashe. As a result some cases such as Gwalior, Nasik, Satara, etc., were started in 1909-1910, a little after the Alipore Conspiracy Trial had ended.

The TINNEVELLY CONSPIRACY CASE was started almost along with the trial for the murder of Ashe. Altogether thirteen accused were placed on trial for murder, conspiracy and abetment of murder. Judgment was delivered on February 15, 1912, by the High Court in which nine accused were convicted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment ranging from one to seven years. The third judge differed with the other two and convicted only four instead of seven. The case was referred to a Full Bench of the High Court and hearing was held in March 1912. The original judgment was not materially altered.

Gwalior Conspiracy

The *Abhinav Bharat Society* spread its ramifications far and wide and almost every important place in the whole of Western India enjoyed the distinction of having a branch in it. Bombay, Nasik, Poona, Pen, Aurangabad, Hyderabad and even the State of Gwalior did not fail to offer their young men in the fight for freedom.

The *Nav Bharat Society* in Gwalior chalked out a programme of action for attainment of liberty. It was mainly divided into two sections, viz., (i) Education, including *swadeshi*, boycott, national education, entire abstinence from liquor, religious festivities, lectures, libraries, etc., and (ii) Agitation, aimed at "target shooting, sword exercise, preparation of bombs, dynamite, procuring of revolvers, learning and teaching the use of weapons and missiles." It further directed that

"should an occasion for a general rising in any province at a proper time arise, all should help that cause and attain liberty. Confidence itself is a means to shake off servitude; we are fully convinced that if thirty crores of people are prepared to fight, none can thwart them in their desire. First, education will be given to prepare the mind, and then a rebellion raised; the war of independence will be carried on by resorting to cunning and craft."

Signs were not lacking at the time of secret societies extending their activities to a wider area. They had been gaining experience by practising acts of daring and resourcefulness. Ahmedabad was not very slow to come and in November 1909, it manifested its preparedness through an overt act by throwing a bomb at the car of the Viceroy, Lord Minto, which fortunately for him failed to explode at the time. After the procession had passed off two cocoanut bombs were discovered on the road and an unsuspecting public lost one of his hands by explosion while picking up one of them.

The materials collected during police investigation in connection with the activities of *Abhinav Bharat Society* contained correspondence between the revolutionaries working in Nasik and the State of Gwalior. In collaboration with the Government of India, the State started conspiracy cases before a Tribunal constituted for the specific purpose with 22 accused of the *Nav Bharat* and 19 belonging to the *Abhinav Bharat Society* resulting in the conviction of more than half of the accused.

The charges against all the accused were that they at Nasik and at other places in British India and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in London (i) attempted to wage war, (ii) conspired among themselves to wage war, (iii) conspired amongst themselves to commit offences punishable under Sec. 121 I.P.C., (iv) conspired to deprive the King Emperor of the sovereignty of British India, (v) conspired amongst themselves to overawe either by criminal force or show of criminal force the Government or the Government of Bombay, (vi) collected arms and ammunition with the object of waging war, and (vii) concealed by an illegal omission the existence of a design to wage war. (Sections 121, 121A, 122, 123, and 125 I.P.C.)

Nasik Conspiracy

The murder of the District Magistrate of Nasik on December 21, 1909, was followed by vigorous investigations into the secrets of the organisation responsible for the death of Jackson. It was found that it was the outcome of a deep-seated conspiracy that imparted strength to the hands of the persons involved in direct action.

No less than thirty-eight men were hauled up before the court in what is known as the First Nasik Conspiracy Case. It transpired in evidence, mainly confessions, that the members of the *Mitra Mela*, started in 1899 by Vinayak Savarkar and changed to *Abhinav Bharat* (or Young India Society) in 1904 were responsible for the outrage where a Browning pistol, brought by Chhatrabhuj Amin from London was used.

The aim of the Association was revolution, unalloyed, where the model and the methods of Russian secret societies were to be adopted. The whole organisation was to be divided into small groups, one individual unit would not know the members of any other, the connecting link being the accredited head of the organisation. The members were bound by oaths of secrecy individually and collectively when a whole group was concerned.

It was the endeavour of the Government to rope in (Ganesh) Vinayak Savarkar into the conspiracy so that he might be put out of the way for as long a period as the law allowed. It was not difficult for the prosecution with the resources at its disposal to

secure evidence to establish connection with the other accused and Vinayak Savarkar.

The judgment of this historic trial was delivered on December 24, 1910, in which (Vinayak) Savarkar was sentenced to transportation for life. There were thirty-eight accused most of whom were convicted and sentenced to different terms of imprisonment.

From the pamphlet entitled *Bande Mataram* produced in the trial it was evident that the immediate aim of the organisation was assassination of officials, so that the cause of independence might speedily advance.

A few sentences from the document were sufficient to disclose its purpose. It ran as follows:

"Terrorise the officials, English and Indian, and the collapse of the whole machinery of oppression is not very far. The persistent execution of the policy that has been so gloriously inaugurated by Khudiram Bose, Kanai Lal Datta and other martyrs will soon cripple the British Government in India. The campaign of separate assassinations is the best conceivable method of paralysing the bureaucracy and or arousing the people. The initial stage of the revolution is marked by the policy of separate assassination."

The judgment in the case gives an inkling into the working of the organisation and Vinayak's share of responsibility in the matter:

There was evidence that there existed an association under Ganesh Vinayak Savarkar named *Mitra Mela* which was established prior to 1906. Membership was offered after closest scrutiny and under heavy oath about secrecy in matters related to the Association. Small groups of young men working with the common object were attached to the parent body. Literature was published, for disseminating sedition suggesting methods for preparations for war. Instructions were issued for the purchase and storing of weapons in the neighbouring countries to be used when opportunities should occur. It also suggested

"opening of many very small but secret factories at some distance from one another for the manufacture of weapons clandestinely in the country seeking independence and the purchase by secret societies of weapons in other countries to be secretly imported in merchantships."

About Savarkar the Judges remarked:

"We find the accused guilty of the abetment of waging war by instiga-

tion, by the circulation of printed matter inciting to war, the providing of arms and the distribution of instructions for the manufacture of explosives."

Second Nasik Conspiracy Trial

A Second Nasik Conspiracy Case charged Savarkar with the abetment of murder of Jackson, the Collector of Nasik. The trial opened on January 23, 1911, in which it was contended by the prosecution that the pistol used in the outrage was one of those twenty which Vinayak had been able to send clandestinely to India. It was, therefore, not a difficult matter to find the accused guilty of abetment and Vinayak was awarded on January 30, 1911, a second term of transportation for life.

It may be interesting to note that the two Savarkar brothers had the unique distinction amongst Indian patriots to pass jointly a big portion of their prison life in the Cellular Jail in the Andamans—aptly called "the Indian Bastille." The elder brother, Ganesh, was convicted on June 9, 1909, for composing and publishing a book of patriotic verses, entitled *Laghu Abhinav Bharat Mela*, with a sentence of transportation for life, a punishment reserved for the gravest offences under the Criminal Law of the land.

The Lahore Conspiracy Cases of a later period have been dealt with at appropriate places.

Life is Duty

(1908)

The revolutionary party established itself in almost every district of Bengal and reports of action had been reaching respective headquarters not infrequently but sometimes of extremely unwelcome results.

Money to sustain the movement was necessary and looting of private properties had been taking place here and there. One such was committed at Barraah, P. S. Nawabganj, Dacca, on June 2, 1908, here more than Rs. 25,000 in cash and jewellery was taken away by the raiders. The casualty was heavy, four persons of the public were killed and a few others injured. (*Vide* p. 192).

While returning from the place of occurrence in a boat the

villagers; on both the banks of the Ichhamati, gave a hot chase. The boat sprang a leak and water had been seeping into the hold.

GOPAL *alias* DEBENDRA SEN GUPTA, was engaged in throwing water out with an improvised *chhancha* to keep the boat light by preventing accumulation of water. The chase was continued. The boat entered the Dhaleswari from Ichhamati the next day. When it was passing by Savar P.S. the Sub-Inspector came out with a rifle and began firing at the occupants of the fleeing boat.

Gopal could realise the danger of his alternate standing and stooping posture. He was sure to be a better target of the firing than those who had been sitting inside the hold. Fear could not deter him from doing his duty. A bullet hit him on the forehead which caused his instantaneous death.

To avoid identification his dead body was tied to the heavy anchor of the boat and dropped into the river thus providing him with an unmarked watery grave. He met with a fate slightly different from that of Susil Sen of Pragpur incident.

Peoples' Reward

(1908)

The name of Inspector Nandalal Banerjee came into prominence in connection with the attempted arrest of Prafulla Chaki at Mokameh Ghat Station on May 1, 1908. In recognition of his meritorious services he was awarded a reward of Rs. 1,000 by the benign Government at a Durbar in Muzaffarpore on May 10, 1908, as he "was responsible for the abortive arrest as he shadowed the deceased from Samastipur to Mokameh, eventually affecting a capture."

He came to Calcutta just a few days before the incident and was putting up with a relative at No. 100/2, Serpentine Lane, Calcutta. On November 9, 1908, he left the house between 7 and 7-30 p.m. for posting a letter. When he had proceeded about 200 yards from his residence he was hit by a bullet or two from behind. He ran a few paces forward but fell down due to exhaustion shouting, "Inform my brother at 100/2, Serpentine Lane."

The assailants were not prepared to take any chance of his

survival. They closely followed him and one of the two stooped over the prostrate body of Nandalal and fired two more shots on his body. Death was instantaneous. He received four bullets which passed through the head, the centre of the back, the right side of the back and through the left shoulder.

The Inspector was under order of transfer to Muzaffarpore and was expected to be relieved from duty in the course of day or two.

No arrests were made and the assailants were able to go scot-free.

Poignant Parting

(1908)

In the general round-up of suspects after the Natore Road Mail Robbery on August 3, 1908, a man not too young and in extremely bad health was arrested and after preliminary enquiry was sent up for trial at the Sessions. His young son was a co-accused in the case.

The condition of the unfortunate man, KALI CHARAN THAKUR, deteriorated under uncongenial conditions of an under-trial prison life and all efforts for his bail proved unavailing because the Civil Surgeon said that "his case is not worse in jail."

The patient died during the Christmas of 1908 and the question of disposal of the dead body created a piquant situation, the authorities refusing permission to cremation outside the jail.

The son, overwhelmed though with grief, successfully pleaded to hand over the dead body to his near relations on condition that there was no demonstration whatsoever.

Poignancy was injected to the situation by the refusal on the part of the Government to the son, the sole male issue of the father, to perform the last rites of the dead.

The parting at the jail gate was something better imagined than described.

A Cripple's Blow

(1909)

In point of cool courage, which showed no signs of faltering by a jot or tittle from the original plan, the action of CHARU CHANDRA BASU occupies a unique place in the history of the freedom movement of India.

Charu was a diminutive looking, sickly, thin-built teenager devoid of the palm and fingers of the right hand from the birth. He was not known to have any serious way of life except to those who had known him intimately and perhaps possessed the knowledge of his capacity for undertaking the most responsible job. Charu worked in several printing presses and newspaper organisations, the last being Hitaishi Press, Howrah.

He had been living at No. 130, Russa Road and had known Calcutta intimately for at least twelve years. When he decided upon his action, he visited Tollygunge for several days for practising revolver shooting. He began his watch for his victim for five or six days around the courts of Alipore. From enquiries Charu came to know for certain that Ashutosh Biswas would come to the Suburban Police Court on the day on which he got prepared for his action. During the course of the day he once tried to attack Biswas in the Judge's Court but he had to give up the idea because he found the place to be well-guarded and opportunities much less propitious than his expectations.

The redoubtable Public Prosecutor of the Alipore Bar, Ashu Biswas, had made himself obnoxious to the revolutionaries by prosecuting them with unusual zeal and sometimes with means which to all conscience were neither fair to the accused persons nor decent to the legal profession. He would go out of his way to advise the police to arrange papers and secure evidence in such a way as to facilitate conviction of politicals who had come under the ken of the vile eyes of the police. It was a time when the executive saw to it that once a person had been marked for seditious proclivities might not escape. And Ashutosh Biswas was the mainstay of the police prosecution in such matters.

Some men somewhere thought that this man should be

removed from the field of his activities. As was usual on other days, the busy lawyer had been running from one court to another in the discharge of his professional duties, and he appeared before the Suburban Police Magistrate on the fateful day, February 10, 1909, in a coining case.

Ashu left the court at 4-20 p.m. by the east entrance and was walking in a southerly direction. When nearing the hydrant at the south-east corner of the building a shot was fired and the injured man called out *bap-re* (Oh, Father!) and moving both arms rapidly ran in a westerly direction.

Charu followed his prey like a monarch of the forests and placing the revolver against his back fired another shot which passed through the body of the assailed. In passing it may be mentioned that the revolver was tightly tied with his crippled right hand which while was being extended towards the victim, his left hand pulled the trigger which fired the pistol.

A constable standing nearby grappled with Charu from his back and threw his arms around Charu rendering free movement of his hands absolutely impossible. By now Ashu ran in a circular motion through the verandah of the Court into the Court Sub-Inspector's Office where he expired within a few moments. With the restricted movement of his hand Charu fired a third shot which struck the corner of a wall about two feet above the floor.

Two other constables who had been watching the incident from a short distance came running to the aid of the first and completely overpowered the assailant. As is usual in such circumstances, Charu was brutally manhandled but still he wore a sweet smile on his lips and said that he was extremely happy that he had been able to fulfil his mission.

The revolver, which was found to be a little defective, was of Belgian make, a six-chambered one and contained three loaded cartridges and three empty cases.

All the infernal methods for extracting a confession were ruthlessly applied to the frail body of Charu but all that could be collected from him was that one Panchcowrie Sanyal of Dacca (apparently a fictitious name) had come to him and said that according to lots it had fallen on him to kill Ashu Biswas. Panchcowrie had been living in Beniatola Lane. To the great credit of Charu no such person could be discovered in Calcutta

or elsewhere and the Government failed in its attempt to discover a big conspiracy behind the murder of the great Public Prosecutor.

The District Magistrate, 24-Parganas, started a judicial enquiry on February 13, 1909, under a *shamiana* erected in the jail compound. The accused showed very little interest in the case and barely glanced at the witnesses. He answered questions by a nod of the head and most of the time kept looking outside through the door of the tent.

On being asked about the motive of the crime, Charu said, "I killed Ashu Biswas because he was an enemy of the country. He always conducted cases against innocent men and tried his best to secure a conviction."

He declined to produce any witness because he confessed that he and no body else had killed the victim and he had no such convenient witness to come and say that he had not done it.

When he was given to understand that the enquiry had ended, Charu said, "There need be no Sessions Trial, and that I might be hanged tomorrow if not today". Added he, "It was pre-ordained that Ashu would die at my hands and that I shall be hanged on that account."

The Sessions trial started on February 22, 1909, and closed on the following day. Charu was condemned to death.

The High Court confirmed the sentence on March 2, 1909. The accused expressed his firm resolve against any appeal for mitigation of his sentence.

Charu Chandra Bose was hanged in the Alipore Central Jail on March 19, 1909. He met his death with the utmost unconcern as if nothing uncommon was going to happen to him.

Invasion of England

(1909)

The growing political ferment in India produced greater repercussions in the seat of the Imperialist power of Great Britain. London was the centre of activity of Krishnavarma, Savarkar, Hardayal and others. It made possible the publication of *The Indian Sociologist* and it was the home of India House, the great centre of activity of the Indian nationalists living outside India. In fact, the Indian patriots in India and Great Britain had been strengthening each other's hands and imparting momentum to the movement towards the goal of Independence.

India had heard pistol shots in 1897 on June 22, and the deafening sound of the explosion of a bomb on April 30, 1908, was followed by mysterious importation of firearms inside the jail where a shot was fired at a traitor to apportion his due on August 31, 1908. The sister revolutionary unit in London was not far behind and a momentous event took place on July 1, 1909, demonstrating that Englishmen were now not safe in their homeland.

Most of the students possessed of nationalist sentiment would congregate at India House where propaganda against British rule in any form used to be carried on systematically. It was also used as a hostel for Indian students in London the inmates being lodged and boarded at very moderate rates.

The revolutionary spirit that pervaded this institution may be judged from the language of a red circular distributed to many Indian students in England at the beginning of May 1909, inviting them to a meeting held in 'the House' on the fifty-first Anniversary of the Mutiny of the revolt of the Sepoy regiments at Meerut—an Anniversary falling this year on the same day of the week—a Sunday. The gathering was secret, Europeans being carefully excluded. The circular, headed *Bande Mataram*, was in the following language:

To commemorate
the Anniversary of the
INDIAN NATIONAL RISING
of 1857

A meeting of Indians
in England
will be held at
INDIA HOUSE
on Sunday, the 10th May, 1908,
at 4 p.m. precisely
You and Your friends are cordially
invited to attend

Printed matter on the reverse side of the 'circular' declared that the purpose of the meeting was to hold up to admiration as "Martyrs", the principal leaders of the rebellion, including Nana Saheb and others.

At India House where hot discussions would be held to explore ways and means for attaining independence, MADAN LAL DHINGRA, a student of engineering was one among the participants. Moreover, he had his residence in India House from which he shifted to the other end of London before he became involved in the murderous assault on Curzon Wyllie.

Madan Lal attended almost every meeting held in the India House and was present when Lajpat Rai addressed it during his stay in London. He would never try to conceal his sentiment of love for his Motherland and on one occasion he appeared in his class in the University College wearing a badge inscribed to the memory of martyrs which he had received from the organisers of a meeting held on May 10, 1909. In the class he was ordered to remove the badge which he refused. This led to 'ragging' after which he threatened to cut the throat of one of the students who was most aggressive amongst others.

News reached his father, a medical practitioner of repute and his brother, a barrister, of Madan Lal's leanings towards extremist ideas under evil influence, as they averred. His brother wrote to Wyllie asking his assistance in 'reclaiming' Madan Lal. Madan Lal wrote back reviling his brother's attitude saying that it was absurd for an Anglo-Indian like Wyllie to interfere in an Indian's private affairs.

Nothing unusual was noticeable in Madan Lal's behaviour on the surface. But he was not idle. He matured his plan in secret and purchased a Colt revolver in London in January and secured another pistol of Belgian make from a private person at

considerable cost. He began his shooting practice at a revolver range and recorded from the start the results of his practice in a note-book regularly.

Curzon Wyllie belonged to the Indian Army and after retirement was made Political A.D.C. to the Secretary of State in 1901. He was one of the Members of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State to look after Indian students in London. In the course of his business he must have been keeping watch over the political leanings and activities of the Indian students and must in his own way trying to keep them and, may be, the British Empire, safe from harm's way.

The National Indian Association had its annual meeting scheduled on July 1, 1909. Wyllie dined at Savoy Hotel and proceeded to the Association's 'At Home' in the Jehangir Hall of the Imperial Institute. Having previous knowledge of Wyllie's presence in the meeting Madan Lal left his residence two hours before and went to Westbourne to talk to friends where he did not disclose anything about his plan. Madan Lal reached the meeting in time. When the musical programme had just finished Wyllie was seen descending by the staircase when Madan Lal smilingly engaged him in conversation and then suddenly drew out a revolver and fired five successive shots full in his face, the muzzle of the pistol almost touching Wyllie. When the fifth shot struck Wyllie, he fell down. A Parsi gentleman, Cowas Lalcaca, came forward for the protection of Wyllie and the sixth shot hit him resulting in his death a few days later. Wyllie was killed instantaneously and his right eye was completely shattered, his face being disfigured beyond recognition.

The bystanders seized Madan Lal who wrested his hand free and placed the revolver to his own head. The weapon clicked harmlessly, all the shots having been fired at his victim. Madan Lal had another loaded revolver, a dagger and a knife on his person at the time of his arrest. He said that he had no intention of injuring anybody and everyone might feel safe.

The police searched his lodging but could discover no objectionable matter whatsoever. They took charge of the India House, Highgate, and found a mass of literature and some incriminating letters. They also took charge of *The Indian*

Sociologist which in one of its issues not only condoned but encouraged political assassination.

There were no signs of nervousness and Madan Lal presented a picture of fortitude. He said,

"I am a 'patriot' working for the emancipation of the Motherland from the foreign yoke. I object to the use of the term 'murderer' to me because I am perfectly justified in what I have done. The English would have done the same thing had the Germans been in occupation of England."

Madan Lal was placed before a Magistrate who remanded him to police custody on July 2, 1909, for a week. As he entered the Court held by the arm by a stalwart constable he did not even take the trouble of looking around him but walked firmly and steadily into the dock and stood there apparently less interested in what was to take place than anybody else in the Court. He stood with his hands in the pockets of his trousers.

Asked by the Magistrate's clerk Madan Lal's answer was.

"The only thing I want to say is that I did not wilfully murder Lalcaca I saw him advancing; he caught hold of me and I only fired in self-defence"

The accused was tried in the Sessions Court at Old Bailey, and condemned to death on July 23, 1909, a decision arrived at in twenty seconds and the Sheriff fixed August 17 as the date for his execution.

Asked by the Judge if the prisoner had anything to say, the answer was:

"You can do whatever you like with me I shan't mind. I told you before when you asked the question, you are all-powerful now, you white people, and can do whatever you like. But remember, we shall have our time in times to come."

Accepting the verdict of the Jury, the Judge passed a sentence of death. Immediately the Judge had finished, Madan Lal said,

"Thank you, my Lord, for my country I thank you. I am proud to have the honour of laying down my humble life for my country."

On August 17, 1909, the convict was executed in Pentonville. It was attended only by the representatives of the High Sheriff and the prison officials.

Madan Lal carried the following statement in his pocket:

"I admit that the other day I attempted to shed English blood as

a humble revenge for the inhuman hangings and deportations of patriotic Indian youths.

"In this attempt I have consulted none but my own conscience. I have conspired with none but my own duty.

"I believe that a nation held down by foreign bayonets is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible to a disarmed race, I attacked by surprise, since guns were denied to me I drew forth my pistol and fired.

"As a Hindoo I feel that wrong to my country is an insult to God. Her cause is the cause of Shri Ram. Her service is the service of Shri Krishna. Poor in wealth and intellect a son like myself has nothing else to offer to the Mother but his own blood and so I have sacrificed the same on her altar.

"The only lesson required in India at present is to learn how to die and the only way to teach it is by dying ourselves; therefore, I die and glory in my martyrdom.

"This way will continue between India and England so long as Hindoo and English races last (if this present unnatural relation does not cease).

"My only prayer to God is that I may be reborn of the same Mother and I may re-die in the same sacred Cause till the Cause is successful and She stands free for the good of humanity and to the glory of God.

MADAN LAL DHINGRA"

Madan Lal was publicly disowned by his father and brother but was claimed by the Motherland and his grateful countrymen as one of the most beloved children of the soil which sustains the nation and imparts glory to it. His body enriched the soil of England but his spirit electrified the hearts of patriots in his own country.

A meeting was held on July 5, 1909, to express abhorrence at the murder of Wyllie. Savarkar openly supported the action and spoke against the resolution. He was very roughly handled and forced out of the meeting. Veerendra Nath Chattopadhyaya wrote a letter in *The Times* supporting the protest made by Savarkar, then a law student. He desired to point out that as soon as the cause of such violent outrages was removed, the effect would cease. He added, further,

"Coercion drives India headlong to destruction. If England still believes that she is there in the interests of humanity she will be disillusioned earlier than she thinks The catalogue of coming assassinations will probably be a long one, and the responsibility for its length will have to be

laid at the door of those, who instead of espousing the cause of Indian freedom, wish to hold India in the interests of Britain."

Krishnavarma wrote in *The Times*:

"Although I have absolutely no connection with this assassination, I frankly admit that I approve of the deed and regard the author as a martyr in the cause of Indian Independence. I know this declaration will shock many, but luckily there are even in England high-minded publicists who agree with me that political assassination is not murder."

There had been two cases of assault of Englishmen by two Indians in London. Madan Lal gave a new orientation to it. There had been a long gap from 1909 to 1940 when another Englishman was killed by an Indian under almost similar circumstances. Such stray outrages in London, though very few, produced more profound effects on the minds of the British rulers than a larger number of cases taking place in India, where the lives of more Indians than foreigners were involved.

It transpired on enquiry that Madan Lal, 22, passed his I. A. examination from Amritsar and was a student at Lahore for some time. He took a job in the Kashmir Settlement Department which he changed for one in the Simla-Kalka Tonga Service. He went over to England about three years ago, became a student of Engineering and was due to return by October of the same year.

In the Court of Justice

(1910)

Safety of persons connected with the prosecution of revolutionary political cases was at a discount. It seemed that the dare-devils had the entire situation under their control and could do as they liked. The Alipore Bomb Conspiracy Case roused the imagination of fiery youngmen absolutely unconcerned about their own perils and a series of cases from firing resulting in the death of a trusted Government servant or to one helping the Government in such matters occurred in quick succession. The Government with the police, spies and informers, loyalists, guards and watchmen equipped with arms proved to be completely inadequate.

Courageous, intelligent, resourceful youngmen seemed to be available in plenty as if the political soil of the country had been fertilised by the water of revolution and that the crop of martyrs had been lusty and unending.

The mighty Government of India had a large number of devoted servants who proved themselves through merit as the strong arm of the administration. For their protection and safety the Government maintained a big retinue of guards and watchmen at a huge cost. But the vendetta of the young members of the revolutionary party tracked their path with certainty of an inexorable fate and they realised their objects irrespective of all consequences to themselves. It was like death bringing two persons of the opposite camps in mortal embrace with one another.

BIRENDRA NATH DATTA GUPTA, a mere lad of nineteen asked his leader for some serious action and was granted the distinction of taking charge of Shams-ul-Alam, a redoubtable Deputy Superintendent of Police, and removing him from the field of mischievous activity. Alam had been connected with the Alipore Bomb Conspiracy Trial from the beginning and was accepted by the Government as the most competent officer in such a complicated political affair. He revelled in political cases in favour of the prosecution and it became, as it were, the breath of his nostril.

It transpired, and he became conscious of it, that he was being followed by agents of the revolutionary party and there had been at least two previous attempts on his life after the arrest of the Alipore Conspiracy Case accused. A few days after the death of Ashu Biswas on February 10, 1909, he was shadowed by a young man who was arrested by his guards. Unfortunately for Alam, the man was discharged for want of evidence.

About a week before January 24, 1910, he was followed by a Bengali youth while Alam had been going along the maidan. Due to pluck and swiftness in speed the man was able to evade arrest though closely followed by Alam's men.

As was usual with Alam he was busy helping the lawyers of the Crown in a political case in the High Court on January 24, 1910. At about 5-30 p.m., at the end of the hearing for the day, when Alam after arranging the papers and exhibits came out of the Court room and wended his way towards the staircase which went down to the east entrance of these courts. In front of him

was the Advocate General and immediately following him was an armed constable of the Bengal Police deputed to be in attendance on him. He was on the point of reaching the top of the staircase when he came in contact with a young Bengali who had been, as it seemed, hanging about the verandah and watching the movements of his victim. He was seen by Alam's orderly to hold a revolver in his hand. The boy stretched his arm, aimed at Alam and fired. When hit, Alam shouted *pakro*, and handed over the stick he had in his hand to his orderly and almost at the same moment fell to the ground on his back. The shot had penetrated right into the heart. Alam, the devoted Police Officer, died an instantaneous death.

* Biren at once got into the staircase when a cry of murder was raised. He came down the stairs unopposed and ran towards the gate on the east of the building facing Old Post Office Street. As this gate was closed and a section of the crowd had almost come upon him, Biren fired a second shot and the crowd thinned away. By the next gate he came out on the street and began to run towards the north with a revolver in his hand.

He was now chased by a mounted police but this was not so troublesome to him as the concourse of men collected on the street. His speed was, as a consequence, greatly restricted. With great difficulty he reached Hastings Street where he was overtaken by the mounted police. He shot at the police which missed its mark. He was arrested and his revolver was immediately snatched away from his hand. It was a .380 bore Webley revolver with six chambers. He also carried with him a dagger and a knife.

On January 27, 1910, he was placed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate and the next day he was committed to the High Court Sessions.

At the High Court the case started on January 31, 1910. The accused looked pale, calm and completely unconcerned and entered the dock with a sweet smile on his lips. He was charged with murder of Shams-ul-Alam on January 24, 1910. The accused made no reply except that he did not want the help of any Counsel as he was going to plead guilty. Nobody was present in court room for watching the case on his behalf. The accused did not like to say anything. He refused to put any question to anybody, or to produce defence witness or address the Jury.

The Jury without retiring unanimously gave the verdict of 'guilty'. The Judge delivered a sentence of death.

The sentence was received calmly. Biren stepped down the dock into the cell rather cheerfully and wore a beautifully shining smiling face.

While awaiting trial at the High Court the accused expressed desire to eat *kachuri*, *sandesh* and *rasogolla* which were supplied to him.

It was reported that Biren had before his execution made a statement incriminating Jatin Mukherjee and a few others as having asked him to commit the outrage. It came to be known that the police got a page of a newspaper printed afresh containing insinuations against Biren by his leader Jatin Mukherjee with the sole object of extracting a confessional statement of the condemned boy. It was one of the vilest acts in a criminal trial when a young boy of eighteen, face to face with death, was duped to make the case of several other persons implicated in offences of a serious nature rather worse. Before Biren's execution he came to know of this diabolical underhand game on the part of the police and regretted his action and craved forgiveness of Jatin Mukherjee who had absolute faith in Biren as incapable of doing any mean act in normal circumstances.

Biren was executed on February 21, 1910.

The brave lad displayed no special aptitude for any political activity, just like the many others of his associates. A Vaidya by birth, he hailed from Bikrampore, Dacca. He was educated at Jalpaiguri at his sister's house and read up to preparatory class of the Entrance standard.

Biren came to Calcutta about seven years before the incident which has immortalised his name and put up with one of his elder brothers. He shifted to a mess at Bechu Chatterji Street, about two months before.

On the day of occurrence he turned up at 8-30 or 9 a.m. and stayed in the mess up till 11 a.m. showing no signs of the inner storm that had been lashing the mind.

A Deadly Farewell

(1909-1910)

The *Abhinav Bharat* had its branches in various parts of Maharashtra and youngmen pursuing the aims and objects of such Societies. Any incident thought to be detrimental to the interest of the country would produce its repercussions on the members which sometimes would manifest themselves in some overt act.

•The incredible punishment of transportation for life to Ganesh Damodar Savarkar, caused a wave of resentment in the country. Some hot-blooded youths of Nasik took into their heads of avenging the conduct of the Magistrate who had passed the judgment on Savarkar and had made the cause of the country suffer so terribly.

It is said that an intense desire of the heart forces the brain to work out means for its fulfilment. In Ganesh Savarkar was epitomised all that was patriotic and noble for the country. Boys assembled and discussed means to give their plan a definite shape. In course of deliberations they would compare amongst themselves as to the fitness of a person for undergoing suffering and if needs be to offer supreme sacrifice. On one such occasion when challenged by one of his friends that there was no man amongst them who could reach the level of Madan Lal Dhingra, Kanhere, to prove his courage and endurance for suffering, held a hot chimney for two minutes in the bare palm of his hand.

By the end of 1908 the boys met and three new members were admitted into the Society with a view to collect money and arms in fulfilment of their common object.

ANANT LAXMAN KANIHERE was a member of *Abhinav Bharat* at Aurangabad, a town in a Native State many miles away from Nasik which could be reached by several hours journey by rail.

In or about May 1909 in consequence of the dastardly judgment on Ganesh Savarkar, the idea of murdering Jackson suggested itself to VINAYAK NARAYAN DESHPANDE and he communicated the idea to other comrades amongst whom KRISHNA GOPAL KARVE and another accepted it in all seriousness. Ere

this, Karve had learnt the manufacture of ingredients of bomb-making and had collected a few pistols from difficult sources.

After the plan had matured ANANT LAXMAN KANHERE who was then at Aurangabad was asked to come to Nasik. He reached Nasik on December 19, 1909. On the next day he met others at the house of one of the group. In the course of discussion of the plan Kanhere pleaded inexperience in the use of pistol and he was assured of opportunities of shooting practice in the meantime. Kanhere with VINAYAK NARAYAN DESHPANDE and another went for the night to the Panchawati School of which Deshpande was teacher. In the early hours of the morning (December 20, 1909) they went to Bate Road where Kanhere fired a pistol in the air. He was taken to the *cutchery* (Court) where Jackson was identified to him.

After his period of service at Nasik, Jackson was under order of transfer to Poona and a theatrical performance was arranged to bid him farewell at the Vijayanand Theatre on December 21, 1909.

The plan for Jackson's murder was complete. Kanhere was provided with the weapons at Deshpande's house in the evening of December 21, which consisted of a Browning pistol and a nickel-plated revolver. As previously arranged Kanhere carried a packet of arsenic with a view to commit suicide on arrest. He also carried two tickets for admittance into the performance. Two or three others also got inside the theatre. Deshpande took a seat at a distance of 10 to 12 cubits from Kanhere. In case Kanhere had failed, another who had been entrusted with finishing the task got a seat very near the one meant for Jackson.

If both would fail, Deshpande would take the field and manage to kill Jackson. In any case, no chance was to be taken and Jackson must die.

Invited by the inhabitants of Nasik, Jackson came into the meeting as arranged to attend the farewell party. Just as he had been passing by the pit and was only three or four rows behind the seat reserved for him at the orchestra, Kanhere, who was sitting in a corner in the pit, was seen to come very close to his victim. There was a big report and everybody thought it to be that of a cracker. It was from Kanhere's pistol. The first shot missed, the bullet having passed below Jackson's armpit. The next

bullet hit him in the armpit and Jackson fell down. Six or more shots were put through Jackson from the front and his body was literally riddled with bullets. Death was instantaneous.

The assailant was arrested on the spot and he was prevented from committing suicide by those who held him. He told his captors that he had no mind to escape and he felt happy that he had been able to perform his duty successfully. A note in his pocket purported to say that Jackson would always say good things but would do nothing.

KRISHNA GOPAL KARVE was arrested on the December 24, and others on different dates very close to one another.

The trial of 'Anant Laxman Kanhere, Vinayak Narayan Deshpande and Krishna Gopal Karve with four other accused commenced on January 14, 1910. After the preliminary enquiry the accused were committed to a High Court Special Tribunal on February 2, 1909.

The accused, particularly Kanhere, appeared with an air of indifference to what had been going around.

The trial at the High Court started on March 7, 1910, on charges of murder, conspiracy, aiding and abetting, etc. Judgment was delivered on March 29, 1910, and three, viz., Anant Laxman Kanhere, Krishna Gopal Karve and Vinayak Narayan Deshpande were sentenced to death; three others to transportation for life and one to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

A few days after the death sentence was passed, the condemned persons were removed from the House of Correction at Byculla where they remained incarcerated, to the Special Prison, Thana, a suburb of Bombay.

The accused were executed at the Thana Special Prison on April 19, 1910, at 7 o'clock in the morning. The gallows which was in a secluded spot was screened off from public view so that there might be no witness to the execution.

Scandalous

(1910)

In a case connected with a dacoity KALA CHAND BOSE of Ghoshnagar (under P.S. Satkhira) was arrested in September 1910 and was put in the lock-up of the Satkhira Subsidiary Jail. One morning he was found missing from his cell. A frantic search was successfully launched and Kala Chand arrested near Keshabpur was brought to Magura. He was in police custody and what transpired behind the scene nobody could know but only guess. One morning his dead body was discovered at an out-of-the-way place in Satkhira. There was no dearth of Government activity for investigating the cause of death of Kala Chand and the S.D.O. rushed to Magura for the purpose. In addition, the intestines of the deceased were sent to Calcutta for chemical examination. Neither the relations of the victim of the sordid mystery nor the public could know anything further than the cryptic news published in the local *Khulnabasi* at the time.

In Constant Danger

(1911)

Lives of investigating police officers had been getting more and more insecure in proportion to the growing activities of the members of the revolutionary organisations. On February 21, 1911, Sris Chandra Chakrabarti of the Criminal Investigation Department, had been returning to his house in the Sikdar Bagan Street with a friend at about 7-45 p.m. An unknown assailant shot him from behind from such a close range that the victim's shirt caught fire. The place was dimly lighted and nearly deserted.

The bullet passed right through the policeman's body about the region of the liver. He was a very strong man and though wounded seriously he ran to the dispensary of his uncle not very close from the place of the incident. He was immediately removed to the Medical College and in spite of the best aid, he expired about an hour later.

Nobody was arrested in this connection and no trace could be found of the assailant.

A Shuttlecock of Fate

(1910-1911)

An unfortunate lad CHARU CHANDRA GHOSE was one of the original forty-six accused in the Howrah 'Gang Case' who were committed for trial on July 20, 1910, for conspiracy to wage war against the King, etc. Charu was arrested on March 24, 1910, when seriously ill and was scarcely able to stand his trial and attendance in the court was a sure death for him.

On April 4, 1911, Charu was produced before the Special Magistrate, Howrah, and an application for bail was moved on the ground that the accused had been suffering from apoplectic fit and that his detention in jail would endanger his life. The petition was summarily rejected. Subsequently on the report of the Medical Officer of the jail, Charu was released on bail on May 19, 1910. Barely four months elapsed when he was re-arrested on September 24, 1910. He was forced to appear before the Special Tribunal from day to day up till January 4, 1911.

The condition of his health deteriorated very fast and a further application was made before the High Court. There was a funny exchange of arguments between the Crown Counsel and the presiding Judge each trying to shift on the other the responsibility of the bail and subsequent possible disappearance of the accused. The Counsel would say that if His Lordship would be pleased he might grant the accused bail on his own responsibility, while the Judge wanted to extract a definite acquiescence from the Counsel for his action. The members of the public present in the Court greatly enjoyed this unusual tussle between the Judge and the Counsel. Ultimately as a middle course Charu was exempted from attending the Court on days fixed for his trial.

Now it was a question of life and death to the accused confined in the solitary cell of a jail. Just a few days before his death Charu was released on bail on the ground of paralysis of the limbs. Before the judgment was delivered Charu snapped at the Court of Justice being taken away to Divine Protection from the clutches

of the law and vindictiveness of the Government on April 16, 1911. Charu breathed his last in Bakulbagan, Bhowanipore.

The distracted mother of Charu Chandra submitted a memorial to the Lieutenant Governor stating that her luckless son "would not have been cut off in the prime of his life had he not been arrested and placed in the *hajat* in a solitary cell at a time when the state of his health demanded close attention and careful medical treatment with absolute rest and constant attendance."

The memorial, useless though, was relegated to the waste paper basket because no expression of regret or even an acknowledgment was vouchsafed to the aggrieved mother. The dignity of law and order of the land was vindicated but it removed one of the bricks of the foundation of the British Empire in India.

A Station Tragedy

(1910-1911)

When political discontent had overrun Bengal and violent political actions had been taking place at none too distant intervals, the South could scarcely escape infiltration of ideas that would inflame the minds of at least a section of young men for taking steps to make the country free.

In the early part of 1910 meetings were held in Tuticorin by organisers of the freedom movement where highly seditious speeches were delivered by speakers denouncing judgments in political cases and of the serious harm to Indian interests that the presence of Englishmen had been inflicting on the country. The members of the *Bharat Mata Association*, the name by which the organisation came to be known, discussed various ways and means to attain their objective and at one stage they came to the conclusion that there was no use killing Europeans individually with swords, stones and sticks but that they would have a Mutiny similar to that of 1857.

The first few centres were opened by men on oath at Tenkasi and Tuticorin and branches at Shencottah and Punalur (of Travancore) and also at other places. Tuticorin was selected as

the headquarter and frequent meetings were held at that place. In one of the meetings the Goddess *Kali* was displayed and red powder and sandalwood paste were placed in the water to propitiate the Goddess and some other processes were also gone through for the success of their endeavour. At one of these meetings WANCHI (VANCHI) IYER said that crores of Indians were dying every year; famine, plague and poverty had been the result of the white men's rule. To put an end to their tyranny the white men should be killed if *Swaraj* was to be snatched away from unwilling hands. He promised to supply the party with arms for any action related to the purpose. He wanted to remind the members present at the meeting that Ashe had ruined the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company and the accredited leaders of the political movement were being sent to long terms of imprisonment by him. At another meeting Wanchi asked his friends to form secret societies to drive the English out of India. He went over to Pondicherry for collection of arms.

In pursuance of the common object the *samitis* became very active between January 1, 1911, and July 17, 1911, and the enthusiasts frequently met at Tenkasi, Tuticorin, Shencottah, Punalur, Ottapadram and at other places.

While preparations for a mass scale mutiny slipped into the background, Wanchi, a clerk in the Travancore Forest Department, with a few selected friends decided upon killing Robert William D'estcourt Ashe, the Collector of Tinnevely District. Ashe was given a warning in writing as under:

"We members of the Bharatha Matha Association hereby warn you to the following effect: 'Don't interfere with any public concern. If you are stubborn inspite of this warning, then your head will be smashed to pieces in a short time'."

Yours faithfully,

B. M. A.

(alias New Bharatha Matha Association)"

The above letter was sent to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police on December 12, 1910.

A few days before the incident a pamphlet printed in Tamil and signed *Vande Mataram* was circulated from Tinnevely by post appealing to Indians to join the *Abhinav Bharat Samaj*, described as a secret society. The pamphlet set out a number of

pledges in lucid terms which recruits must take and exhorted the murder of the British in order to free India from the foreign yoke. The imprint in the pamphlet was "Feringhi Nashini" Press, Madras.

Wanchi Iyer now began to move earnestly to translate the threat to Ashe into action. On June 16, 1911, he visited the *hundi* shop of a friend and rested there for the night with another whose name he did not disclose. This was repeated for the second night. On the morning of June 17, both of them left the place saying that they were going by train to Madura.

On the fateful June 17, 1911, Mr. and Mrs. Ashe travelled from Tinnevely to Manyanchi Junction where they had to change for Kodaikanal. Wanchi followed the couple from Tinnevely in the same train and got down at the station keeping a close watch on his victim.

They arrived at Manyanchi at about 11 A.M. The train stopped at the western-most platform of the station. There were three platforms and the booking office was situated between two of them while the third (the eastern-most) was separated from the booking office by railway lines.

When the train from Tinnevely arrived Mr. and Mrs. Ashe got down from their first class carriage in the train and took up their seat in the train which was waiting on platform No. 2. His servant meanwhile had removed his luggage from the Tinnevely train and had it arranged on platform No. 3 so as to be in readiness when the Boat Mail for Tuticorin had arrived.

Ashe was reading seated facing west and Mrs. Ashe was facing east looking at the platform in which the Boat Mail was expected to arrive. A few minutes after the passengers from the Tinnevely train had come to the platform to take the Boat Mail, a shot was heard which some passengers had at first took to be due to bursting of a soda-water bottle. Cries of a lady for help were heard. Ashe was hit by a bullet on the left side of the chest below the collar bone from the revolver of a middle aged man of average size who was noticed by some, as was told afterwards, to have been loading a revolver on the platform. Ashe fell down on the floor of the carriage bleeding profusely. He was taken to the compartment of a train for Tinnevely which hurriedly started to get medical aid.

With the cries of the lady, people standing on the platform ran towards the direction from which the sound had been heard. A man with a revolver was seen standing on the platform No. 2, with a boy who was taken to be his servant.

The assailant waited for a few moments to find if the shot has properly taken effect and as he was convinced of the fact, he was on the point of running away from the place. Ashe's orderly caught hold of the man but had to let him off on the latter's threatening him with a revolver.

The assailant ran down the platform declaring that he would shoot anyone who approached him, and eventually ran into a latrine situated at the end of the platform and shot himself through the throat. His death was instantaneous. The boy who was seen standing by Wanchi's side on the platform before the incident started running northwards from the Manyanchi Station.

When hit, Ashe took up his hat and threw it at his assailant. It fell short of the aim and dropped on the platform.

The police became very active after the incident arresting persons at random. On the completion of investigation, fourteen persons were committed before a Special Tribunal of the High Court on August 30, 1911, on charges of conspiracy for waging war against the King, murder, conspiracy and abetment, etc. While the accused had been awaiting their trial one of them, Venkateswara Iyer of Punarol, a well-to-do Brahmin Vakil, killed himself by cutting his throat with a sharp knife and another Dharmaraja Iyer, by taking poison, both in October 1911.

Judgment was passed awarding various terms of imprisonment to some and acquitting only a few.

Common Fate

(1911)

A Sub-Inspector of the Criminal Investigation Department, Raj Kumar Ray, became the target of attack of the Mymensingh revolutionaries. On June 18, 1911, while Raj Kumar was entering his house, located very near the Bengal Police Station, he was shot at the forehead and different parts of the body by an unknown assailant. He fell dead on the ground.

His companion, the Court Inspector, could simply notice a

figure speedily vanishing into darkness and there was no chance of identifying the culprit and none was ever arrested.

A Wholesale Massacre

(1911)

Sonarang, a village in the Munshigunge Sub-Division, Dacca, was the scene of a political action on July 11, 1911, when Rasul Dewan and Ameri Dewan, both *daffadars* of the village and Kali Binode Chakrabarti, an important witness in a peon assault case in which several young men were convicted, were seriously assaulted.

After dusk a young man went to the house of *daffadar* Rasul Dewan and called him outside his house. As soon as he came out he was immediately shot at with a revolver. Rasul cried out, "Very well, I have recognised you." The assailant who had been speeding away, turned back and fired a few shots causing Rasul's instantaneous death.

The houses of Ameri Dewan and Kali Binode were visited simultaneously and almost the similar procedure adopted for attacking their victims. Ameri also died on the spot.

Kali was one time a political suspect but subsequently under inducement became a very important witness on behalf of police prosecution.

Instead of a gun, he was attacked with knives and received several injuries on his person. He was removed to the hospital in a precarious condition where he struggled hard with death for four days. He died on July 15, 1911, in the Munshigunge Hospital.

From the point of view of the 'party', the whole incident covering three lives in a single night, was a signal success inasmuch as none could be traced and the police had to give up all hopes of bringing the offenders to book.

The Noblest Sacrifice

(1911)

There are very few cases of sacrifice in this world which may compare with the example set by an unknown and forgotten soldier in the fight for freedom of the Motherland.

In 1911, NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTI (of Badree, Mymensingh) with two associates, one of whom was a lad in his teens and was having his initiation in dangerous activities, had been proceeding for some revolutionary action through a dense jungle to reach the destination after dusk. It was a desperate situation when a tiger was noticed by Naren to be on the point of jumping over the boy. Making up his mind with commendable promptitude Narendra Narayan placed himself between the two and grappled with the tiger with all his strength. The other gentleman also intervened.

The tiger could not reach the boy, mauled the other man at two places and left the place after killing Narendra on the spot. The boy was safe. It was a difficult matter to disclose the incident to anybody; particularly the police must not have any clue to the death of a prominent political worker. Naren's body was buried in a deep part of the jungle and he was long taken to have turned a recluse and would have nothing to do with the family.

Martyrdom in the Andamans

(1908-1912)

The story of the inhuman torture that the soldiers of the Freedom's battle had suffered in the jails on the mainland of India and the far off Andamans is not fully known because this has not been properly narrated not even by those who had undergone the suffering themselves. There is one case which gives a meagre detail of just a fraction of the limitless methods of diabolical treatment that had been meted out to those whose names ought to go down in history in letters of gold.

A mere lad of eighteen, INDU BHUSAN ROY, was arrested on

May 2, 1908, from 32, Muraripukur Road, Manicktala, together with Barindra Kumar Ghose and others, as accused in the Alipore Conspiracy Case. The yearning for independence had infected the young heart of Indu and he was seeking for an opportunity to serve the Motherland by making her free from the *feringhi* yoke and establish a better Government. He was a student of a High School in Khulna and appeared at the Entrance Examination in 1907 in which he failed. In those days parents and relations would think of their sons and wards getting married at a very early age and there was no exception with Indu. His father pressed him very hard for marriage but to lead the life of an ascetic he left behind his loving parents with scant intimation to them. He had been roaming about in search of a suitable place when he met Barindra at College Square and was told of the preparations that had been secretly going on there. He took his residence at Manicktala and began studying the *Gita* seriously. He gradually developed the idea of sacrificing his life for the country and thus to set an example to his countrymen. He was a keen student of history and books like *Ananda Math* and such other literature helped him to form this noble idea.

As one who had very little attachment for life, he was selected for risky ventures and one such was the throwing of a bomb at the Mayor of Chandernagore on April 11, 1908.

Indu was convicted in the Alipore Conspiracy Case and was awarded a punishment of transportation for ten years.

Indu Bhusan reached the Andaman Cellular Jail, a name that used to strike terror to the hearts of even the most heinous and hardened criminals, in December 1909. He was one of those who had to work outside the jail. To Indu the work was more troublesome and humiliating than the work done inside the jail.

The position was that if a common prisoner even when working outside the jail fell ill, he was sent to a hospital other than the jail hospital and was known to be better than the one inside. The case was quite different with political prisoners. If he was sick, he was at once declared to be feigning illness and was punished all the more for falling ill. The degree of the malady was overlooked and a prisoner suffering from illness that had partly incapacitated him from doing any heavy work, was made to walk a distance of

more than four miles while carrying his own beddings on his shoulder. He was immediately locked up in his individual cell.

Indu was at the end of his physical endurance when he expressed his preference for duties inside the jail. On arrival chains were placed on his hands and legs and he was marched to his old cell. In a day or two he was ordered to go back to his scheduled duty in the settlement which he refused to do. He was at once charged with the offence of breach of jail discipline.

Indu was in a pitiable condition of health and was scarcely able to carry on with the work he had to perform. On the afternoon of April 28, 1912, Indu desired to see the jailor and he was taken to his office. He requested, in the most entreating terms, the jailor to change his work of making white flax out of *rambash* plant. He had been suffering from blisters caused by the juice of the *rambash* so much that it was even difficult for him to move his fingers freely. It became so painful that he could not get a wink of sleep during the whole night. The pain and the raw sores in his hands prevented him from taking his food to mouth. The touch of *dal* caused him so much pain that tears would roll down his cheeks and the food could not be touched at all. He beseechingly pleaded that if the same state of affairs were allowed to continue he would die of starvation.

He prayed again for a change of work; alternatively, to be sent to the hospital for a few days so that his palms might heal up. All his entreaties met with blunt rebuff from the jailor, who used the most abusive language befitting the guardian of the hell on earth. Indu persisted in asking the jailor to allow him to see the Medical Officer so that he might show the condition of his hands to him and get redress.

The jailor shouted, "You must carry out my orders." Then after a pause for a minute or so he blurted out, "All right, I will change your work" and ordered the warder-in-charge to engage Indu in the *kolu* or the dreaded oil-crusher (*ghani*) from the next morning. Indu muttered that he would simply die if he would have to work in the oil mill with those hands of his. The jailor was obdurate. Indu was dismissed amid a shower of abusive language.

This was the last straw on the camel's back and before many hours Indu was found dead, hanging in his cell. At 1 o'clock of

April 29, 1912, he was found hanging from the top window by a noose made of strips of his torn *kurta*. One of the inmates of the Cellular Jail at the time (Veer Savarkar: *Story of My Transportation for Life*, p. 214) wrote that "the youngman must have found life too burdensome for the loss of his self-respect, to bear or to endure." One of the warders in his morning round found Indu hanging in his cell. An alarm was raised. The jailor hastened to the spot; the matter was telephoned to the Medical Superintendent four or five times and a police orderly was also sent to the said Officer's bungalow which was situated not far away. No response came before 8 o'clock next morning. In the meantime a Madras Hospital Assistant was sent for, but when he came, the body was found as stiff as a log.

Next morning when the Superintendent, the District Magistrate and the police came to investigate, the Jailor, a veritable scoundrel, gave his own version of the affair which was accepted on the spot. It was given that the suicide was due to hallucination that his fellow-convicts had been contemplating to murder him. A more specious plea could never have been discovered even by the Devil himself.

The news of Indu Bhusan's tragic end reached India after many long weeks and was received by all concerned with a sense of profound sorrow and grief. The state of helplessness of the Indian people in such circumstances must have steeled a thousand hearts to avenge the death of Indu Bhusan by making India free so that nothing of the sort could happen again in a civilized administration.

Watcher Watched

(1912)

The movements of the agents of the Government were, as far as possible, closely watched by those who in their turn were under strict surveillance of the police and its henchmen, spies and informers.

Ratilal Ray, a Head Constable of the Dacca police, was on the watch over some suspects for a number of days at a stretch. On the fifth day of his duty he reported to his next higher officer that he had seen some of the missing suspects moving about in the

locality. In the evening of September 24, 1912, he went to the house of a friend leaving it at 7-15 p.m. and within ten minutes he was shot dead in Jhulanbari Lane.

For want of any clue no step could be adopted for the apprehension of the culprits.

A 'Capital' Conspiracy

(1912-1915)

The spirit of revolt against British rule in India that had gripped the imagination of the Bengali youths was not slow to affect the minds of the valiant Punjabis. In the early months of 1907, as the Lieutenant Governor noted in his report:

"Everywhere people were sensible of a change, of a 'new air' which was blowing through men's minds, and were waiting to see what would come of it." *Report of the Sedition Committee*. 1918, p 141 *et seq.*

The said report further stated that

"in the big cities in the centre of the Province the agitators seriously try to arouse feelings of disloyalty. In certain important towns such as Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Lyallpur an active anti-British propaganda is being openly and simultaneously preached. In Lahore, the Capital of the Province, the propaganda is virulent and has resulted in a more or less general state of serious unrest."

The number of supporters of extremist views had been growing fast. A riot broke out over the conviction of the *Punjabee* for sedition. Scant courtesy was shown to Europeans whom the common people had hitherto looked upon with awe and unwilling respect. The educated extremist agitators carried on a campaign of hate by means of speeches at public meetings and spread a definite anti-British propaganda in the villages more particularly where widespread and deep dissatisfaction over legislation proposing modifications of Canal Colony tenures and a projected raising of canal rates in the Bari-Doab, prevailed. Special care was taken to inflame the passion of the great Sikhs and goad them into action.

Attention was directed to the police who were branded as traitors to their fellow countrymen and advised to quit the service of the Government. The Indian soldiers, otherwise loyal, were

invited to join the people by leaving their ranks. The movement was to proceed towards the objective of bringing the Government machinery to a standstill preferably by stirring up a strong feeling of racial hatred.

When these methods succeeded in their mission exceedingly well it was then a question of months if not days when an overt act of a violent nature was to take place anywhere within the Province. Punjab was compared to a heap of dry gunpowder when a small spark would result in a terrible explosion. And it so happened in the heart of the Capital of India.

It was the daring outrage on Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, on December 23, 1912. The occasion was the Viceroy's state entry to Delhi for initiation of the new Imperial Capital of India. The special train conveying His Excellency steamed into the central station. The State functions arranged for the occasion at the place were gone through with unusual pomp and grandeur. Hardinge mounted a tusker and the procession started moving. When the procession was in the centre of Chandney Chowk just beyond the Clock Tower and in front of the Punjab National Bank buildings, a bomb burst with deafening report on the rear part of the *howdah* between Hardinge and one of the attendants, Jamadar Mahabir Singh of Balarampur State, holding the umbrella. The full effect of the explosion on the Viceroy was prevented by the Viceroy's seat, the back of which was wrecked. The whole of the metal work of immense weight and great thickness of silver was blown off. A portion of the projectile hit Hardinge's back and passed upwards his shoulder causing a wound four inches long and exposing the shoulder blade. There were multiple injuries on the right side of the neck and on the right hip.

The incident is better described in the words of Lady Hardinge who was accompanying her august husband in the procession. She expressed it as a 'terrible experience' for her and certainly it was. But it seems that she was able to maintain her composure as best as was possible under the circumstances and guided the nearest attendants to the Viceroy to remove His Excellency to a place where succour would be readily available. She wrote:

"Passing down the Chandney Chowk where the cheering was on all sides, I suddenly felt an upheaval and was thrown forward. When I recovered my place, I felt rather dazed and most decidedly deaf with loud

singing in the head. The Viceroy turned to me and said, 'I am afraid, that was a bomb'.

"The elephant had stopped. Then he called out: 'Go on' and the procession started again. My impression was perfect stillness from the crowds until then, but when we restarted, there were voices raised and I heard 'bravo' amongst them.

"I then began noticing more details; for instance that the *howdah*-back had gone and the Viceroy looked pale. I said, 'Are you sure that you are not hurt?'

"He answered, 'I am not sure. I had a great shock, but I think I can go on.'

"A few seconds afterwards, I stretched back, and through a slit of the uniform near his right shoulder (the farthest from me) I could see red flesh appearing.

"Then I thought that shall I tell him he is wounded, which will frighten him, or to take the risk of the harm the jolt of the elephant may do him. I looked round again and noticed the legs of a man who was hanging backwards and dead.

"Then I quietly said, 'Do let me stop the procession as I fear the man behind is dead.' (We have moved on 150 yds.)

"He said: 'Of course we cannot go on under these circumstances.'

"I stopped the elephant and signed to Col. Maxwell on the elephant on the front. He ran up and the Viceroy said, 'Can you do anything for the poor man behind?'

"And I said: 'Would you like Col. Roberts to come? I think the Viceroy's shoulder is hurt.'

"Just then the Viceroy had a little convulsion and was rapidly losing consciousness. Regaining consciousness, he gave all instructions for the full carrying out of the ceremony.

"After this there is nothing to tell excepting a history of the difficulties of getting him off the *howdah* and his clothes taken off. He was bleeding profusely from about six wounds. No one was in the house, but the staff did everything and managed him beautifully."

(A letter read in a meeting at the Town Hall, Bombay, on January 8, 1913).

Nobody could be arrested in spite of declaration of rewards from the Government and the Native Chiefs who showed a greater concern than those who could be really interested in the case. The amounts assumed a fantastic figure and there was doubt whether these would be available when occasion would demand it.

The Government of India on January 24, 1913, declared that a reward of Rupees one lakh will be paid to anyone giving information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or

persons responsible for the act. The declaration cancelled all previous notifications of reward by the Government or of anybody else.

The only theory that could be established at the time after prolonged investigation was that the bomb, a composite percussion type, was similar to those used in previous outrages in Bengal. It was made of a cigarette tin which contained picric acid, fulminate of mercury and jute combs (sharp iron spikes, technically known as 'pins' and attached to the rollers of jute machines).

The idea of the cigarette tin, used at Delhi, with the cigarette label in tact, was to enable the culprit to carry the machine without causing suspicion.

There were the usual arrests and investigations were carried with the zeal befitting the occasion. Nothing could be established, the Delhi police felt dismayed and the matter rested there for the time being.

Before six months had elapsed from the date of attempt on the Viceroy, Lahore gave an indication of revolutionary activities in the Province. The Lawrence Garden was the scene of an outrage that had apparently failed in its objective on May 17, 1913. A *chaprasi* of the Gymkhana Club was found dead on the road about one hundred yards from the Montgomery Hall. He had terrible wounds in the left leg and right knee, while his chest and body were pierced as if by some sharp nails. A lamp-post on the side of the road opposite to where the *chaprasi* was lying prostrate, was found smashed to pieces.

The culprits could not be traced. During investigations it transpired that a bomb had been placed on the road by which the unfortunate *chaprasi* had been passing on his cycle when he stumbled against it and caused the explosion.

News had reached from Bengal to Lahore that Gordon of the Maulavai Bazar fame had been transferred to Kasur, a District of Lahore, to make him safe against the vendetta of the Bengal group of workers. Close watch was kept over his movements and it came to the knowledge of Bengal's counterpart in Punjab that Gordon would be present on May 17, 1913, at the Club, and steps had had to be taken to murder him when coming out of the Club room. As with the Delhi outrage, the Police were unable to discover any clue whatsoever relating to the outrage.

Signs of revolutionary activity became gradually pronounced in Delhi and elsewhere. Leaflets containing exhortations to young men for revolutionary actions were distributed especially amongst the students. One of this extolled the attempt on Hardinge's life on December 23, 1912, in the following language :

"The *Gita*, the Vedas and the Koran all enjoin us to kill all the enemies of our Motherland, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. Leaving other great and small things, the special manifestation of the Divine Force at Delhi in December last proved beyond doubt that the destiny of India is being moulded by God Himself."

Baffled in their attempt to arrest anybody in connection with the past two serious outrages, the police diverted their attention to the probable source of seditious literature, particularly of the issues of the *Liberty* which were in secret circulation or pasted at different parts of the city from time to time.

On and from February 16, 1914, a considerable number of houses were searched at different places. The police took action partly on warrants under the Press Act by the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, for the seizure of proscribed leaflets of inflammatory nature. Connection with Bengal was sought to be established by a Government statement to the effect that some copies of the seized leaflets had already been produced as evidence in the Raja Bazar Bomb Case. Most of the men who later figured as accused in the Delhi Conspiracy Case were arrested during the course of these searches.

It came to be known that the *Liberty* was printed either in Jullundur, at least its first two issues, or in Calcutta, particularly the third and the fourth. In one of these it published a list of heroes who had been executed for murder or who had been imprisoned for violent crimes. These men were described as 'Workers of God, and that they had been working under heavenly guidance'. The motive must be love for doing God's work. Sacrifice of life was indispensable. It concluded: "Be God's instruments. Die and build your nation. *Bande Mataram*."

The connecting link of the two wings of the revolutionary party in Punjab and Bengal was Rash Behari Bose who had been mainly instrumental in infusing life to the organisation functioning in Northern India. The object of the movement as stated by Rash Behari himself was

"by the commission of outrages to awaken the masses to the fact that they are living under a foreign yoke. Then a strong desire will burst among the masses for open revolution."

Rash Behari acted not only as the link between Bengal and Punjab but as the Director of operations in the whole of Northern India. He selected some able lieutenants who were prepared to undergo any amount of suffering and face any risk unto death.

Amongst those was ABADH BEHARI. He attended the Lahore Central Training College, but lived at Delhi and was an intimate friend of AMIR CHAND since 1908. He met Rash Behari at Agarwal Ashram in 1912. Abadh Behari was made the head of the revolutionary activities in U.P. and Punjab. He had a hand in every department of the organisation and was capable of managing even intricate jobs with comparative ease. Once he wrote to a friend of his:

"Death is for all and we shall die the death of a hero The Bengal spirit should be implanted in Punjab"

Abadh Behari was arrested on February 19, 1914. In his room was found a few copies of *Liberty* pamphlet, a manuscript copy of a Paper called *Talwar*, the original of which was first published in Berlin on March 19, 1910. The title page displayed a picture of Madan Lal Dhingra as its hero and exemplar. A Hindi manuscript dealing with the uses of poisons for political purposes and a document advocating general massacre of Europeans formed part of the seized documents from his room. Amongst other articles were a cap of bomb and a bottle of petrol.

AMIR CHAND was for some time employed in the Cambridge Mission High School, and at the time of his arrest was the Headmaster in the Sanskrit School, Charkhewola. He was the central figure in the group of 'the workers of God'. Teaching of youngmen, particularly in the revolutionary cult was his life's mission. The experience of his age and the undoubted talents were an asset to the organisation.

During the search of Amir Chand's house some brown papers of a very distinctive character were found. Amongst the papers was a cover containing a Hindi pamphlet dealing with the use of poison. There were a few copies of the *Liberty* and a document containing a list of names with an *alias* and a letter of

the alphabet opposite each name; a list of places, each also with a special letter denoting places of meeting. Amir Chand's house was called Rs. 100, Abadh Bihari's, Rs. 400/-, etc. Annas and Pies indicated time. Another manuscript headed *Love of Liberty* advocated a general massacre of Europeans, especially the English. There was a mass of other incriminating documents.

A biscuit box containing a quantity of cotton wool with some slight yellow stains on it was also found in another room. Amir Chand and his nephew were put under arrest on February 19, 1914.

BALMOKAND, together with Abadh Behari, was especially deputed for the preparation and dissemination of seditious literature and was trained in the throwing of bombs. In February 1914, Balmokand unsuccessfully tried at Jodhpur, where he acted as a private tutor, to secure a pass for gaining entrance into the Viceregal enclosure. He was put in charge of operations in Punjab, especially for Lahore.

Balmokand was entrusted by Rash Behari for finding an employment for BASANTA KUMAR BISWAS so that he might be readily available when there was a demand on his services.

Basanta *alias* Bishin Das served in The Popular Dispensary, Sutramand, Lahore, a job secured through the good offices of Balmokand. While not unmindful of his duties to his masters, he could always manage to eke out time and opportunity to carry out the plan and programme of his political leader. He rendered a very good account of himself in connection with the attempt on the Viceroy's life. He was successful in evading arrest in a remarkable manner. The story goes that his effeminate features and puny size came very handy to dress in female attire and get himself mixed up with the ladies taking their stand in the Punjab National Bank Building in Chandney Chowk, for witnessing the show. When at his suggestion the ladies around him diverted their attention to a particular part of the procession, he managed, it is alleged, to throw the bomb unobserved and during the commotion caused by the violent explosion deftly slipped out of the building and got mixed up with the crowd on the streets.

He was selected with Abadh Behari to conduct the operations for the murder of Gordon and but for the indiscretion in placing the bomb in a pathway not frequented by the European members

of the Club, he might have added another feather to his cap of exploits.

Basanta Biswas left Delhi and went to his native village Paragacha in the Nadia District, Bengal, to perform the *sradh* ceremony of his father where he was arrested on February 26, 1914.

Rash Behari Bose, one of the principal accused, could not be found anywhere and a reward of Rs. 5,000 was offered by the Government on March 14, 1914, for his apprehension. He was declared a proclaimed offender and all his properties were confiscated to the State.

He was described in a circular as a man "of about thirty years of age, fair complexioned and tall, has large eyes, and that the third finger of one hand is stiff and scarred due to some accident." One of the prosecution witnesses, the approver, in the Delhi Conspiracy Case, deposed:

"He is strongly built, neither very fair, nor very dark. He looked like a Bengali or a Punjabi according to how he was dressed. He had a small wound in the third finger knuckle, owing to his finger being crushed in the door of a railway carriage during the last visit to Bengal. The wound was of the size of a four-anna bit. He has broad eyes."

On March 16, 1914, Amir Chand, Abadh Behari, Basanta Biswas, Balmokand and seven others were placed before the Delhi Magistrate for trial. The accused were variously indicted in groups for conspiracy, sedition, murder, possession of explosives, etc. Against all the accused the common charge was that they had conspired together for commission of murder and in furtherance of their common object, some of the accused were in possession of explosives in contravention of the Explosive Substances Act. The prosecution alleged that certain of the accused had actually committed murder, viz., at Lahore when a *chaprasi* was killed on May 17, 1913. Some others happened to be members of a conspiracy having distributed or being in possession of literature which contained deliberate incitements to murder.

The Magistrate framed charges against all the accused, eleven in number, for conspiracy to murder. Amir Chand, Abadh Behari, Balmokand and Basanta Biswas were further charged under the

Explosive Substances Act, Basanta Biswas and Abadh Behari for the murder of a *chaprasi* on May 17, 1913, at Lahore.

The Sessions Trial opened at Delhi on May 21, 1914, and the omnibus charge ran thus:

"That you....between October, 1910 and March, 1914, both at Delhi and at other places in British India, did conspire with one another and with other persons (the approvers etc) and other persons unknown, to commit the offence of murder (302 I P C) which offence was committed on May 17, 1913, at Lahore and thereby committed an offence under Section 120B and 302 I.P.C."

The charge was amended on May 25, by substitution of the word "agree" for "conspire".

On October 5, 1914, judgment was delivered in which Amir Chand and Abadh Behari were sentenced to 20 years' transportation under the Explosive Substances Act, Basanta Biswas to transportation for life for conspiracy in consideration of his tender age; Abadh Behari, Amir Chand and Balmokand were further sentenced to death.

On October 22, 1914, appeals were preferred in the Punjab Chief Court on behalf of Amir Chand, Abadh Behari and Balmokand. The prosecution Counsel prayed for confirmation of the sentence of the three appellants and enhancement of sentence of Basanta Biswas. It was contended that he was twenty-two years of age and was fully conscious of the consequence of his action. On February 10, 1915, all the accused, including Basanta, were condemned to death. Three others were given varying terms of imprisonment.

The Secretary of State was moved to stay execution for a short time to enable the condemned men to move the Privy Council. On March 1, 1915, the request was rejected.

The accused fought against time and paucity of resources and anyhow managed to submit an appeal with the Privy Council. The judgment of the Judicial Committee rejecting the appeal came to be known in India on April 29, 1915. There was a little loss of time and all the four

- (i) Amir Chand,
- (ii) Balmokand,
- (iii) Abadh Behari, and
- (iv) Basanta Biswas

were executed on May 11, 1915, in the Ambala jail. (A Lahore message, dated May 12 published in *The Pioneer* on May 14, 1915, stated "all the four accused.....have now been executed").

The four great heroes of India who with unflinching devotion had worked jointly in life against enormous odds, sacrificed their lives together on the gallows and marched together towards the Martyrs' Paradise to enjoy a nation's gratitude raised from below.

Though not quite known to the world at large the name of a silent Martyr in connection with the Delhi Conspiracy executions should be recorded with deserving respect. Balmokand paid the highest penalty of the law for the love of his country. When the news of his execution reached his home, RAMRAKHI, the devoted wife of Balmokand, in spite of all persuasions to the contrary stopped taking food and drink and in the course of a few days she followed her husband with a cheerful mien with the blessings of all who gathered around her during the last few days of her mortal existence. Blessed be her name!

Quiet Sacrifice

(1913)

A large number of persons were convicted in one of the Nasik Conspiracy cases and one of these was SAKHARAM DADAJE GOREY. He was awarded a sentence of five years' rigorous imprisonment. He was kept in prison where he had not been keeping good health for some time. He developed bronchitis and expired on February 12, 1913 (*The Englishman*, February 14, 1913). He set an example of silently giving up the life for a cause.

Deplorable Incident

(1913-1915)

The political character of the occurrence at Nimej in the Beaur Sub-Division of the Shahabad District can be attributed only to the motive of the action. One of the principal accused used to preach amongst his followers that any action including

dacoity, that would advance the cause of *Swaraj*, was always justifiable. Another accused was in constant touch with a man who was a close friend of Amir Chand of the Delhi Conspiracy Case.

A story gained currency that the *mohant* of the temple situated at Nimej had amassed considerable wealth and the whole amount had been kept concealed in the *ashram* premises. On March 20, 1913, MOTICHAND with four others attacked the *mohant*, Bhagwan Das, who, in the scuffle that ensued between the raiders and himself, was killed in offering resistance. His attendant, a young boy in his early teens, Banshidhar, was murdered so that there could be no evidence of the crime. The raiders had to go away with a small booty not worth the trouble, much more so when two innocent lives were involved.

The incident passed off without any arrest. After a lapse of some months the name of the principal accused figured prominently in another political case and the murder was out. Motichand and his friends were arrested and a case for murder, dacoity, etc., was started against them. After the preliminary enquiry the accused were committed to the Sessions on July 7, 1914. On October 5, 1914, Motichand was sentenced to death and his co-accused to a long term of imprisonment, and another to transportation for ten years. On January 28, 1915, the death sentence was confirmed by the High Court.

Motichand appealed before the Privy Council and his application was dismissed by the Judicial Committee on March 5, 1915 and he was executed in the same month.

An Incautious Act

(1912-1913)

On March 27, 1913, the sound of a violent explosion was heard at about 7-30 p.m. at Maulavi Bazar, Sylhet. Next morning a dead body, mutilated beyond recognition, of a respectable looking Bengali was found near the fencing of the compound of the S.D.O., Mr. Gordon. The sacred thread in the trunk of the body indicated that the deceased belonged to a Brahmin family.

The left hand of the deceased up to wrist as also a few fingers of the right hand were blown away and no trace of them could be discovered. The right thigh was also shattered and bones, flesh, etc., were reduced to pulp. The whole body with its numerous ghastly wounds presented an awful and sickening spectacle. The wounds in the chest and abdomen were also numerous and the left side of the face was completely disfigured.

The deceased wore a coat, a shirt, a *genji* and a wrapper. In the pocket of the coat was found a fully loaded revolver with a few spare cartridges, two blank postal envelopes, a few sheets of blank papers and a pencil.

Another loaded revolver was found at a little distance and it seemed that the man had been carrying the revolver in one hand and the bomb in another and explosion caused the revolver to be blown away. •

In the breast pocket was found a few rupees, some of which were pinned through as if by a screw owing to the violence of the impact.

It was further noticed that one of the pistols was rather new and the pattern of the other was old. The exploded bomb resembled in every particular the one that was thrown at the Viceroy Lord Hardinge.

It was guessed that failing to find out Gordon in his bungalow the young man went to the Circuit House where Gordon was likely to be present at a dinner fixed for the evening. Gordon was not even there.

He left the place and in his hurry to get back into Gordon's bungalow tried to negotiate the fencing, tipped over it and fell to the ground. The bomb that he had been carrying exploded by the impact with dire consequences.

The man could not be identified after investigation for a long time by the police.

There was a story behind this attempt. Gordon had made himself a nuisance by his high-handed brutal treatment of those whom he suspected to have any connection with instances of disobedience to law and his administrative discipline. Somebody reported to him that the Jagatsi Ashram at Silchar had become a centre of political activity and that the head of the *ashram* had declared that he had no respect for British rule.

Moreover, it was reported that on June 30, 1912, he had repudiated the authority of the Government. Gordon had neither the time nor the inclination to go minutely into the matter and at once took into his head to disband the *ashram* and the *ashramites* by terrorising the inmates as also the local people, the bulk of whom had a soft corner for the institution.

He had been seeking for an opportunity for giving expression to his temper when a convenient complaint filed on June 20, 1912, before the S.D.O. Gordon, by a gentleman to the effect that his younger brother had been kidnapped and forcibly kept confined in the *ashram*, became very handy. Order was immediately passed to search the *ashram* and to rescue the boy. The police wanted to have its own way. It was alleged that the search was resisted by the *ashram* people on July 6. On the very next day, July 7, the Assistant Superintendent of Police appeared on the scene with armed men at his command and made a very liberal use of their lathis and bayonets on the inmates. There were a few cases of firing and MAHENDRA NATH DE, known as Yogananda, (an M.A., B.Sc. of the Calcutta University) was hit by the bullet during the search.

The party returned to the headquarters not very much satisfied with what had been achieved. On July 8, a strong police force each carrying a firearm raided the *ashram* with a view to put every *ashramite* under arrest. It was absolutely hell let loose on a place where people were mostly given to religious pursuits. The place was thoroughly ransacked. Trunks, almirahs and all closed containers were broken open, things were thrown pell-mell; the men were beaten indiscriminately, some, not excluding ladies, having received serious injuries on their person. They were pulled by the hair and one or two dishevelled, were thrown on a pile of bleeding, half-conscious men. Blood flowed freely. Every adult male was tightly secured with ropes. Some received gun-shot wounds. The whole place was plundered; all valuable articles were removed. The police entered the sacred precincts of the establishment and perpetrated the most sacrilegious acts. The whole place presented a spectacle of a ransacked city surrendered to a ruthless invader after a stiff resistance.

Most of the arrested people were marched to the police station which was situated at a long distance from the place.

Mahendra hit by a bullet on July 7, died of his injuries on July 16, 1912, in the Sylhet jail. In March 1913, a case was started against twelve persons of the *ashram* and most of them were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The police now proceeded against the elder brother of the kidnapped boy, who supplied Gordon a handle to perpetrate a series of wanton acts, for deliberately giving false information to the authorities. He was found guilty and awarded three months' rigorous imprisonment.

Gordon had reports of similar exploits on his list. He had become an object of terror to even peace-loving citizens within his administrative jurisdiction as nobody could guess when and in what way his temper would find expression. It was thought to be a part of the duty of the revolutionaries not only to get rid of such an obnoxious officer but to impart good lessons to others who would behave in a similar fashion. The incident ending in disaster was the outcome of this accepted policy.

Not the least particular could be traced of the deceased. A man convicted in the first Barisal Conspiracy Case while undergoing his term of imprisonment was cited as a witness in a subsequent political case in Barisal. In the course of his evidence he disclosed that the name of the boy who had sacrificed his life in Maulavi Bazar on March 27, 1913, was JOGENDRA NATH CHAKRAVARTI alias Ram Chunder of Sylhet. He was a prominent member of Mymensingh unit and was in charge of arms and ammunition of the organisation.

A mystery that had baffled all solution in the past and the police had given up all hopes of discovering the identity of the boy was solved in a most unexpected way. But for this accidental revelation, nobody could ever know any particulars about the boy going silently into oblivion, unwept, unhonoured and unsung.

In a Trice

(1913)

On September 29, 1913, Haripada Dey, a Head Constable of the Criminal Investigation Department and attached to Inspector, Nripendra Nath Ghose, had been standing near the statue of Vidyasagar in the College Square, Calcutta, apparently

busy in keeping an eye on the movements of persons amongst whom there were likely to be some over whom the police desired to keep a close watch.

It so happened that three young men quietly entered the Square through the gate situated on the western side of the Square and one of them opened fire at Haripada who was unmindful of his own safety and ran away. All the three then went out by the southern side over the middle of the fencing and vanished in no time.

It was just a question of minutes when the assailants came, finished their business and disappeared. Haripada was seen falling to the ground with the third shot. He was immediately removed to the Medical College Hospital, very close to the place of the incident, where he was found dead. There were two bullets imbedded inside the body and the third penetrated the right arm and passed out by the shoulder blade.

Most Unexpected

(1913)

A great prop of the Criminal Investigation Department, Bankim Chandra Chaudhuri, met with his death on September 30, 1913, inside his house in Mymensingh. He had just come back from his evening stroll and took his seat in his outer drawing-room with *hookah* (hubble-bubble) from which he was smoking leisurely in great comfort. All on a sudden a bomb burst in front of him killing him outright. His legs were shattered; numerous pins penetrated his body, one piercing his left eye. Yellow powder was found scattered over the whole body and also on his bed. Iron nails of different sizes were found embedded in the wall.

A reward of Rs. 1,000 was announced the next day for information relating to the incident which lapsed in due course.

A Notable Bag

(1914)

The assassination of inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose of the Criminal Investigation Department, (Special Branch), Calcutta, was surely an act of ingenuity and adroitness and proved to be a triumph for the revolutionaries in the early stages of political action involving the life of police officers.

On January 19, 1914, at about 8 p.m. when the junction of Grey Street and Chitpore Road was crowded with pedestrians and vehicular traffic, Nripen was shot dead by an assassin's bullet at the Sovabazar corner of the street. The place of occurrence was within a hundred yards of the Kumartuli P.S. The congestion on the road afforded special opportunity to the assailant in getting into the crowd and thus avoid arrest and identification.

Nripen had finished his day's work at the C.I.D. headquarters at Elysium Row, Calcutta, and started for his home by tram at about 7-45 p.m. Hardly had he alighted when the assassin who must have followed him all through the journey, jumped out of the trailer car, brought out a revolver and fired at him from a very close range. The shot administered to him passed through the head and Nripen reeled and fell on his back without a groan, death being instantaneous. He received a second shot in the chest.

Nripen had a long and distinguished career in the Police Department and was usually connected with cases of political outrage. His death in such circumstances was deemed a great victory for the cause and loss to the ruling power.

The boy arrested on suspicion, after protracted trial, retrial and re-retrial, was acquitted by the High Court.

CHAPTER FOUR

AROUND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

(1914-1922)

A Windfall

Stray cases of dacoity in East Bengal kept up the smouldering fire of revolutionary outburst and cases involving lives of Government servants became gradually scarce.

The period was used in hatching a plan of action in a wider field with a harder striking force by the leaders of the movement in India and by those who happened to be living at the time in foreign countries especially in Germany. There were a few who could foresee from the deteriorating diplomatic tension, the possibility of an outbreak of hostilities between the United Kingdom and Germany, and became alert in organising forces as could be pooled together at the time with the slender resources available to them.

Whatever might be the strength in human power in membership and active supporters, there was a serious lack of firearms with which to carry raid in the closest preserves of the enemy. The sources of supply were anything but meagre, the attendant risks, many, and the cost, prohibitive.

At this juncture an event of momentous importance that could at least for the time being solve the difficult problem, came handy. In Calcutta, Messrs. Rodda and Company, a firm of gunmakers, placed an order for weapons in a foreign country and in the third week of August 1914, the consignment of 202 cases reached the Calcutta port all right. A member of the staff, on August 26, 1914, was deputed to release the goods from the Calcutta Customs.

He took at the first instance delivery of 192 cases and left office to bring the rest. He failed to turn up within a reasonable time. Information was sent to the police to the effect followed by a frantic search that failed. The lost cases contained no less than 50 Mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of ammunition to match. The pistols were large-sized '300 bore ones. They were "so made and packed that by attaching to the butt the box containing the pistols, a weapon was produced which could be fired from the shoulder in the same way as a rifle". (*Report of the Sedition Committee*, 1918, p. 66).

The articles thus secured served the growing need of the revolutionaries. The magnificent quantity of cartridges were freely used in cases where the use of pistols was found essential. There had scarcely been any case of murder and other outrages subsequently in which Mauser pistols had not been used. Unfortunately for the revolutionaries by February 26, 1915, the police recovered 23,200 rounds of ammunition and by the middle of 1918, no less than 31 pistols were seized by the police from different places.

Indo-German Plot

(1914-1918)

Long before Germany came into conflict with England, German diplomats had been watching the intensification of political unrest and outbreaks of violence in India with keen interest. The principal motive was to force Great Britain to deploy large forces in India and thereby prevent their transfer to fighting zones. The question of Indian Independence loomed large during the discussions between the revolutionaries and the German Government which assured full support to the cause.

As early as 1911 some young Indians with revolutionary ideas lived in or about Berlin. They had been thinking of seeking foreign aid. They made formal proposal relating to their cause when they came to know of the mind of the German Government to render help to them in the manner and extent suitable to both. Hardayal as one of the sponsors, got into the spirit of this new

movement and when he left Europe for U.S.A. he had a complete picture of the position with him.

He reached U.S.A. in April 1911 and found to his satisfaction that the youngmen of his way of thinking had already built up an well-knit organisation for realisation of their common aim.

New Avenue

England's declaration of war on Germany opened up a new avenue for activities in the line and the revolutionaries did not lose a moment to approach the German Government to help them in all possible ways.

The German Government by this time possessed a complete knowledge of every individual revolutionary Indian resident in the country and was also conversant with his views in respect of British rule in India. The Foreign Office was contacted by some of those Indians and they were able to convince about their earnestness in driving away the foreigners, and to secure promise of every possible help in the war of Indian independence.

The Indians were reluctant to be tied to any conditions for the help they would receive both in cash and in kind. They proposed and the German Foreign Office accepted, that such help would be taken as a loan which would be repaid by the Government of Independent India.

The Foreign Office also agreed to advise their Embassies in Honolulu, Batavia, Manila, etc., to help the Indian cause with the same earnestness as the Home Government itself, to facilitate formation of revolutionary units at different parts of the world, and in the consolidation of unattached persons and parties working with the same object. It was supported by efforts to evolve a system to affiliate all those behind the movement into an efficient working unit, the principal aim of which would be to cause mutiny among the native troops in British India and in different centres engaged in war.

One of the prominent Indian revolutionaries was given charge "to direct a campaign to win Indian prisoners of war captured by the Germans from the British ranks from their allegiance." Arrangements were also made to print and publish war-news to be smuggled over the Siamese-Burmese border with

the help of Berlin Office Code previously given to the man in charge of such operations.

German collaboration was set on a firm footing. Moreover, the project was to be financed by the Kaiser and promulgated by the Berlin Foreign Office through secret agents, disbursement to be met from an alleged war fund by the German Consulate at San Francisco. It was a proud and glorious day for India that among the rank of freedom-fighters outside India there was no distinction of caste, creed, zonal and or party affiliations, each person merging his own interest or identity in a general pool which could work with complete confidence actuated by the highest ideal of one nationhood.

There was another great advantage for the Indian revolutionaries at the time that support of the Muslim population in India was almost sure to come inasmuch as the Sultan of Turkey, though declaring no open war against the British, was prepared to lend his whole weight against the enemies of the German Government.

Organisational Set-up

In September 1914, an organisation by the name of International Pro-Indian Committee was formed in Zurich and its President applied to the local German Consul to obtain permission for him to publish anti-British literature in Germany. In the next month he left Zurich and reached Berlin to work under the Foreign Office and immediately established the "Indian National Party" with some members of the *Ghadr* party of San Francisco.

Another group formed themselves into the Indian Independence Committee in Berlin by the end of 1914. One of the early activities of the Committee was to issue a manifesto accusing Japan for joining the allies and expressing deep sense of sympathy for the German cause. Though there was a little time lag, the manifesto was followed by a most important interview in the highest circle in Germany. The proposals of the Indian delegation was broadly accepted and work started on the suggested line.

Plan of Action

After contact had been firmly established, it was thought expedient to strengthen the hands of the fighters inside India.

As a first step it was thought necessary, as was one of the clauses of the agreement, to send arms and ammunition to India. The German Admiralty was advised to arrange for the carrying and safe delivery of military equipment at their convenience but with the utmost expedition. It was clear that the plan of the German Government was to help Indians to drive away the Britishers from India and to retard England's plans for prosecuting war upon the Central Powers. India was to be attacked from two points. The revolutionaries were to go through Manila, China, Japan, Borneo and Siam into Burma. In the West, it was planned to seize Suez Canal, to go through Persia and Afghanistan and thence to the west coast of India. The scheme which depended on Moslem disaffection was directed against the North West Frontier but the other schemes which relied upon the co-operation of the *Ghadr* party of San Francisco and the Bengali revolutionaries, had its centre in Bangkok and Batavia. The Bangkok scheme was entrusted to returned Sikhs of the *Ghadr* party, the Batavian scheme to the Bengalis. Both the schemes were under general direction of the Consul General for Germany in Shanghai acting under orders from the German Embassy at Washington.

It was not very difficult to have regular contact with the Indian revolutionaries in U.S.A. (the *Ghadr* party) and according to an approved plan some of these came over to Berlin. Two or three persons were sent back to India to apprise their Indian counterparts of the favourable developments that had been taking shape in distant lands.

By 1915 the Indian Independence Committee became completely free from foreign influence and began functioning in its own way.

It was really a bold venture for a few unknown Indians to start a revolutionary organisation in foreign lands. The Committee thought it essential now to establish contact with revolutionary workers scattered over different parts of the globe.

The revolutionary spurt in Bengal can be attributed, to a large measure, to the intensification of activities of the Berlin Committee. The *Ghadr* party in U.S.A. sent emissaries to Germany and the contact that was established greatly strengthened the work in both countries.

Bengal's Endeavour

In India, particularly in Bengal, the leaders met in the early part of 1915 and endeavoured to place the whole scheme of rising in rebellion in India with the help of the Germans upon a proper footing, establishing co-operation between revolutionaries in Siam and other places with Bengal and getting into touch with the Germans for action. Feverish movement of revolutionaries took place, workers going to Batavia, Bangkok, Japan, Siam and Burma. Inside Bengal and its neighbouring State, Orissa, arrangements were made for receiving the arms sent by Germany at different centres.

In the Middle East

The Berlin Committee found it necessary to extend its activities in Western Asia and the Persian revolutionaries were contacted with the ostensible object of receiving aid towards opening a route to reach India without much risk. Those who came with this mission were glad to meet a few of their own way of thinking who had come earlier and had studied the situation profitably and working satisfactorily in their own way.

In February or March 1915 Indian revolutionaries reached Turkey and they divided themselves into two groups, one to proceed towards Baghdad *via* Persia and the other to Damascus *via* the Suez. Turkey was drawn into the war, (November 5, 1914), and the *Ghadr* newspaper played its part exceedingly well in this sphere also. Besides the editorials and news comments, articles by extremist Egyptian leaders were published from time to time.

In the issue of November 20, 1914, a speech of Enver Pasha was given prominent publicity. It ran thus:

"This is the time that the *Ghadr* should be declared in India, the magazines of the English should be plundered, their weapons looted and they should be killed therewith. The Indian number 32 crores at the best and the English are only two lakhs; they should be murdered; they have no army. The Suez Canal will shortly be closed by the Turks. He who will die and liberate the country and his native land will live for ever. Hindus and Muhammadans, you are both soldiers of the army and you are brothers, and this low, degraded English is your enemy; you should become *ghasis* by declaring *jihad* and by combining with your brothers. Murder the English and liberate India." (*Report of the Sedition Committee*, 1918, p. 169).

In early 1915 some prominent revolutionaries reached Constantinople. The Indian soldiers stationed around for the purpose of attacking Mesopotamia were approached through propaganda literature and not a few of them were induced to desert the army.

Syria was not left out of attention and was approached by one or two members of the party. Egypt was deemed to be a more important place to propagate the idea of revolution where Iranian sepoys were stationed in large numbers. Everywhere the revolutionaries had to expose themselves to extreme danger to their lives. A highly efficient espionage service of the British Government had planted spies and established military posts throughout their own territory as well as of those who have had, by force of circumstances, to submit to the Britisher's convenience.

About half a dozen members of the *Ghadr* party managed to enter Persia with great difficulty and found that two others had been living there in disguise. It came to be known subsequently that these two got into British Baluchistan and had been partially successful in smuggling arms into India. Unfortunately the plot was discovered; both of them were arrested and put to death.

Arms by the Sea

(1914-1915)

The German Government tried their level best to fulfil their commitment of sending arms to India and issued instructions to their Embassies and Agents wherever possible for taking steps for the implementation of their promise.

Early in March news reached India of promise of German help details of which could be arranged in Batavia with German officers stationed at that place. While emissaries reached Batavia for discussion, *S. S. Maverick* an oil-tanker started from San Pedro, California, on a voyage towards India on March 22, 1915. The original plan of landing arms in Karachi was changed to Bengal and Orissa at the intervention of a representative of the revolutionaries who had by this time reached Batavia from Calcutta.

Maverick first went to San Jose del Cabo in lower California with Anger in Java as its destination. In the course of its voyage it touched Socorro, 600 miles west of Mexico and waited for a month watching for another ship, *Annie Larsen*, which had been loaded with arms and ammunition at San Diego. *Maverick* received a surprise search visit from *H. M. A. S. Gheni* and *H. M. C. S. Rainbow* and an American man-of-war all of which separately searched the vessel. Then she started for Java touching Helo Johnson Island on its way. On arrival at Java on July 22, 1915, it was seized by a Dutch torpedo boat and was apparently interned.

The *Annie Larsen* having failed in its objective wandered rather aimlessly avoiding search and interception as best as it could and arrived at Hoquiam in Washington in June 1915. It was at once seized and searched by the U. S. Government. The entire cargo of arms and ammunitions was confiscated to the State.

A third ship, *Henry S.*, also met with the same fate. Before it had started on its voyage from Manila for Shanghai, its full load of cargo, a huge stock of arms and ammunitions, was discovered by the Customs authorities at Manila which compelled the master of the ship to unload the cargo before sailing. It was then allowed to leave the port having miserably failed in its mission.

It is now known that similar other attempts for sending ships carrying arms for the Indian revolutionaries were made during the World War I. One was directed to proceed from Shanghai to a place in Bengal. The second was for Orissa. The third was to sail "to the Andamans shipping a cargo of arms at sea and raid Port Blair, pick up anarchists, convicts and men of the mutinous Singapore regiment, who it was thought were interned there, and then proceed to Rangoon and raid it."

As details of the scheme had become fairly known to the British Government, it became almost impossible for anybody connected with the conspiracy to work in comparative secrecy and safety. Each man was closely watched and arrested at the first opportunity. Every haunt of the conspirators became known and anything that was most likely to take place was forestalled. It also became very difficult to maintain any contact through messengers or through postal services without interception. Thus a Plan on

which high hopes were placed for an armed rising in India was frustrated without achieving result of any moment.

While preparations for a formidable rising had been going on both within and outside India, outbursts of revolutionary violence involving lives of servants of the Government and agents and spies in the employ of the police occurred here and there in various parts of Bengal.

The Ghadr Movement

(1908-1918)

Events had been moving fast; the Muzaffarpore outrage, the Alipore and other conspiracy cases and other stray incidents in their train disclosed the growing trend towards organised violence inside the country. The early pioneering attempts of some patriotic youngmen and subsequent formation of the Indian Association of the Pacific Coast, the Indian Independence League (the Hindi Association) in U.S.A., the Indian Independence Committee and the Berlin Committee in Germany, were signs of revolutionary activity of Indians living overseas. It was not very difficult for the two groups to establish contact across the vast expanse of water mainly through the help of the German Government. Their combined activities found manifestations in the Far East, the Middle East, Turkey, Egypt, China, Japan, Burma, the North-Western Frontier of India. In India itself it rejuvenated the secret organisations and led to intense activities in Punjab.

It was a grand project though succeeded only to the extent of a fraction only. Yet, it disclosed great boldness in conception, determination, resourcefulness, patience and power of suffering of the revolutionaries in the cause of India's independence. The *Ghadr* Party and the Berlin Committee, through their ramifications can claim to have contributed a large share towards the achievement of the goal.

The beginning was unassuming, just like a spark that starts a conflagration and it really brought together a certain section of the interested people in three continents and laid a solid foundation on which the later revolutionary movement largely depended.

A few youngmen arrived in Berkeley, California, in 1907 avowedly for study. They got together and formed themselves into a nucleus with the object of advancing the cause of Indian freedom in the best manner that was possible under the circumstances. In collaboration with others the Indian Independence League, a title suggestive of the object of its sponsors, was founded in California in about 1908.

The earliest men of this unit to attract notice was Tarak Nath Das and just a few of his associates. Within a very short time they were joined by Pandurang Khankhoje and still on a later date by Kashi Ram and others. Besides their preoccupation as students and organisers of a political party, some of them tried to obtain military training and lessons in the manufacture of bombs and explosives.

By the time these youngmen had started their open activity, there was a feeling of discontent among the Sikhs in Canada and U.S.A., particularly in the former, who were put to great hardships because of their Indian nationality. Amongst the Indians they formed the biggest single unit and their difficult case was a source of great irritation to Indians of all classes.

The concentration of the Sikhs in Portland served as a fertile ground for disseminating seeds of hatred against the British who could not give protection to the Indians, while holding them in subjection in their native land.

Khankhoje with Kashi Ram started the Indian Independence League at Portland. Centres grew up in various parts of the U.S.A. such as Oregon, San Francisco, Washington, etc., and the organisation gained in volume and strength. Literature in the form of manifestoes were issued to the members of the League and a few of them reached the shores of India and fell into receptive hands.

The Asiatic Immigration Act of 1909 had already caused grave discontent in the minds of Indians and this situation was fully exploited by the leaders of 'the League'. The aggrieved Indians were injected with the thought of revolution and a demand was created amongst them to be treated in the same way as citizens of other independent countries were being treated.

The work of 'the League' received a great impetus with the arrival of Vishnu Ganesh Pingley and thereafter of Hardayal in

San Francisco in April 1911. With his dynamic personality, vast knowledge of history and of human affairs and gift of eloquence Hardayal was able to infuse new life, new outlook into the activities of the revolutionaries.

The flame of sedition began to spread slowly over California and Oregon, the States in which there were fairly large number of Indian emigrants. The first fruits were the establishment in Astoria (Oregon) of the Hindusthani Association towards the end of 1912 or the beginning of 1913. The avowed objects of 'the Association' were to receive vernacular papers from India; to encourage Indian youths to come over to America for educating themselves in the service of the Motherland through absorption of new ideas and new methods of activity. Weekly discussions in meetings created a sentiment of intense patriotism amongst the members who used to meet together frequently.

The Hindi Association, organised later, had the same ideas as its predecessor, the Hindusthani Association. It aimed at the unity of Indians of all classes, creeds and education with the common object of opposition to the British in India.

Prior to this, the 'Indian Association of the Pacific Coast' had been formed and contact was established among these organisations. To intensify the activities, a *Ghadr* party was formed and decision was taken to publish an organ of the party, the *Ghadr* (Mutiny), in Gurmukhi in San Francisco. Gradually the Paper was to be issued in Urdu, Hindi, and Gujrati, which was done in the course of a year or so. An English version of selected articles was also issued and distributed free amongst those who showed any interest in the cause of Indian independence; particularly amongst the disgruntled Sikh community and the soldiers in the Indian army stationed at different parts of the world.

The first issue of the *Ghadr* was published on November 1, 1913, from San Francisco. The press in which the Paper was printed was known as the Jugantar Ashram. The Paper openly declared that

"To-day there begins in foreign lands, but in our country's tongue, a war against the British Raj... What is your name? Mutiny. What is your work? Mutiny. Where it will break out? India. The time will soon come when fire and blood will take the place of pen and ink."

The *Ghadr* played on every passion that it could possibly excite, preaching murder and rebellion in every sentence and urging all Indians to go to India with the express object of forging a revolution for driving out the Britishers by making their administration collapse.

The Paper further preached that to make the War of Independence a success, it was necessary to start newspapers and publish suitable books and send them to India. Military exercises were essential and appeal should be issued to foreign nations for active help. The activities of 'the Association' rapidly spread on all directions and it had to open branches, besides at Portland and Astoria, at St. John, Sacramento, Stockton, Bridal Veil, etc.

Simultaneously with the *Ghadr*, a collection of revolutionary poems named *ghadr-ki-gunj* (the echoes of rebellion), *nim hakim khatrajain*, *gora shahi*, *zulum*, etc., all proclaimed that there was no time to lose, nor did they need any help of *pundits* and *mullahs* to show them the right way. "Draw the sword, it's time to fight . . . postpone your prayers for another time; the call of the hour is to kill", was the essence of the writings.

Hardayal was arrested by the U.S. authorities on March 23, 1914, for his violent speeches and objectionable activities. He was released on bail and fled the country to escape the chances of being handed over to the British.

The echoes of the activities of the *Ghadr* party reached British Columbia and stirred up the passion of the Sikh and the Hindu residents there. The difficulties created by the Canadian Government under the Immigration Law was fully exploited and various attempts were made to make its provisions affecting the Indians nugatory.

The *Ghadr* party soon realised that mere agitation in foreign lands would not be very effective in putting sufficient pressure on the Indian Government; nor would it be able to cause as much embarrassment to the authorities as to make them yield ground to their demands for independence.

With its growing strength the *Ghadr* party was looked upon by the American Government as one that had exceeded its nuisance value and had been posing a serious problem within the country. Evidence was not lacking that not being content with its limited sphere of activity in U.S.A. or Canada, the party had

adopted a programme of sending its members to India to take up the work of propaganda and at every possible opportunity to prepare themselves for all eventualities. The Army in India was looked upon as a vulnerable point where a degree of intelligent approach and persuasion were likely to produce effect and the *Ghadr* party workers were advised to use one arm of their activity in this direction.

In 1913 three Sikh delegates visited Punjab. They were members of the *Ghadr* party and came to reconnoitre the position. They addressed meetings at various towns on the subject of the grievances of Indians in Canada and had resolutions of protest passed in which all communities joined.

Meetings were organised by the *Ghadr* party in several States, particularly in San Francisco and California and the one held at Sacramento (California) on December 30, 1913, was significant for more reasons than one. It was a vast gathering representing all communities of India and the presence of high German Officials cast ahead a shadow of coming events and added greatly to its significance.

The news of the travails of the passengers of the *Komagata Maru* at the different ports it touched in its long sojourn to Budge Budge had inflamed the passion of the Sikh community in particular and all Indians abroad in general and they were prepared to take any risk to remedy the wrong suffered by them. The Budge Budge incident of September 29, 1914, let off the last spark and hurried preparations were made to avenge the ignominy and loss of blood that was caused by an alien Government.

With the aid of sympathisers and agents and sedulous distribution of inflammatory literature many recruits were obtained in the Far East, particularly in Shanghai and men were induced to throw in their lot with the revolutionary movement in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Penang, Singapore, and Siam.

The great trek back began from Canada and U.S.A. and every ship viz., the *Korea*, *Tosha Maru*, *Mashima Maru*, *Kawachi Maru*, *Salamis*, etc., that was bound for India was crowded with Sikhs returning with the object of preparing for an insurrection with the ultimate object of overthrowing the Government in India.

A Memorable Interlude

(1914-1915)

There was no secret now about the aims and objects of the *Ghadr* party. The British and the Canadian Governments combined to check the movement spreading further and to remove, by questionable measures, from the arena, the main actors of the drama.

As a first step an elaborate espionage system was introduced in Canada to break up the Indian Committee of Vancouver, whose representatives were the Charterers of the *Komagata Maru* there, and thus to cripple all efforts for coming to the aid of the stranded ship and also to make it impossible for them to requisition some other ship for bringing emigrants to Canada in future.

With a view to give effect to this idea, the Department of Interior in its Criminal Investigation Branch put one William Hopkinson, formerly of the Indian Police Service, in charge of the whole affair. Hopkinson employed Bela Singh to act as his chief informer and Bela Singh proved himself to be a valuable asset to the Intelligence Branch.

Reports of cases of persuasion, offers of material gains and threats by Bela Singh and his men became very frequent. The influence of Hopkinson through Bela Singh was being gradually felt by the Sikh community. At such a contingency, it was thought necessary to put a stop to further nefarious activities of the Government agent endangering the existence of the organisation. Steps were discussed in secret and in a few days one of Bela Singh's men mysteriously disappeared into thin air. A second man, Arjun Singh, was shot dead by Ram Singh in broad daylight within a few days of the first incident. A plea of private defence was advanced and accepted by the Court.

Bela Singh out of a spirit of revenge entered a Sikh temple in Vancouver in August 1914, where a service held in honour of a dead compatriot was nearing its end and the congregation had bowed their heads before the *Holy Granth*, when all on a sudden and without any provocation whatsoever, Bela Singh riddled BHAG SINGH, the President of the Canadian organisation and one Sardar

BATAN SINGH with bullets. Both the victims expired instantaneously. A few other members of the congregation were wounded, some of whom very seriously.

Bela Singh was hauled up before the Court on October 21, 1914, on a charge of murder. Hopkinson got him released on bail. The accused confessed his guilt in the open Court but advanced the plea of self-defence. This was accepted and he was acquitted on the ground "that such a daring deed, done in the presence of such a large gathering, could be done only in self-defence." The contention of the prosecution that Bela Singh had gone there with the express intention of a murderous assault as there could be no justification for visiting a temple where there was a religious congregation of unarmed men with a loaded revolver and firing repeated shots without provocation, was over-ruled.

This was too bold a challenge to the local Sikh community to accept lying down. Schemes for retribution, particularly for bringing the real murderer, Hopkinson, to book, were mooted and rejected. Ultimately a young man then not much known to the community took upon himself the task of avenging the deaths of Bhag Singh and Sardar Batan Singh.

Young SEWA (or MEWA) SINGH contrived a ruse for endearing himself to Hopkinson by offering his services as an informer against the Indians. As fate ordained, Hopkinson swallowed the bait. To his great dismay, Sewa Singh could not find a suitable opportunity to complete his task. One morning while Hopkinson was engaged in shaving before a large mirror, Sewa entered the room with a revolver in his hand. Hopkinson got a view of Sewa in the mirror and turning round with the speed of lightning caught hold of Sewa's hand (Gurdit Singh: *The Voyage of Komagata Maru*: Part II, p. 19). Sewa Singh with a great presence of mind laughingly asked Hopkinson not to get excited, as he had come to surrender the revolver because he had no use for it. Said Sewa Singh with a composure seldom to be excelled, "My countrymen hate me and openly accuse me of being in your pay, while you never offer me the job which you promised." He was ashamed for having to bear the burden of such a miserable existence and had come to ask Hopkinson to put an end to his life with a shot of the revolver.

This ruse not only saved Sewa Singh's life, but it brought

him a bit closer to Hopkinson. On October 21, 1914, when Bela Singh's case had reached a crucial stage and Hopkinson was engaged in helping the prosecution in essential matters, he was shot dead in the open Court in Victoria. The assailant, when questioned after arrest, said that a person like Hopkinson who had been perpetrating such a reprehensible act of employing a brother against a brother, amply deserved a violent death.

In the trial for murder, Sewa Singh did not put up any defence and made it a very simple affair by admitting his guilt of wilfully murdering Hopkinson. Sewa Singh was sentenced to death. On January 11, 1915, the day of his execution, he left a message to the world through the priest of the local Gurdwara, who was the last man to see him.

He looked quite cheerful as if looking forward to a happy existence. He said that he bore no ill-will against any body because that was not only against his religion but the thought of killing a person was not in his grain. He had to make an exception with regard to Hopkinson, because "I heard that he was oppressing my poor people very much" and this was borne out by facts about which he came to know in the course of an enquiry that he personally made before taking the final plunge. He thought that Hopkinson's life could not be spared because that was the only course open to the accused for preventing the continuing oppression that was perpetrated by the victim without any check or hindrance on the helpless and unsuspecting people. In his own language:

"I, performing the duty of a true Sikh and remembering the name of God, will proceed towards the scaffold with the same amount of pleasure as the hungry babe does towards its mother. I shall gladly have the rope put around my neck thinking it to be a rosary of God's name. I am quite sure that God will take me into His blissful arms because I have not done this deed in my personal interest but to the benefit of both my people and the Canadian Government" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, January 12, 1915, quoted in *The Illustrated Weekly*, February 28, 1961).

This ennobling spirit of sacrifice has immortalised the name of Sewa Singh in the history of the Freedom Movement of India.

A Sad Sequelae

(1918)

After Hardayal had left U. S. A. the burden of responsibility fell upon RAM CHANDRA who contacted men willing to return to India and within a comparatively short time no less than four hundred Indians left America; sixty leaving together on the *S.S. Korea*.

With the declaration of war on Germany, the U. S. A. Government took drastic steps against those who had been working in a way detrimental to the interests of Great Britain. They were accused of making preparations since a year or more before the War actually broke out to embarrass the British Government through a revolution which would compel it to withdraw troops from European battle fronts and hasten achievement of political independence for India. The party was supported with liberal supply of money and arms by Germany. The major charge was that the Indians were engaged in starting military preparations against the authority of the British Crown, a country with which the U. S. was at peace, and to give aid, comforts and assistance to the German Empire with which England was at war.

The U. S. A. police started investigations and more than one hundred men and women, Indian and German were arrested in San Francisco, Oregon, Chicago, and Washington.

The trial opened on November 20, 1917, at San Francisco and lasted till April 30, 1918, with forty-two accused some of whom were tried *in absentia*.

There were two prominent persons Pandit Ram Chandra and BHAI RAM SINGH among the accused. Originally Ram Singh was a resident of Canada but his desire to help those who had been preparing to come back to India brought him to U. S. A.

He tried to introduce discipline in the party and a method in conducting its affair which he found to be seriously lacking. He was opposed by Pandit Ram Chandra who had so long had almost complete control over the organisation.

The differences widened with time and it seemed that both Ram Chandra and Ram Singh had been heading two rival groups

amongst not a very large number of people. Their object was the same, with conflicting mode of approach, and both of them were arrested and placed before the same Court for trial.

During the prosecution the arrangements for defence had been lacking in conjoint action. Ram Singh tried to present a united front in respect of not only the defence but before the interested U. S. A. public who had been making a capital of this dissension through newspaper columns.

Two strong-willed men each sticking to his own point of view soon fell apart much to the dismay and confusion of most of the people concerned. It was a terrible situation. Ram Singh wanted to put an end to the impasse by suggesting a joint action and the proposal was turned down by the Pandit unceremoniously with offensive words.

It was too much for Bhai Sahib; the treatment rankled in his heart. When the day's proceeding had stopped for lunch, the Sessions Judge had retired in his chamber, and everybody was relaxing, suddenly two successive loud shots rang in the court room and the massive body of Pandit Ram Chandra was seen rolling on the ground.

Ram Singh did nothing else and stood quiet with the pistol in his hand. There was no further attempt on his part either to attack anybody else or to lay violent hands on himself. But within a minute the Sergeant-at-arms in the court room without the least justification sent three bullets into the body of Bhai Ram Singh who was instantaneously killed.

With the fate of two accused decided under peculiar circumstances, the judgment of the Court for the rest was delivered on May 1, 1918, on the 156th day of the hearing. Thirty-two accused, some of whom were high German officials, were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and a few were fined.

With the principal leaders removed from the field of activity the centres in U.S.A. became absolutely stale for all practical purposes and were regarded to have been virtually closed.

While preparations had been long under way, China through Sun Yat Sen promised support to Indian revolutionaries in a secret meeting in Japan in the firm belief that a free India would rouse the spirit of liberty in the hearts of the coloured races not

only of Asia but also of the other continents. It would open the eyes of the people under the yoke of the white races to the possibility of a successful culmination of a fight in favour of a dwarf that is engaged in a mortal combat with a giant, the British and other colonial powers.

A good number of the determined lot while trying to enter India were arrested and thrown into prison. Not a few somehow managed to pass through the fine meshes of traps of the intelligence service laid for their capture and reached Punjab with a heart overflowing with hatred against the rule that had failed to uphold their dignity and the barest human rights in countries having diplomatic relations with England.

The Punjab unrest and outbursts of violence all over Punjab were mostly the outcome of the efforts of the revolutionaries that at one time or the other were residents of Canada or U.S.A. Not only the loyal peasants but also soldiers in military cantonments in different parts of Northern India, such as, Lahore, Ferozepore, Ambala, Benares, etc., were approached for the purpose of helping the *Ghadr* movement and some had expressed their willingness to come to the aid of the revolutionaries.

A Fateful Voyage

(1913-1914)

The words "those who have no status at home are *ipso facto* deprived of any abroad", literally voiced the feelings of hundreds of Sikhs in Canada where they had gone in search of livelihood. Many of them were retired army men having given the best part of their lives in defence of the British Empire.

Up to 1904 they were treated with some consideration. By 1908 there were some 8,000 of them and others had still been coming. The Government wanted Canada to be a close preserve of white men; all immigration of Indians were to be stopped. Persecutions started for driving away all those who had already settled there.

There was serious discontent amongst the settlers and series of meetings were held to protest against what they deemed to be

detrimental to their interests. At times these meetings assumed political colour demanding equal status with the nationals of other independent nations throughout the British dominions. Baffled in their attempts they appealed to the British and the Canadian governments to stop discriminatory treatment against Indians *vis-a-vis* other nationals in Canada. There was no effect to these representations. The Indians, mostly Punjabis, the Sikhs predominating amongst them, in Vancouver felt greatly agitated because of political propaganda amongst them.

The Canadian Government got alarmed and passed an order meant for the Indians to leave Canada and to migrate to British Honduras which was at the time regarded as 'Hell' for its characteristic shortcomings. The Indians declined.

There was a great row against the suggestion and the Canadian Government passed a law, on May 9, 1910, under which every intending immigrant, with a few particular exceptions, had to satisfy the Canadian Government that he was in possession of 200 dollars and had travelled by a continuous journey on a through ticket from his native country to Canada.

It was known to everybody that there was no direct steamship from India to Canada and it was very clear that migration from India to Canada could not be effected any further.

Instead of accepting the orders lying down, two societies viz., The United India League and The Khalsa Dewan Society, Vancouver, were formed on December 15, 1911. These organisations arranged deputation to the authorities apparently with no effect. At this stage one Gurdit Singh, a wealthy and resourceful contractor in Singapore and Malaya went over to Hong Kong in 1913 to see things for himself and chartered a Japanese ship, the *Komagata Maru*, on behalf of Guru Nanak Navigation Co. Gurdit Singh's further plan was to charter "four ships, two to ply in the Canada-Calcutta Line and two in the Bombay-Brazil Line." The newly chartered ship started from Hong Kong on April 4, 1914, and picked up passengers at Shanghai, Moji and Yokohama. It reached Victoria on May 21 and Vancouver on May 23, with 372 passengers. The ship was cordoned off by armed men of the Canadian Government and all but twenty-two, who had been returning to Canada, were not allowed to land on the Canadian soil.

In nearly two months the food and water in the ship were exhausted. Men were thirsty and hungry and the situation became very tense. Skirmishes over water, which the Japanese passengers were allowed to bring from the shore, became frequent.

Persuasion, appeal, legal action failed to produce any effect and the tension rose to the point of bursting. On July 19, 1914, the ship was ordered to leave the port. The passengers would not yield, they were determined to die at Vancouver after a struggle, whatever shape it might take, than to surrender to sure death in the mid-seas due to starvation. The relations and friends of the passengers were not allowed to visit the ship nor the passengers could establish any contact with those on the land.

As a next step the Government decided to resort to force for making the ship leave the port. A large steam boat, the *Sea Lion*, approached the *Komagata Maru* with scores of armed policemen in it. On July 19, a fight ensued, one party, armed with pistols and the other with drift wood and coal for the boiler.

Both sides suffered injuries of varying degree. The news of the fight spread far and wide. The appeal of the passengers to persons holding responsible positions both in England and India went unheeded. To crown all, England sanctioned the use of force and ordered the warship *Rainbow* and another to evict *Komagata Maru* from the port. One warship stood on either side of *Komagata Maru* for action. The people flocked on the land to witness the outcome of the incident.

The Indians on land felt almost helpless. Out of desperation the question of retaliation now raised its head. On the boat the passengers decided upon fighting with whatever materials they could find handy, viz., sticks, bars, coal, parts of fittings that could be unloosed from the ship. It sounded like a joke but everybody realised that it was a grim one and must be met with determination and courage.

From the open deck of the ship someone noticed that an individual on a hillock at a distance from the port had been signalling with some purpose. Unnoticed by the authorities the Sikhs in the ship communicated by semaphore signalling their idea of giving effect to any plan that might be deemed feasible at

the moment. The return signal from the land disclosed that in case of any untoward incident happening to the ship in the port the whole of Vancouver would be put to flames. This was accepted as the only reply to casualties to *Komagata Maru* passengers.

The Indian plan of action reached the ears of the authorities through spies and informers and the whole picture changed within an incredibly short time. Provisions for the passengers were supplied and the *Komagata Maru* left Vancouver on July 23, 1914, for Yokohama in Japan after nearly two months.

The ship reached Yokohama on August 16, 1914. The curse of carrying Indian passengers followed its track. The Hong Kong authorities would not allow the passengers to land. The ship left Yokohama on August 18, for Kobe reaching the place on August 21, where fresh difficulties were placed in its way. Hong Kong was now closed to them while news were received of the willingness on the part of the Government of India to bear all expenses relating to diversion of the ship from Kobe to India.

Though Calcutta was given out as the destination it was really towards Madras that the ship was ordered to proceed. There was fresh trouble on this score. Ultimately the British Consul General at Kobe had to yield and change it to Calcutta again.

The *Komagata Maru* reached Singapore on September 16, 1914, where it was kept waiting at a distance of five miles from the coast. The passengers were not to be allowed to land not even for sending telegrams to the relevant authorities in India and elsewhere.

When the ship had been sailing at full speed on September 24, 1914, near Kulpi it suddenly checked its speed. A European had been signalling from a launch by means of a flag. The next day a launch with several European officers and fairly large number of Punjabis boarded the ship and the deck passengers were thoroughly searched. It was repeated on two successive days. When nearing Budge-Budge about 17 miles away from Calcutta on September 28, 1914, it became apparent that it had concluded its voyage. The officer who took charge of the passengers gave out that they would be taken in a special train and sent to Punjab straightway.

Gurdit Singht on behalf of his comrades expressed surprise at the announcement. He was ordered to request his friends to get down quietly without any remonstrance whatsoever. While the amazed men had been holding consultations regarding the next step, a European officer approached them with the order that unless they vacated the ship within fifteen minutes they would be forced to with the help of bullets. Every five minutes he would shout how many minutes remained for the order to be carried out. At long last he announced there was just one minute more.

The tired and hungry passengers were at their wits' ends. They were kicked and pushed down the ship by way of a single plank that connected the ship with the dock.

On September 29, 1914, at the Budge-Budge railway station the men were ordered to get into the waiting train without delay. In no uncertain terms they were given to understand that any parleying would be replied with force.

The men through their representatives demanded of the officers to show the order of the Government for treating them in the particular manner. Not a scrap of paper could be shown to them. The people refused to entrain against the orders of the District Magistrate, 24-Parganas, and decided to march towards Calcutta on foot. In the meantime the first special train had gone off with about sixty men. A second special was secured for the purpose.

The District Magistrate had not sufficient force at his command to prevent the march. Troops and police were requisitioned. A few European officers tried to block the way; each pointed the nozzle of his pistol and threatened to shoot. Sardar ~~Inder~~ Singh and Sardar Amar Singh bared open their breasts, touched the mouth of the pistol with them and asked the officer to shoot. This was not done.

The men marched nearly three miles with the Punjab Police at their sides. It continued for another mile when a car followed by others appeared from the opposite side. One of the men posed himself as representing the Governor and asked the Sikhs to go back to the Budge-Budge station where the grievances would be heard by him. The weary passengers had to wend their way back like a herd of cattle under threats, combined with rough handling

all the way. The party of District Magistrate was now strengthened by a strong detachment of men armed with rifles of the Calcutta Reserve Force as well as two companies of the Royal Fusiliers from Fort William.

As soon as every one had come to the station at dusk the Police forthwith ordered them to board the steamer instead of the train. There was considerable confusion in the minds of the men as they had only a couple of hours before been forced to get down from the very ship. They expressed their willingness to board the train instead of the steamer. For their refusal the passengers were severely beaten up, kicked and pushed to get them back into the steamer. The irritated men refused to obey. They were forthwith charged with bayonets and were fired upon as the resistance grew in volume. They were riddled with bullets and sixteen (according to unofficial sources, forty) lay dead on the platform and its neighbourhood. One of the passengers, Tahal Singh, died in the Medical College on October 13. An attempt to reply the wanton firing with one or two revolvers that the men had with them resulted in the death of Sgt. Major Eastwood, a Punjabi policeman Mal Singh, a constable named Tarun Singh and several sepoy of the Armed Police. The District Traffic Superintendent of the Railway, Lomax, was hit with a bullet and died on the spot.

The scattered men were chased and fired upon like wild beasts of game till 3 a.m. of September 30, 1914. More than 120 Punjabis were arrested. War had broken out in the meantime. Emergency Laws for dealing with undesirable foreigners and enemies had been passed and the unfortunate passengers of the *Komagata Maru* were treated under these laws.

The tale of indignities and troubles suffered by the passengers of the *Komagata Maru* and the reckless shooting and killing of weary men who had suffered immensely in fortune and physical comfort served to inflame the minds of the people all over India as also in Canada and U.S.A. The movement which was largely related to economic, social and religious matters veered towards the political in an intensified form. The *Komagata Maru* incident from the beginning to the end will be reckoned as one of those that accelerated the pace of the freedom movement of India.

Partial Success

(1914)

There was no mistake in fixing the place and timing for attacking an eminent police officer, Basanta Kumar Chatterji, but luck favoured him and he remained unscathed while his guard, Head Constable Ram Bhajan Singh, died instead.

Between 7 and 8 o'clock at night of November 25, 1914, three Bengali youths threw a bomb at the *baitakkhana* (drawing room) of the police officer at No. 10/4/4, Mussalmanpara Lane, where a few minutes before Basanta held conversation with three other police officers. Basanta was called away inside the house and the other men had just left, when a bomb exploded with a loud report injuring Ram Bhajan very seriously. His legs were completely smashed and there were other marks of grave injury on his body. The unfortunate man died of his wounds in two days. The assailants rushed off the place and no clue could be had of them.

About 300 yards away from the scene of the outrage a young Bengali was found sitting by the roadside severely injured and exhausted through loss of blood. He was taken into custody but the police could not establish any connection between him and the incident and he was let off after a protracted trial.

A Charmed Life

(1914-1916)

There are not many tales when in a series of attempts made on the life of a particular police official of which two were apparently abortive from the assailants' point of view and a third had had to be undertaken for the same purpose on June 30, 1916, which *The Statesman*, (July 1, 1916), editorially commented as

"the most audacious crime which the Bengal anarchists have yet perpetrated."

and

"It is a special triumph for the anarchists and a special source of humiliation for the Government."

On the other hand the incident displayed a high sense of duty of an officer who might have been easily furnished, at least after the

second attempt, with a comparatively safer assignment in the police line or alternatively leave it to save himself from the assassin's repeated attacks.

The first attempt was made on July 19, 1914, at Dacca, when several shots were fired at him, but he escaped unhurt while an attendant was killed on the spot.

As stated above a second attempt was made on Basanta when he escaped the blasts of bomb by just a couple of minutes.

It was a summer evening, day-light had not completely faded out at about 6-30 p.m. when Basanta Kumar Chatterji, was seen proceeding on a bicycle on his way home from office followed by his armed guard also on a cycle in Sambhunath Pandit Street, Bhawanipore. At the time the roads of the neighbourhood were filled with traffic, both pedestrian and vehicular. On one side of the road was an open plot of land in which a number of Bengali youths were engaged in a football game.

From the roadside, as if appearing from nowhere, five Bengali youths rushed at Basanta and the orderly with revolvers. The plucky guard noticed the persons attacking his officer and caught hold of one of them by the neck, and before he could draw out his weapon he was hit on his leg twice and fell down on the ground. Basanta received no less than nine shots, the largest ever discharged on a single person, one of which pierced him through his head killing him outright. The wounded orderly, Bilas Chandra Ghose, succumbed to his injuries in the Sambhu Nath Pandit Hospital on August 16, 1916.

Challenged by another constable on the road, whom they scared away by a blank shot of the revolver, the assailants ran towards east of the place of occurrence along Elgin Road and then entered a by-lane (Peepulpatty Lane) and were lost sight of. The police investigation on the spot gave no hope of identifying the assailants. There was no other clue that might lead to their apprehension or anything of the sort.

A Tangled Web

(1914-1917)

Ferozepore Outrage

As a part of the plan to secure money for party purposes it was decided by the revolutionaries of Punjab to plunder the Moga Government Treasury on November 30, 1914.

On November 27, 1914, at about 1 p.m., a party of fifteen men amongst whom were JAGGAT SINGH, JIWAN SINGH, KAKSHIS SINGH, LAL SINGH, DHIAN SINGH, KASHI RAM JOSHI and RAHAMAT ALI came to the *ekka* stand at Ferozepore Cantonment in a body and chartered three *tum tums* to take them to the Canal Bridge at Ferozepore.

At Misriwala village, Sub-Inspector Basharat Ali and Jowala Singh, *Zaildar* and a few others of the police party were waiting for the Superintendent of Police who was expected to reach the place at about that time.

At the appearance of so many people going in a body the Sub-Inspector Basharat Ali signalled the *tum tums* to stop but without any effect.

Basharat Ali sent one of his men on a pony to intercept the progress of Jaggat Singh and his party. He was able to stop them and bring them to the Sub-Inspector. They were made to sit round him on the ground when one of them said that they were Government servants engaged in recruiting and it was highly improper to interfere with their movement.

The Sub-Inspector was not convinced by what he heard and accused them of suspicious behaviour. They were asked to wait till the arrival of the Superintendent of Police to whom they would be free to make their representations.

It was now realised by the party that escape would be difficult and each of the four brought out a pistol and Jaggat Singh shot Basharat Ali. As he was falling down another man struck him several times on his head with a *takwa*. The people that had been with the police and the *Zaildar* took to their heels followed by some of the persons detained by the police.

Jowala Singh, *Zaildar*, was shot from behind by the pursuers and he fell on the ground. As he was lying prostrate he was shot for the second time and was left to his fate.

In the meantime the villagers of Misriwala came out to get a first-hand knowledge of what was going about and taking the strangers to be a gang of dacoits pursued them with whatever came handy to them. Jaggat Singh and others took fright because of the large number of the persons gathered there and tried to run away from the place. The villagers did not relax their pursuit. Nine of the party took shelter behind the reeds that ran along both sides of the canal bank, the remaining six went towards Ogaki and could not be traced.

Emboldened by the active interference of the villagers some of Basharat Ali's men came back to find him dead. Jowala Singh survived for a few minutes more.

The nine men that had taken shelter behind the reeds could not leave their place of hiding because the area had now been completely surrounded by the villagers. One of the men, Jiwan Singh, was seen outside under a tree and was arrested. As the firing continued from the surrounding party, apparently indiscriminately, to places wherefrom shots came from those besieged, six men came out from their hiding and were arrested separately. Some people took courage to go forward and searched the place of hiding of the fugitives. One, CHANDA SINGH was dead and another, DHIAN SINGH, found mortally wounded. He was a man of great stature and seemed to be one of the ringleaders.

They were tried by the Sessions Judge, Ferozepore, and on February 13, 1915, judgment was delivered convicting Jaggat Singh of murder of Basharat Ali under Section 302 I.P.C.

The other six :

- (i) Jiwan Singh,
- (ii) Kakshis Singh,
- (iii) Lal Singh,
- (iv) Dhian Singh,
- (v) Kashi Ram,
- (vi) Rahamat Ali, and

were convicted of offences under sections 149 and 302 I.P.C. and

sentenced to death. Property of each of the accused persons was ordered to be confiscated to the State.

The accused preferred appeals to the Chief Court, Punjab, which were rejected on March 9, 1915, and the sentences of the lower Court were confirmed.

Three of the accused were executed on March 25, in the Montgomery Jail, two on March 26, and another two on March 27, 1915, in Lahore Jail.

A Chance Find

(1915)

There were sufficient indications of unrest amongst the Sikhs in Punjab and the Police were on the alert for anything that might give rise to suspicion. On February 20, 1915, three Sikhs, one of whom was ARJAN *alias* SAJJAN SINGH, were seen going on a *tonga* close to the Anarkali Post Office. The sticks they had been carrying in their hands were, to the Sub-Inspector of Police, Mohamed Musa, something else than what they looked on the surface, possibly swords under the cover of a stick.

He asked the *tonga* to stop and wanted to examine the sticks. The Sikhs demurred but the police was able to snatch one of these from one of the passengers.

All on a sudden Sajjan Singh drew out a revolver and fired at the police. The Head Constable, Masum Shah, died on his way to the hospital and the S. I. Mahomed Musa was seriously wounded.

The assailant, Sajjan Singh, was arrested by a few bystanders who pushed him into a shop while two others managed to escape.

It was surmised that the three Sikhs involved in the Anarkali outrage belonged to the party that was arrested on February 18, together with two others who were arrested on February 20, 1915.

On February 25, 1915, Sajjan Singh was placed before the District Magistrate on a charge of murdering the Head Constable Masum Shah and attempting to murder S. I. Mohamed Musa. He was committed to the Sessions where the trial started on March 11, 1915. On March 13, the Judge found Sajjan Singh

guilty on all charges and condemned him to death. Sajjan Singh declared that he would not mind killing anybody found working against India's interests.

The condemned prisoner was executed in the Lahore Central Jail on April 20, 1915, in the early hours of the morning.

Meerut Court-Martial

(1915)

The influence of the happenings around and personal contact by the patriots produced favourable effects on the minds of some soldiers of the Indian Army.

Their success was apparent with the 12th Cavalry and 128th Pioneers. Two persons from the first, viz., Sowar (Acting Lance Daffadar) ISHAR SINGH and Sowar HAZARA SINGH and two others, Havildar (Qr. Master Havildar) BIBA SINGH and Sepoy PHULA SINGH of the second were charged with the offence that knowing the existence of a conspiracy against the State between the 2nd February and March 23, 1915, that some persons had been inducing soldiers of the Indian Army stationed in Meerut to break out into open rebellion against the State, failed, to give information thereof without delay to the appropriate Officer.

A Summary Court-martial was held at Meerut on April 19, 1915, to try the cases of all the accused.

The court found that the accused persons were severally and collectively guilty of the charge.

All the four :

(i) No. 572 Sowar (Actg. Lance Daffadar) Ishar Singh,

(ii) No. 310 Sowar Hazara Singh,

both of the 12th Cavalry;

(iii) No. 2970 Havildar (Qr. Master) Biba Singh,

(iv) No. 2848 Sepoy Phula Singh,

both of the 128th Pioneers

were found guilty and sentenced to death at one sitting by the Brigadier President, Meerut. The judgment was confirmed by the General Commander-in-Chief in India on April 21, 1915.

The sentences were duly carried into execution in the Civil Jail, Meerut, on April 26, 1915, and four Indian soldiers who had deep love for an Independent India joined the long line of martyrs for India's freedom.

Hoshiarpur Outrage

(1915)

The revolutionaries had reasons for suspicion that somebody very close to them must have acted in a way that had resulted in the arrest of one of the trusted and active members of the party. On enquiry it came to be known that Chanda Singh, *Zaildar*, Nangal Kalan, had been secretly sending information about the activities of the secret organisation. It was decided in the Council of the revolutionaries that Chanda Singh should be killed and thereby stopped from doing any further mischief to the cause.

On April 25, 1915, a man was sent to the house of Chanda Singh at Nangal Kalan in the evening to ascertain whether he was in his house at the time. The man also sent word to Banta Singh and Buta Singh to get ready. Being sure of Chanda Singh's presence through the emissary, BANTA SINGH, BUTA SINGH and another, who subsequently absconded, waited in the vicinity of Chanda's house in hiding for an opportunity to execute their plan. A short time after as soon as Chanda Singh came out, Banta and Buta attacked him unawares and shot him through his head causing instantaneous death.

Buta Singh was arrested on June 6, at Chitti village in company with another, an absconder in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, and Banta Singh on June 25 in his own village.

They were placed on trial on July 23, 1915, charged with the murder of Chanda Singh on April 25, at Nangal Kalan.

On July 27, 1915, both the accused: Buta Singh, and Banta Singh were sentenced to death and their property was ordered to be confiscated to the State.

An appeal to the Punjab Government and Government of India for a review of the sentence was rejected and the accused were executed on August 12, 1915, in the Lahore Jail.

Reward of a 'Traitor'

(1915)

While getting ready for bigger projects, the revolutionaries were not idle and could find time to apply their mind to matters which in their opinion were obstacles in their way. Sardar Bahadur Ichhra Singh of Jagatpur, a village some 15 miles from Tarn Taran, had been, as the revolutionaries held, working as a 'traitor'. He made himself obnoxious by his pro-Government political views. Moreover, he threatened some of the accused with prosecution as men of habitual bad character or men with no ostensible means of livelihood. A plan was made to get rid of him. On June 4, 1915, in broad daylight at about 6.30 p.m. he was attacked by KALU SINGH, ATMA SINGH, CHANNAN SINGH and BANTA SINGH and was killed on the spot.

The first three were arrested on June 12, and the fourth on June 25.

In the trial that followed:

- (i) Atma Singh,
- (ii) Kalu Singh,
- (iii) Channan Singh, and
- (iv) Banta Singh

were sentenced to death on July 21, 1915, their execution taking place on August 6, 1915, in the Lahore Central Jail.

Banta *alias* Butu Singh's execution was stayed as he was to appear as accused in other cases pending before other courts.

Valla Canal Bridge Raid

(1915)

In furtherance of revolutionary activities arms and ammunition were absolutely necessary. Plans and preparations had had to be made to collect them even at a great risk. On June 12, 1915, KALA SINGH, CHANNAN SINGH, HARNAM SINGH, ATMA SINGH and BANTA SINGH, with a few others appeared at the Valla (Walla) Canal Bridge, Amritsar, and attacked the Military Guard stationed at Valla (Walla) Railway Bridge at 4 a.m. with the object of seizing the rifles and ammunition. They took advantage of a passing train and swooped upon the guards with the utmost speed and alacrity.

A sepoy, Phul Singh and a Havildar, Chittar Naik, were killed by rifle and pistol shots. Phul Singh, in addition, received as many as five *chhari* wounds and his body was riddled with bullets. Chittar Naik sustained two bullet wounds and two wounds from *chharis*. Six rifles and a large quantity of ammunition were carried away by the raiders.

Having committed these murders, the party proceeded with the weapons southwards. Near Palasaur they killed one Gulab because he refused to part with his horse.

From Palasaur the raiders were pursued as far as the Gobindial ferry. Firing between the pursuers and the pursued were maintained all through the route of escape. The ferrymen were forced under threat of death to carry all the raiders to the other side of the Kalang. A boatman, Malang, was shot dead because he advised the boatmen not to carry the fugitives in their boats.

Kala Singh and his party were vigorously pursued by armed police who were successful in arresting two persons on their way. The rest of the gang covered forty miles and were able to enter the Kapurthala State where Kala Singh, Channan Singh, Harnam Singh and Atma Singh were arrested.

Betrayed by his own men BANTA SINGH was arrested on June 25, 1915, after a considerable search at a place not far away from his own house.

The accused Kala Singh declared that he had attacked the guards and was responsible for their death. He had come to

India from Shanghai in a French steamer *via* Colombo and had decided to rise against the Government after reaching India and studying the political situation within the country.

All the five accused were charged with the murder of Chittar Singh, Hawaldar Phul Singh, Gulab and Malang on June 12, 1915, and also for committing dacoity with murder. On July 21, 1915, sentences were passed condemning all the accused to death.

A petition was submitted to the Lieutenant Governor for clemency which was rejected on August 4, 1915. Except Banta Singh the executions of the condemned persons:

- (i) Kala Sing,
- (ii) Channan Singh,
- (iii) Harnam Singh, and
- (iv) Atma Singh

took place between the 9th and 14th August, 1915.

Padri Murder

(1915)

In the Lahore Conspiracy Case, Kapur Singh of Padri Kalan was a prosecution witness and thereafter served as an informer to the police against political suspects.

Just after sunset on August 2, 1915, Prem Singh of the Lahore (Supplementary) Conspiracy Case, and a few others assembled at Padri Kalan, Amritsar district, for the purpose of removing the objectionable man from the world. The victim was walking home after bathing at a well when he was shot dead. It was found that the dead man's hands had been severed from his body with the help of *chhavris*.

On the basis of this information a case was started against fifteen Sikhs, mostly returned immigrants, of whom two were absconding. Four were charged with murder, three with conspiracy and abetment and others with conspiracy and murder.

On March 7, 1916, orders were passed by the Lahore Special Tribunal sentencing,

- (i) Prem Singh of Sur Sing, and
- (ii) Inder Singh of Padri

to capital punishment and five to transportation for life.

Army Revolt

(1915)

The work to win over the Army for national cause did not go absolutely in vain. In Lahore Conspiracy Case there were frequent allusions about the attempt of the revolutionaries to win over army-men to their cause by the prosecution.

In the course of an investigation it became clear that the association of some of the men of the *23rd Cavalry Regiment* with the revolution engendered by the emigrant Sikhs, was more serious than what had hitherto been known.

Materials were collected to prove association of at least eighteen men with the revolutionaries who had been engaged in adopting measures to subvert the British rule in India.

These men were charged with attempted mutiny and conspiracy against the Government of India and placed before a Summary Court-Martial which was held at Dagashi on August 14, 1915, and the succeeding few days. Sixteen Sowars, one Lance-daffadar and one Daffadar of the 23rd Cavalry Frontier Force were confronted with a charge for conspiring, between the 15th October, 1914 and the 15th May, 1915, in pursuance of which conspiracy, bombs were made, telegraph wires were cut and meetings were held at which plans for mutiny were concerted and thereby abetted. Eight of the above Non-commissioned Officers and men were arraigned on the alternative charge that each one of them at Lahore Cantonment between the 15th October, 1914 and 15th May, 1915, being aware of the existence of a conspiracy by the members of the *Ghadr* party to overthrow the Government by law established in British India in pursuance of which conspiracy certain Commissioned Officers and men of the same Regiment had agreed to rise in open mutiny, and failed to give information thereof without delay to his Commanding or other superior Officer or Officers.

Without much trouble the Court found seventeen of the accused guilty of the first charge and sentenced them to be hanged. They found the 18th as guilty of the second charge and sentenced him to transportation for life.

In a review of the case the sentences of death of twelve of the accused persons, viz.,

- (i) ABDULLA,
- (ii) BHAGAT SINGH,
- (iii) BUDH SINGH,
- (iv) BUTA SINGH,
- (v) GUJJAR SINGH,
- (vi) INDER SINGH,
- (vii) INDER SINGH,
- (viii) JETA SINGH,
- (ix) LACHMAN SINGH,
- (x) MOTA SINGH,
- (xi) TARA SINGH, and
- (xii) WADHAWAN SINGH,

mostly from Lahore and Amritsar, were confirmed by the Commander-in-Chief.

All the twelve men were executed in the Civil Jail, Ambala, on September 3, 1915, a wholesale massacre of men who wanted to see their country free and worked in furtherance of the objective.

Lahore Conspiracy Trial

(1909-1915)

The most extensive preparations next to Burma for the overthrow of the Government was made in Punjab, the idea having taken root in 1909 and developed during the early years of the World War I.

To get a picture, however imperfect, of the conspiracy it is necessary to take into account, related elsewhere, the events happening abroad in U.S.A., Canada, Malay and other Far Eastern countries including Burma. The *Ghadr*, the *Komagata Maru* and the Budge-Budge Riot, San Francisco Trial, Revolt of the 5th Native Light Infantry and the Malay State Guides, Mandalay Conspiracy and other cases on charges of waging war against the King, tampering with the army are some of the incidents. They are closely related to the Punjab Conspiracy Trials of 1915 and after.

The movement in sulky Punjab received a great momentum with the arrival of the emigrants from U.S.A., Canada, Shanghai and other countries in the Far East. With large and varied experience abroad and with a mind fully prepared for any eventuality they added strength and ingenuity to the organisations that had already been functioning in the area. A large quantity of arms and ammunition, obtained in America and Canada or secured *en route*, were smuggled into India. A fairly good number of the returned men were interned as soon as they set their feet on Indian soil. Some of them as were not arrested or released after a close scrutiny came to Punjab and proceeded to infuse revolutionary ideas in the minds of troops and the villagers.

It was rather plain to the revolutionists that the preparation for the attainment of the objective lay through ways and alleys beset with grim danger yet they were not deterred. The principal programme was seduction of Indian soldiers from their allegiance to the King and to induce them to join the rebellion; to secure arms and ammunition from private and other sources including Government armoury, from soldiers' barracks and smuggling from outside. Money was to be obtained by raids on Government treasury or looting of private property. It was deemed a

part of the programme of action to assassinate police and other officials and all civil Europeans who might come forward to help the authorities. The movement of troops and supplies to the affected areas were to be stopped by wrecking of trains and railway bridges; communications to other stations to be dislocated by cutting off telegraph wires, etc., etc.

It could not be safe or sufficient to depend on supplies of arms and ammunitions from doubtful sources. Measures were, therefore, adopted to purchase relevant chemicals for the purpose of manufacturing bombs and other explosives. The principal centres for such purpose were at Jhabewal, Ludhiana District, at Lohatbodi in the Nabha State and elsewhere.

The idea of forging a revolution in Punjab was advanced by a member of the party organised as early as 1909 (who was awarded a death sentence but later commuted to transportation for life) through *Tarkhind* (History of India), a highly seditious literature and through clandestine writings bearing on a mass rebellion. A manual on bombs was also published at the time. A person was deputed to Peshawar in 1914 to collect arms in the manner as best as possible.

Acting upon the suggestions of the *Ghadr*, attempts were made for the seduction of troops *en route* to India at Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Penang, Rangoon and other places and efforts were also made in India in this direction at Mian Mir, Jullundur, Bannu and Kohat, Nowshera, Rawalpindi, Kapurthala, Ferozepore, Meerut, Agra, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Benares, Fyzabad, Lucknow, Ambala, etc. To facilitate the work of the party maps were prepared showing the centres at which the work would be continued. One VISHNU GANESH PINGLEY, visited sepoy in the barracks at Meerut and was arrested on March 23, 1915, with high explosive bombs in his possession. Pingley was assisted by KARTAR SINGH and HARNAM SINGH who approached soldiers' barracks to join them in the coming insurrection by distributing or reading *Ghadr* amongst them.

The most outstanding figure in the whole conspiracy was Rash Behari Bose, Satinder Chander or "Fat Babu", the name by which he was known to his comrades-in-arms in Punjab.

The entire details were worked out by him and he would be moving from place to place like a whirlwind. His tact and

presence of mind would seldom forsake him. While scores of men were arrested, put into prison or lost their lives on the gallows, Rash Behari could never be arrested throughout the whole of his startling political career.

Returned emigrants were approached on their arrival in Punjab and those who were found to have any inclination for *Ghadr* work, were placed in the different sections of the organisation according to their taste and capability. It was not desirable that everyone should know the business or movement of any other member of the party whereas one may require a particular information about a matter or a person. It was, therefore, necessary to arrange for some agency to act as "Post Offices" and for this purpose persons were selected who were for some reasons or other could not be entrusted with work involving grave risks.

Foreign help was sought for according to plan and indications pointing to some understanding about assistance from the Germans, especially individual Germans, were very frequent.

Having equipped themselves, however inadequately, the party engaged themselves into serious work. It was arranged that on November 26, 1914, there should be an armed military array at Jhar Sahib which was to be joined by mutineers from the 23rd Cavalry and which was to march on Sarahli Patti and Tarn Taran. The mutineers in Lahore got themselves armed but for some reasons or other did not move out.

An armed military group assembled at Jhar Sahib and Khairon and marched on Sarahli and then quietly dispersed. Some others made an armed demonstration on November 25, 1914, at Lahore Cantonment and then moved to Ferozepore with the intention of assaulting the treasury and arsenal at Moga on November 30, 1914. The men proceeding for the purpose clashed with a police party at Ferozepore (Ferozeshar) on November 27, which resulted in the death of a Sub-Inspector and a *Zaildar*. Two of the group of revolutionaries were killed at the place of occurrence in mutual exchange of fire with the police and seven others were subsequently tried and hanged.

Looting of private properties occurred at Sannewal and Mansuran (Ludhiana District on January 23 and 27, respectively), at Jhaner (in Malerkotla State on January 29), at Chabba

(Amritsar on February 2), at Rabhoh (Ludhiana District on February 3, 1915), and also at other places.

Individual acts of resistance and skirmishes were not infrequent. A Head Constable and a Sub-Inspector of Police were killed by a revolutionary at Anarkali Bazar on February 20, 1915, for which he was hanged.

One armed gang met on June 5, 1915, to attack the Kapurthala Magazine to secure arms and then to attack the Lahore and Montgomery Jails. The action was postponed to the 12th June as the party was considered insufficient for the purpose, a section having been despatched to attack the Valla Bridge military picket stationed there. On June 12, the guards were attacked in the course of which four persons were killed and four of the attackers were tried and hanged.

The Valla Bridge raid was a part of the activities for disrupting railway communications which formed a part of the programme of the revolutionaries. Another plan for attack on Darha Railway bridge on February, 1915, had to be abandoned at the last moment.

There were contacts between the disaffected persons in the Mandi State and the revolutionists in Punjab. It was resolved to collect bombs and arms in the State, bring up men from Punjab to murder the Wazir and the representative of the Government of India and take possession of the State. The idea was to use Mandi as a vantage point for extensive operations around. In a separate trial as Mandi Conspiracy Case five persons were convicted, one being sentenced to transportation for life and others receiving various terms of imprisonment.

There were men of outstanding ability, courage and resourcefulness. Decision was taken at Lahore on February 12, 1915, for effecting a mass rising on February 21, 1915, and emissaries were sent to several cantonments to announce the coming event. The infected troops were to rise throughout Punjab on receipt of news of an outbreak at Mian Mir.

Arrangements were made for collecting groups of villagers in Lahore to participate in the insurrection. Bombs were manufactured; arms got together to be given to men responsible for serious actions. To complete the arrangement, instruments for cutting telegraph wires and destroying centres of communications

were collected on a large scale. Flags representing Free India were prepared which were to be hoisted in proper quarters after the revolution had succeeded. In a word, everything was put hastily in the line for the general rising.

Almost at the last stage of preparation it came to be known that the police had got scent of the affair through a spy and steps had been taken to prevent the occurrence by all means. Guards were placed at important centres and troops having sympathy or promising support to the organisers of the revolt, were transferred to different places overnight.

Confronted with this contingency the leaders hurriedly advanced the date to February 19 so that efforts of long months might not go in vain. But the time was rather too short to reach the changed date to the various centres not very close to one another. The result was disastrous for the organisers; before anything could be done, the grand project ended in a dismal failure.

There were mass arrests of the members of the revolutionary party in Punjab. Houses were searched frantically for every bit of paper and other articles furnishing any clue to the conspiracy. On February 19, a search at Mochi Gate, Lahore, resulted in the find of complete bombs, and other materials for the manufacture of bombs, a revolver, and a dagger. On February 20, revolver cartridges of various bores, percussion caps, files, duplicators, a sword stick, flags and seditious literatures were recovered. Searches conducted on February 24, 1915, at a house at Gumti Bazar and another at Wachhwali, Lahore, discovered four Bengal bombs, a pistol, cartridges of various bores, a bottle containing a solution called "Greek Fire" and chemicals for bombs.

A conspiracy case of unprecedented magnitude was started in the Lahore Central Jail on April 27, 1915, before a Special Tribunal constituted for the purpose with sixty-two accused rising eventually to eighty of whom sixteen were found to be absconders.

The accused were charged in a wholesale fashion under Sections 121, 121A, 122, 122-109, 123, 124A, 124A-107, 131, 132, 302, 303/109/120B, 395, 395-397, 396, 412, 414 I.P.C., Sections 3, 4, 5, and 6 of the Explosive Substances Act (Act VI of 1908).

Judgment was delivered on September 13, 1915, in a case which was unique in its origin, motive, time, character and ramifications, the number of men involved and the area covered by their activities.

Twenty-four men were condemned to death and twenty-six to transportation for life. Others received varying terms of imprisonment, only a few being acquitted.

On November 14, 1915, the Governor General-in-Council commuted the death sentences of seventeen leaving the seven others to die. They were:

- (i) BAKSHISH SINGH,
- (ii) BISHNU GANESH PINGLEY,
- (iii) SURAIN SINGH, son of Ishar Singh,
- (iv) SURAIN SINGH, son of Bur Singh,
- (v) HARANAM SINGH of Sialkot,
- (vi) JAGGAT SINGH, and
- (vii) KARTAR SINGH (Saraba)

All of these fighters for India's freedom who had worked long years and suffered privations and sacrificed everything that man runs after, were executed in the Lahore Central Jail on November 17, 1915.

In the Court room as also standing before the gallows the condemned men refused to accept their endeavour to be termed a 'conspiracy'. They contended that it was an open challenge to the foreigners who charged the patriots sacrificing everything for the freedom of their Motherland with the offence of sedition, of waging war against the King.

Kartar Singh was not at all sorry for what they had done; rather he felt proud for enjoying the privilege of throwing out the challenge at the face of a lot of usurpers. He was really sorry over the outcome of their efforts. He averred that every slave had a right to revolt and it could never be a crime to rise in defence of the primary rights of the sons of the very soil.

When asked to appeal he retorted, "Why should I? If I had more lives than one, it would have been a great honour to me to sacrifice each of them for my country."

Lahore Conspiracy (1st Supplementary) Trial

(1915-1916)

The heroes of Punjab were given no rest. With the conclusion of the comprehensive Lahore Conspiracy Case a supplementary trial of a larger number of accused persons was started on October 29, 1915, before the same Tribunal.

The evidence adduced by the prosecution in the most part was almost the same as in the first case relating to preparations in U.S. A., receiving aid from the enemy country, stirrings in the Far East, return of the emigrants to India and forthwith entering into a conspiracy to wage war against the King, etc., etc.

The incidents at Ferozepore, Anarkali Bazar, plan for assaulting the Moga Treasury and all others in their train were recapitulated and revived for bringing about a conviction of the accused. The First Supplementary Conspiracy Trial was started with no less than 102 accused of whom nine were absconders, cases of six were withdrawn and accused discharged, one turned approver and granted pardon, another ten were discharged by the Court leaving a total of seventy-six accused to stand the trial.

The accused comprised absconders in the original case against whom proceedings were taken under Section 512 Cr. P. C. and some of whom had since been arrested; alleged associates of those convicted in the previous case and those who were accused of having committed fresh offences since the last trial.

On March 30, 1916, judgment was delivered in which six were awarded the highest penalty of the law, forty-five to undergo transportation for life, eight received imprisonment for various terms and fifteen were acquitted.

Of the six condemned men sentence of one was changed to transportation for life. The other five were:

(i) HER SINGH BAHOOVAL, Hoshiarpur, found to have taken part in Sannawal and Chabba dacoities and to have been present in the Kapurthala rising;

(ii) ISHAR SINGH, *alias* Suran Singh of Bhudike, Moga, Ferozepore, was present at the Ferozepore Raid and the attack

on the Doraha Bridge and to have been the foremost in the Kapurthala Raid;

(iii) RANGA SINGH *alias* Roda Singh of Khurdapur, Kartarpur, Jullundur, was in close touch with Dhundike revolutionists and was present at the Kapurthala meeting and selected to form one of the Valla Bridge attacking party;

(iv) RUR SINGH of Talwandi, Dusanj, Moga, Ferozepore, one of the Dhundike revolutionists, assisted in the initial assault on the Valla Bridge;

(v) UTTAM SINGH of Hansi Jograon, Ludhiana, early got into touch with the Lohatbadi revolutionists and assisted in procuring arms and ammunitions in Lohatbadi and in making bombs and taking part in the Ferozepore district raid. He was also present at the Kapurthala gathering on June 5, 1915, when the Valla Bridge attack was planned. He also absconded to Faridkot State to evade arrest.

On June 12, 1916, the five comrades were hanged in the Lahore Jail.

Lahore Conspiracy (2nd Supplementary) Trial

(1916)

On the same charges and on the same evidence as in the first two Lahore Conspiracy Trials, a large number of men were hauled up before the same Tribunal (the Second Supplementary) and trial commenced on November 8, 1916. It was a comparatively short trial inasmuch as evidence was concluded on December 14, 1916. By this time prosecution witnesses had been well trained and got used to say whatever the police would like them to adduce and the accused persons also got accustomed with the nature of evidence and the fate that awaited them.

On January 5, 1917, six persons were sentenced to death. In a review of the case the Government commuted the punishment of one to one of transportation for life.

(i) BABU RAM,

(ii) BALWANT SINGH,

- (iii) SAFIZ ABDULLA,
- (iv) RUR SINGH, and
- (v) NAINA

added themselves to the list of martyrs who had sanctified the gallows of the Lahore Central Jail on March 29, 1917.

Of the other accused no details are available in spite of a diligent search. About Balwant Singh it is known that unquestionably he was one of the most prominent and influential men in the revolutionary movement in Canada. He visited U.K. early in 1913 and saw a number of men having extreme political views. In the August of the same year he visited Lahore and made eloquent speeches on *Ghadr* and the movements supporting India's struggle for independence outside India.

In 1914 he returned to Canada arriving at the same time when the *Komagata Maru* affair had been agitating the Sikh community there and took a prominent part in the agitation arising out of the vessel's voyage. He was the most ardent advocate of the plan for returning to India for revolutionary purposes and in December 1914, he left Canada and stopped for some time in San Francisco where he was in touch with the headquarters of the *Ghadr* Party. He was next heard of as having reached Siam in July and arrested in Bangkok in August, 1915.

He was deported to Singapore and brought to India under custody to stand his trial in the omnibus conspiracy cases the fever of which had engrossed the attention of the authorities who found it a handy instrument to teach the sturdy daring Punjabis a lesson in loyalty and good citizenship.

Swelling The Number

(1915)

One of the many whose bones were laid in the soil of the Andamans was BHAN SINGH, who was sent to the Convict Settlement in 1915 (?).

Bhan Singh for his strong views came early into conflict with the convict warders and petty officers. He was put in cell meant for additional punishment (*dholai*). The Superintendent on being informed came and hurled abuses on the prisoner in a most filthy language. Bhan Singh protested in a voice befitting the occasion which to the officer was rather a new experience.

On the order of the Superintendent a large number of men fell upon and belaboured Bhan Singh in a most brutal manner and as the effect of which Bhan Singh vomited a large quantity of blood.

He was removed to jail hospital where his condition did not improve. He continued to spit blood off and on. The battered man struggled for two months clinging to life which ebbed slowly till one day he was found dead in his cell. (Ref. V. D. Savarkar: *Story of My Transportation for Life*, p. 389)

'Let My Mother Weep and of None Else'

(1915)

Coming from a minstrel family of Punjab, PRATAP SINGH enjoyed unbounded confidence of Rash Behari Bose amongst his friends and co-workers of northern India. Singh was the undisputed leader of the Rajput revolutionaries of his time. He was engaged in creating disaffection in the Rajput troops and braved the risk of meeting his leader, then an absconder at Nabadwip, Bengal, in secret and secure his advice for operations in Punjab. Pratap Singh was introduced to Rash Behari by Amir Chand of Delhi and he never betrayed the words of assurance spoken about him.

In 1915, Pratap Singh was first arrested in connection with

the Delhi Conspiracy Case but was discharged for want of evidence. He was arrested for the second time. The police offered him heavy sums for divulging secrets of the party. The prisoner's answer to the police has become classic. He said,

"You say that my mother is weeping day and night and is very disconsolate over my fate. But I refuse to be the cause for weeping for any other mother and if ever it so happens, that would be death to me and disgrace to my mother."

He was tortured for months in the Bareilly Jail where he died when he was only 22 years of age.

An Unwonted Business

(1916)

The efforts of the revolutionaries to seduce the troops in their barracks and cantonments had proof of their partial success with the 7th Rajputs. At a Summary General Court-Martial held at Delhi on February 28, 1916, Drill Havildar, JALESWAR SINGH and a Naik, both of the 7th Rajputs, were arraigned on the following charge:

"That knowing the existence of a conspiracy against the State, they failed to give information thereof to the Commanding or other superior Officers; and that at Benares between the 1st January and 15th April, 1915, being aware of the existence of a conspiracy by members of the *Ghadr* party to overthrow Government established by law in British India, in pursuance of which conspiracy, certain men of the same regiment had agreed to join the said party and rise in mutiny, they failed to give information thereof to their Commanding or other superior Officers."

Both the accused were sentenced to death. The Naik's sentence was subsequently commuted to one of transportation for life. Jaleswar faced death with courage worthy of a true son of India on March 21, 1916, in the Civil Jail, Delhi.

Of the Many

(1917)

RAMRAKHA was an accused in the Mandalay Supplementary Trial in February 1917 and was sentenced to transportation for life on July 6, 1917.

He was sent to the Andamans and subjected to hard labour but because of his sturdy health, he could put up with it for a long time. But he came into conflict with the authorities on the score of personal religious observances. Some privileges which he demanded as of right were denied to him. Persecution of a severe nature followed. He resorted to hunger strike and died after prolonged suffering in his small cell in the Bastille of India, the Andaman Cellular Jail.

The Lure of Serving the Motherland

(1915-1917)

A man who had long lived outside India particularly in Canada came back to India at the call of the Motherland. On his arrival in Calcutta in 1915, he was put under surveillance and sent to Punjab under escort. He had a shrewd suspicion that he might be imprisoned on reaching the destination and got down at an intermediate station without the knowledge of his guards.

With great difficulty he reached Punjab on his own account and joined the revolutionary party already very active there. He had acquired an efficient knowledge of bomb-making, two of his manufactures being used in the Mansuran dacoity, an incident prominently mentioned in the Lahore Conspiracy Case.

Having found that his stay in Punjab was extremely risky, MATHURA SINGH escaped to Kabul and then crossed the frontier to go to Russia. He reached Tashkend with great difficulty and sent through a competent agent a letter to the Czar, a task enjoined by his party leaders. He was satisfied to learn that the letter actually reached the Czar who expressed sympathy for India's aspirations. Subsequently it transpired that due to internal troubles the Czar was not inclined to do anything more and Mathura Singh had to take a journey back towards India.

At the intervention of the British Government the Russian Government arrested Dr. Singh and he was brought into Punjab and kept in the Lahore Jail from the last week of January, 1916.

On February 21, 1917, Dr. Singh was placed before a Special Tribunal with the charge of waging war against the King, etc., etc. (Sections 121, 121A, 131, 132, 302-109 I. P. C.).

The judgment awarding capital punishment was received by the accused with the greatest unconcern. Dr. Mathura Singh, a redoubtable fighter and a strong arm of the revolution, was hanged on March 27, 1917, in the Lahore Central Jail.

At Long Last

(1917)

An accused in the original Lahore Conspiracy Case, JAWAND SINGH, was able for a long time to evade arrest. Ultimately the police found him in May 1917, and a Special Tribunal was at once constituted to put him on trial.

All the charges that had been advanced in the original case were preferred against him. The greater part of the evidence in the case was of a kind that was familiar in all the trials of the same character. From the time of Hardayal's arrival in U. S. A. and all the subsequent events in its train were there. It was 'proved' that he was one of the most active members in the party, inasmuch as Jawand Singh was individually responsible for more murders and dacoities than any other member of the party to which he belonged.

It was contended by the police that he accompanied the group committing dacoity at Sannawal on January 23, 1915, at Mansuran on January 27, at Chabba on February 2, at Valla Bridge Raid on June 12, 1915.

As was the usual practice with the Special Tribunal's sitting in Lahore at the time, Jawand Singh was found guilty of five charges out of seven, and was sentenced to death on May 30, 1917. Like one who had attached very little value to life during a stormy career of service to his Motherland, Jawand received the sentence in a most *nonchalant* and callous manner.

The execution was carried out on June 10, 1917, in the Lahore Central Jail.

A Remarkable Feat

(1915)

In one of the most congested parts of the city of Calcutta, just opposite the second main gate of the Calcutta Medical College, Madhu Sudan Bhattacharyya, a C. I. D. Inspector, got down at about 10 a.m. on January 16, 1915, from a south-going Shambazar tram-car. It was just a few yards from the crossing of the Colootola and College Streets towards the south.

Madhu Sudan was in charge of keeping watch over certain political suspects and it was quite natural that he in his turn was being closely watched by those over whom he had been directing his surveillance. As soon as he stepped down from the tram-car, two young Bengali youths came running from the opposite foot-path, got very close to their prey, each whipping out a revolver, a Mauser and a Webley, and fired three shots in not as many seconds. Madhu, mortally wounded, reeled and dropped on the ground.

The unknown youths ran into Pratap Chatterjee Street, a blind lane chased by some bystanders, who were prevented from coming very close by repeated revolver firings. The fugitives then jumped over a low wall into the compound of an adjoining house and could not be further traced.

Madhu was immediately removed to the Medical College but his life was extinct. Two wounds were inflicted on him, one on the shoulder and the other on the back giving rise to the presumption that when he received the shot on the shoulder he turned back and got the other shot which penetrated his chest.

The police published descriptions of the two young men as collected from eye-witnesses, as (i) dark-complexioned, strong-built, medium stature, heavy moustache, wearing a white *alwan* and guernsey and (ii) fair complexioned, thin-built, medium stature, moustache, wearing a *badami alwan* and a Punjabi shirt.

A Successful Ruse

(1915)

The order of attacking police officers and doing away with them was taken measuring their capacity of doing mischief to the cause of the revolution. Jatindra Nath Mukherjee, the leader,

had decided that Suresh Chandra Mukherjee, an Inspector of the Special Branch of the Criminal Investigation Department, must not live beyond a certain date and 'soldiers' were not lacking to carry out his wishes even at the risk of their lives.

Chittapriya Ray Chaudhuri was on the list of 'proclaimed offenders' and the police had been vigorously searching for him for a long time without much success. He, along with three or four other compatriots, took upon himself the onerous duty and executed his plan in such a manner on February 28, 1915, as ultimately to prove successful beyond imagination.

That was the Convocation Day of the Calcutta University and responsible officers were out to examine the arrangements that would guarantee absolute safety to the Viceroy who was to address the gathering. Suresh, with a Sub-Inspector and an *orderly*, went in the morning to the Cornwallis Square for the purpose. He was standing on the south-west corner of the park (Hedua), when his attention was drawn towards a group of youngmen whose movements seemed to be suspicious. Suresh at once recognised Chittapriya Ray Chaudhuri as one belonging to the group.

Suresh asked his *orderly* to go and arrest Chittapriya. As soon as Chitta was brought close to him, Suresh stretched his hand to arrest him. Chitta leaned forward a little and in a trice drew out a revolver from his waist and fired. The trigger, however, jammed. But came forward another to fire point-blank at Suresh and he fell on the ground. Three or four others came running to the spot and fired more shots at the prostrate body of the officer and also wounded his *orderly*, Sheo Prasad Kahar, seriously. Sheo Prasad did not lose his balance at once but tried to get hold of the young man who had shot his master, but he dropped on the ground due to exhaustion. Suresh received five shots under the mouth, on the chest, back, stomach and shoulder. Death was instantaneous. The condition of the *orderly* gradually deteriorated and he expired on the third day of his scuffle.

Nothing could be known about the culprits save and except that one of them was accepted by the police to be Chittapriya, the Dan Breen of India's fight for Freedom.

An Irresponsible Act

(1915)

In connection with the Garden Reach highway looting taking place on February 12, 1915, the police sent up a number of youngmen on the mere suspicion of having had something to do with the incident. Of these there was one SAROJ BIHUSAN DAS, a teacher of the Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta. As an undertrial he was sent to jail on February 13, 1915, and was declared to be in good health up to the 18th of the same month.

In the usual course of jail rules, Saroj was vaccinated by the Sub-Assistant Surgeon and within a few days developed a virulent type of small-pox. The relations were informed and the Government were pleased to allow bail to the prisoner. Saroj was removed to his house where death relieved him from the conditions of judicial bail on March 2, 1915.

The First Open Encounter

(1915-1924)

As days wore on the nervousness and uncertainty of the early days gave place to more successful onslaughts on the prestige of British bureaucracy. By 1914 the revolutionaries seemed to be the masters of the situation. The abortive attempts at hold-ups and assassinations were on the decline. In Calcutta there were eleven successive outrages of which four were committed with the help of automobile taxi-cabs, a new feature in revolutionary crime. They commenced with the Garden Reach dacoity on February 12, 1915, where a sum of Rs. 18,000 of Messrs. Bird & Co. was involved. It was followed by a dacoity at Beliaghata (Feb. 22) where the raiders succeeded in extorting from the cashier of a rice merchant Rs. 20,000 in cash and currency notes. The third was of a more daring nature committed on December 2, where the revolutionaries were successful in securing Rs. 25,000 from the shop of a rice merchant in the Corporation Street, Calcutta.

There were three successful attempts on the lives of police

officers and another on a spy. All these and a few other incidents were attributed to Jatin Mukherjee and his lieutenants. The incident in the precincts of the High Court led to Jatin's arrest on January 26, 1910, from 275, Upper Chitpore Road together with a large number of other suspects in Calcutta and in the Districts of Howrah and 24-Parganas. He was absolved of his complicity with the crime by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, on January 31. But he was held in custody in connection with a Gang Case that was then in the offing. The Howrah Gang Case was started on February 12, 1910, before the District Magistrate, Howrah. The accused were committed for trial before the High Court on July 20, 1910, as being members of a gang of political dacoits. While awaiting his trial an attempt was made to implicate him with the murder of Shams-ul-Alam through a confessional statement of the accused who was alleged to have said:

"I was introduced to a gentleman named Jatindra Nath Mukherji of 273, Upper Chitpur Road, by a boy.... in the month of September.... By reading the *Yugantar* I got a very strong wish to do brave and violent works, and I asked Jatin Mukherji to give me work. He told me about the shooting of Shams-ul-Alam, Deputy Superintendent, who conducted the (Alipore) Bomb Case, and he ordered a boy named.... to make arrangements for this case. I asked Jatin for such works, and he asked me whether I shall be able to shoot Shams-ul-Alam. I answered that I will be able."

With the confession of Biren, police did not lose a moment to start another case against Jatin. On the night of February 19, 1910, the relatives of Jatin were informed that he would be removed to the Presidency Jail the next morning. The relatives appeared at the jail, with their lawyer to find that the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta was getting ready for the hearing of a case on the accusation of the condemned person. Biren having finished his statement the Magistrate asked the defence Counsel to cross-examine the deponent forthwith. The defence lawyer protested against the whole procedure and declined to oblige the Magistrate on the ground that there had been no opportunity to receive his client's instructions and that he had practically no matter on which to cross-examine. He applied for an adjournment to enable him to obtain a postponement of the execution of Biren and to get adequate instructions from his client.

The Magistrate yielded to grant a stay of proceedings for a short while. The Counsel for the defence accompanied by the Commissioner of Police rushed to Belvedere to move the Lieutenant Governor to postpone the execution of Biren. The Lieutenant Governor did not like to intervene and Biren was executed before he could be cross-examined on his statement.

The case against Jatin was not withdrawn on the ground that as Biren had deposed before a competent Magistrate his statement was valid as evidence against whom it was made.

The matter was referred to the High Court for opinion and at the hearing of the Howrah Gang Case on February 21, 1911, the Chief Justice gave the following ruling:

"The Magistrate failed to secure to the Counsel for the accused an interview with his client, so that the Counsel was unable to obtain requisite instructions and we must accordingly hold that there was not an opportunity sufficient to bring the case within the provisions of Section 33 of the Indian Evidence Act.

"Biren's deposition, therefore, is not relevant. It is, moreover, patent with regard to all the circumstances that even if relevant the deposition could possess little or no value as proof of what it imputed to the accused."

The Crown Counsel did not like to proceed any further, and Jatin and another were discharged before conclusion of the "Gang Case."

At one and the same time Jatin crossed two danger lines but his activities instead of receiving a set-back were pursued with redoubled vigour.

When the police failed to tackle repeated outrages involving life and property of the public and information trickled down about Jatin's complicity with some of them there began a regular hunt for the man to secure his arrest. Naturally enough Jatin with a few trusted lieutenants had to go into hiding. There was no clue to be had of Jatin and the police lost all hopes of arresting him and gave their soul the consolation that he might have retired for good from active politics or had died in one of the actions.

On the other hand Jatin with some of his co-workers had been shifting from place to place to evade police watch and arrest. On February 20, 1915, the premises No. 73, Pathuriaghata Street, Calcutta, was rented by one Phani Bhusan Ray, apparently a fictitious person, to find accommodation for Jatin and his

revolutionary compatriots. On the morning of February 24, 1915, a man, named Nirod Halder, supposed to be a police spy, entered the house and shouting a name went upstairs. He was overjoyed to see Jatin sitting with five or six other youngmen in the room. Recognising Jatin he exclaimed, "Well, Jatin, then you are here?" One of the youngmen advanced a few paces and pointed a revolver at Nirod and as soon as he turned his back and tried to slip out of the room, a bullet pierced him on the spine and he fell down on the ground.

Taking him to be dead three of the youngmen left the place in bicycles whilst others walked away with their baggages.

Nirod was injured and the police who came immediately after the incident on information, rushed him to the Mayo Hospital. He was sufficiently conscious to say that he was definite about seeing Jatin amongst the group of men huddled together and that Jatin himself had shot him.

Nirod was admitted in the hospital at about 8-10 a.m. and expired on the 26th idem at 2 p.m. The usual post-mortem examination was gone through and the Coroner with the Jury held that beyond the dying declaration of the deceased there was no evidence to support the allegation that he had been shot by Jatin Mukherji. The Jury returned a verdict of "death due to a gun-shot wound caused by some unknown person."

Jatin with his trusted and gallant friends remained in Calcutta for a few days more and some of the most daring revolutionary actions of the week and the one following were attributed to them.

It became impossible for them to stay in Calcutta any longer.

By previous arrangement Jatin and Chittapriya reached Kaptipoda (Mahuldiha) in March 1915, and a few days later came Niren and Manoranjan.

The atmosphere of freedom after a stay in hiding in dark, dingy places, shut out from daylight for a considerable period, sent a thrill of joy in the hearts of the two youngsters. They began to leap, frisk, run and play. Manoranjan had a Mauser pistol in his hand. Pointing the weapon in joke towards Niren enquired of him whether he had any fear of death and what would he do if a shot hit him.

Niren told that a practical experiment would prove that he

cared a two-pence for life as they were out to die. Manoranjan continued his joke asking if he would shoot, of course in the fullest confidence that the pistol had no cartridge inside it. Niren gave the assent. Manoranjan drew the trigger; and, lo! a bullet passed straight through his right leg just under the knee. Niren did not betray any nervousness as if nothing had happened to him except that it interfered with his free movement at least for the time being.

No medical aid was to be had. The only remedy was to apply powdered quinine tablets available at the time. News reached Calcutta. Competent medical assistance was rushed to the place. It was found on examination that the bullet had passed through the flesh without injuring the bone. It took some time before Niren could get his normal movement back.

Jyotish Chandra Pal reached Kaptipoda a little later and got involved in the first open encounter with the British forces on the soil of Orissa.

Before Jatin had reached Orissa it was thought incumbent to make provision for maintaining contact with Calcutta and a firm ostensibly dealing in bicycles and clocks, etc. was opened in Balasore under the name of Universal Emporium.

In addition to their shelter at Kaptipoda a second centre was opened at Taldiah about six miles away from this place just before a week of the clash. Niren and Jyotish were sent there to engage themselves in agriculture and setting up a shop. The two wings met twice in the meantime.

The Police in Calcutta received information by March, 1915 of the Universal Emporium at Balasore and that non-local men had been visiting the place from time to time. The Calcutta Criminal Investigation Department moved quickly in the matter and some topmost officers proceeded towards Balasore in the first few days of September, 1915. The Universal Emporium was searched on September 5, and two men were taken into custody.

Acting on the clue gathered from a scrap of paper lying on the floor about Kaptipoda, a non-descript village in the small Nilgherry State contiguous to Mayurbhanj State, separated by a narrow stream, the District Magistrate of Balasore rushed towards the place with a contingent of armed forces and high police officials of Calcutta on September 6, after dusk. They

came to know that the strangers had been living in a hut in Mohuldia *mouza* on the other side of a misnomer for a stream.

There had been unusual stir in the locality of quiet Kaptipoda during the night of September 6, caused by the presence of several Europeans and men in European costume attended with a large retinue. They had reached the place on elephants and the tinkling of the bells attached to their necks aroused suspicion in the minds of a few who were interested in the 'Sadhu' (Jatin) and his two associates. One of the frightened men ran to Jatin and informed him all that had been brewing in the locality on an unprecedented scale in the jungle region of Mayurbhanj.

Jatin, Chittapriya and Manoranjan left the place after destroying whatever they could and marched towards Taldiah to get Niren and Jyotish with them. A considerable valuable time was lost in this endeavour but Jatin could never think of his own safety and leave his young comrades in the lurch.

The District Magistrate prevented by darkness waited for the dawn and searched the place early next morning. Targets placed high on a tree and a mud wall behind the hut were found to bear bullet marks. Some gunpowder, stray bullets, etc., were also found but not the wanted persons. From available information the police came to know of the other shelter at Taldiah and it became clear that dividing themselves in two batches they lived considerably apart.

After coming together Jatin and his companions made their way towards the Balasore railway station. They reached up to the village Haripur Aria, not very far from their destination but could suspect that danger awaited them at the place.

They went back and came out into the open to explore if there was any other avenue of escape.

Under instructions the Mayurbhanj police continued the search whilst the Magistrate returned to Balasore to make arrangements for blocking the roads leading from the State to Balasore as it was thought probable that the Bengalis would make for the railway. Every policeman was asked to keep watch about the movement of strangers. It was nearly a common talk amongst the people that some 'Bengali dacoits' had been roaming about. A man who had a shop at Balasore town, which he used to visit daily, on his way home on September 8, overheard a

policeman at the ferry ghat asking the ferryman to keep a look-out for outsiders and to inform the police if he had noticed any. On returning home this shopkeeper mentioned the fact to his brother, an agriculturist, and asked him to keep himself on the alert.

On Thursday morning, September 9, at about 9 a.m. the agriculturist, already in possession of the fact, had just landed from his small dugout and fastened it to a peg on the bank when on the opposite bank five strangers appeared and called out to him that they were *sarkari log* and wished to be taken across the river. He refused to do so on the ground that their boat was not *sarkari* (meaning ferry) boat and it was too small to carry so many persons without sinking.

The strangers then suggested that the boatman should go across and take the clothing and *jhola* (haversack) and that they themselves would swim across. The man did not agree but suggested to the strangers that there were four boats a little distance higher up and they could get across in one of them. Jatin and his friends following the suggestion of the man went towards the boats referred to and they were noticed to cross the river. It came to the mind of the man what his brother had told him the previous night and being curious about the strangers advanced towards the place where the strangers had landed on their side of the river. Reaching the bank the strangers proceeded towards the jungle when the man shouted to say that there was no road that way. So the strangers turned towards him. One of the men from the throng that had collected by this time questioned them as to who they were and failing to elicit any satisfactory answer his suspicion was aroused.

The man, who had by now a few men around him suggested that one should go and inform the *daffadar*, while he and his other companions would keep an eye on the strangers who after walking along the edge of the river for some distance, struck a path leading to the Bund Road running parallel with the river at a distance of about fifty paces from it.

As the strangers seemed to be in some doubt which way to go, the same man asked them to say where they wanted to proceed and he would show them the way. The strangers said that they wished to get at the railway line and the man asked them to follow the Bund Road towards the north-west. Along this the strangers

went, but after a few minutes seated themselves to take rest at a place close to Gobindapur village.

The man slipped away to bring some more villagers and on return saw the strangers moving on. The *daffadar's* brother ran forward to block the way and asked the strangers to accompany him to the thana. He was pushed away. Being challenged for the second time, they produced pistols from the waist-cloths. Stray shots were fired to scare away the villagers which gradually swelled in number. The strangers reached Dumuda village at 11 a.m. thus chased.

Finding no damage done by the shots fired, one villager mustered courage to close up with the strangers. When he had reached within twenty five paces of the fugitives they opened fire. Unfortunately a bullet from Manoranjan's pistol hit Raju Mahanti who fell on the ground.

Excepting four all fled away. The *daffadar's* brother and three others started for Balasore, a distance of about eight miles to inform the police and the Magistrate. The strangers moved on some little way and then sat down and took some refreshment. Closely followed by the villagers, they left the Bund Road and turned off east across the country.

After crossing the road the strangers were confronted by a small stream. This they waded across, carrying their revolvers and their clothes tied round their heads. They crossed one at a time, firing occasionally to keep the villagers back. Then they started moving in the direction of Chasakhand village. Taking their stand on the embankment of an old tank in the middle of some paddy-fields, behind an ant-hill, from where whilst protected from being seen because of the bushes, they commanded a view all round.

The force from Balasore reached the river Burah Balang more or less about this time. The Magistrate split the police up into two parties, one going across country from Mayurbhanj Road and the other going along the Midnapore Road. Both the parties converged on the spot which had been indicated by a white flag planted by the Sub-Inspector of Police who had reached the place with the *daffadar* earlier.

Magistrate shot a '303 sporting rifle to make the fugitives

realise that the attacking party had long range rifles with them and to make them surrender without any loss of life.

The fire was replied and the exchange of shots continued for about twenty minutes resulting in some casualty in the police rank. There was a lull when two men were seen to stand and hold up their arms. The Magistrate ordered "cease fire". The police party advanced cautiously and at the end found that one person had already been killed and two others were wounded. Arrangements were made to bring the dead, the wounded and the arrested persons to Balasore. The dead body was sent to the morgue, the wounded to the hospital and the arrested to the lock-up.

CHITTAPRIYA RAY CHOWDHURY was killed on the spot. JATIN was seriously wounded and admitted to the hospital at 8.30 p.m. on September 9, suffering from lacerated wounds in abdomen and left hand; bones of left hand also being shattered. Jyotish had two wounds caused by the same bullet which entered by the left side of the back and emerging out by the chest.

Jatin died at 5 a.m. the next morning, the 10th September, 1915. Jyotish got round and was sent to prison on September 22. He was subsequently placed on trial with Niren and Manoranjan.

JYOTISH CHANDRA PAL, MANORANJAN SEN GUPTA and NIRENDRA DAS GUPTA were produced for trial before a Special Tribunal on October 1, 1915, which began sitting regularly from October 7, at Balasore. Charges of murder, attempt to murder in connection with the attack upon villagers and attempt to murder the District Magistrate and his police force and also under the Arms Act, were framed against the accused. Judgment was delivered on October 16, when Manoranjan and Niren were sentenced to death and Jyotish to fourteen years' transportation.

On October 30, the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa rejected the petition for clemency made on behalf of the condemned prisoners and the two young lads, Manoranjan and Niren, were executed on November 22, 1915, in the Balasore Jail.

Jatindra Nath Mukherjee was a man of unique personality. He possessed an illimitable fund of "strength—strength physical, strength mental, strength moral and above all strength spiritual, which is the one inexhaustible and imperishable source of all strength."

During the peak days of the revolutionary activities in Bengal

he stood at the confluent where different streams flowing from diverse sources would release their problems for satisfactory solution. And he amply fulfilled their expectations.

Jatin infused his comrades with inspiration, courage and determination and it was a pleasure and a safe haven for them to relegate every concern to his loving care. Jatin's love for the Motherland and broad sympathies for his countrymen were without parallel. In 1914, when there was an ominous lull in the revolutionary circle he stepped into the arena to take charge of operations and every firebrand was glad to forego his angularity with a sense of confidence in him. In the same year he met Rash Behari Bose at Benares to establish a link with the workers functioning in northern India and the relation of these two great revolutionaries was most cordial of deep understanding and mutual dependence.

The spiritual side was predominant in Jatin's character but it never interfered with his world of action. He could view at things in their proper perspective and in absolute detachment. He wrote to his sister Binodabala from the Alipore Central Jail on August 20, 1910,

"You have seen how ephemeral are the things and events of this world. And he must be very fortunate who gets an opportunity to sacrifice his ephemeral life for a great Cause."

The thirst for freedom of the Motherland transcended every other considerations in his life. His love and sympathy for "younger brothers", as he would most lovingly call his co-workers, assumed legendary tenderness. His body and heart of steel was wedded to a softness that would put the falling dew into shade.

The only gateway to death the triumphal arch of a fight in the open, was erected for him by Providence and was quite in keeping with the life-history of a great hero. When he entered it, he left behind a perennial inspiration for his compeers and successors-in-arms while passing on to immortality and undying fame.

Of the three friends, Chitta, Manoranjan and Niren it should be remembered that their advent into the world were separated only by a few years. They were students in the same school at Madaripur when they were arrested in the first week of December 1913, and made co-accused in the Gopalpur-Kwakuri

Dacoity Case (Faridpur Conspiracy Case) which was withdrawn on April 20, 1914. They almost kept together in exploits of daring and danger and lost their lives for the same cause one in the field of battle and two on the gallows separated not even by three months.

Niren and Manoranjan were cousins. Their respective village residences were situated at a distance of just a couple of hundred yards. From the first to the last in political actions and Government prosecutions they held each other in close embrace and lived to the last day of life together. They were executed on the same day, in the same prison and almost at the same time. A remarkable coincidence indeed!

The spirit of these young lads had harboured no fear and it helped them in driving away all doleful thoughts and misgivings about themselves.

Chittapriya Ray Chowdhury when he finally left home and disappeared in the underground in a secret interview with his relations said,

"*Gita* holds that soul is immortal and its principal function is to make men assume new forms (in repeated births)."

During a period when the police was in hot pursuit, he said, "Death is waiting at my door (near my head) and I am not afraid of it. It is better to die (soon) than to pass days in idleness. In such a case I shall take a new birth, become active very soon and in an able and strong body would be able to destroy Englishmen."

Niren Das Gupta wrote to his parents, brothers and sisters before his execution:

"There need none be sorry for my death. Moreover, the Hindus do believe in utmost faith that they do not die with the mortal death."

Jatindra Nath, that doyen of Indian revolutionaries, wrote to his sister from the Alipore Central Jail, already referred to, on August 20, 1910,

"My eyes are fixed at the feet of that all-beneficent Lord of the Universe Whatever He dispenses, I shall accept it as His Blessings. He never does anything which may harm us in the least. In our ignorance we fail to realise that there is some great motive behind what we declare as harmful (to us)."

Didi wrote back in reply, "Let me not see the lion caged again."

Even in a life of privations and constant danger both Manoranjan and Niren gained substantially in weight and physical features, so much so that Manoranjan looked at the time like a Punjabi stalwart than a puny Bengali. As stated by the last friend and/or relative to meet them in this world, the accused in the dock looked remarkably fresh and healthy. They wore a smiling face and maintained a jovial mood to the last. They displayed complete unconcern about the outcome of the trial. Manoranjan told the said relative that he should not give himself up to sorrow because it might well have happened to them what had befallen 'Dada' and dear Chitta. In fact, as he said, it was their firm determination, while facing police fire, to continue the fight till the last breath in the nostril and to die a hero's death on the battlefield. But 'Dada' ordained otherwise and like disciplined soldiers they had to submit to the command of the General.

In the last letters sent to parents and loving sisters and brothers they wrote, in essence, that it was useless to weep over death; more so it was unbecoming over the death of a martyr. It was to be kept in mind that "men do not die with death and that is the Hindu view of life".

In a separate letter to a friend they expressed their unshaken faith in rebirth and the absolute certainty of their coming and dying again and again till the Motherland had been cleared off the pollution of the foreigners' domination.

Jyotish Chandra was sent to the Andamans where he developed signs of insanity. After some years he was removed to the Berhampore Jail where he slowly recovered. His relations and friends used to meet him from time to time. At the last interview they had some clothes for him which he deemed to be unnecessary as he had been informed about his release in the course of a fortnight.

All on a sudden a telegram reached the relations at Madaripur from the Berhampore jail containing news of his serious illness. In another seven hours a second telegram stated that the prisoner had expired.

The last of the heroes of the first open encounter with the

British forces in India died under suspicious circumstances, on December 4, 1924, in the Berhampore jail.

To the Government Jatindra Nath Mukherjee, Chittapriya Ray Chowdhury, Manoranjan Sen Gupta, Nirendra Nath Das Gupta and Jyotish Chandra Pal were "proclaimed offenders" under the letter of the law. They were branded as scoundrels, dacoits and murderers. They were declared by wiseacres as bringing the country to the brink of ruin. But in the fulness of time, they would find out their own places in the pages of history and in the hearts of their grateful countrymen.

A Perfect Arrangement

(1915)

Information had reached Mymensingh from Calcutta that the redoubtable Deputy Superintendent of Police, Jatindra Mohan Ghose, would be reaching the place in connection with a trial of some political suspects.

On October 9, 1915, while he and his wife were sitting with a boy of five facing the door of the house, the assailants, numbering five, suddenly appeared and asked Jatin's wife to go away from the place as they had an urgent matter to discuss with the Police Saheb. She had not completely withdrawn from the scene when without the least delay, the visitors fired several shots at Jatin, one of which struck him on the forehead and another passed through his abdomen killing him outright. The boy was also hit by a bullet as a result of which he died.

The Police Officer, as was known to the revolutionaries, was very active in investigating the Howrah and Khulna Gang Cases and also the Nadia Higginbotham Shooting Case. He enjoyed the credit of being selected by the authorities in complicated political cases and became a target of those whose cause had suffered at his hands.

Attacked In The Lair

(1915)

Of the many daring acts performed by the revolutionaries, the one at Masjidbari Street on the night of October 21, 1915, ranks very high.

Four responsible Police Officers had been enjoying a play at dice at No. 99, Masjidbari Street, Calcutta. It was close upon 10-30 p.m. when Girindra Nath Banerjee talked of going back to his own quarters. He was insisted to stay on for some time more so that the chance of the particular game might be settled. The host suggested that for the sake of safety he should go and close the door which opened direct to the lane as at the time the Police Officers were exposed to great risks. One of them actually got up from his seat for the purpose.

At the psychological moment a young man entered into the room followed by three others and asked in intonations of East Bengal dialect if he was not Girindra Nath Banerji. Without waiting for the answer the unknown man fired at Girin which missed its mark. The second shot hit the hurricane lantern and it was smashed. The light went out and the room was engulfed in pitchy darkness.

The four officers now ran out of the room which was only about 7 or 8 feet square in dimension and tried to enter the courtyard of the house closely followed by the raiders. The firing continued unabated. The men running for their lives rushed towards the narrow staircase leading to first floor of the building.

They had barely reached the top of the staircase when Girin fell exhausted from wounds received in the left hip and right side of the chest while trying to escape.

It may be recalled that Girin had a narrow escape when an attempt was made on the life of Basanta Kumar Chatterji, a Deputy Superintendent of Police, in his residence at Mussalmanpara Lane.

A second Police Officer who was also hit in his left elbow and right hip recovered from his injury after a few weeks.

Belated Action

(1915)

The police arrested three suspects from a house in Serpentine Lane after a thorough search of the place in the last week of October 1915. In the expectation of getting some more information about those who might be visiting the place after the arrest

of their friends, Constable Kalap (Kailas) Nath Pathak was placed on guard to watch any new development.

It was a narrow dimly lighted lane. Between 9-30 and 10 p.m. a Bengali young man accompanied by another appeared silently before Kailas and shot him from a close range. A cook of St. Paul's School was leaving for his home and on the suspicion of being followed by him the assailants turned back and shot him very seriously.

Both the victims died within a few hours of the incident.

An Iron Will

The example of a man with congenital physical deformity and offering his life for the emancipation of the Motherland is not very common in the history of the freedom movement of the subjugated countries of the world. In respect of Sufji's one-handedness and yet fighting for the cause which he held so near to his heart he had a parallel in Charu Bose, a born cripple, devoid of the palm of his right hand (*q v*).

AMBAPRASAD as a young boy used to cut jokes on the absence of his right arm with his friends with the remark that he had lost it in the Sepoy War of 1857. From his early youth he became intoxicated with the love of his country. Before he was twenty-five he published an Urdu journal, *Halum*, from Moradabad, his native district. He was prosecuted for sedition and awarded eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment. He was again prosecuted for sedition as Editor of *Bharat Mata*, and thrown into jail for a year and a half in October 1897.

In 1906, when Bengal was in the throes of a violent political agitation over the Partition, Punjab contacted a full measure of contagion and the peasants suffered the brunt of the Government persecution for their attempt to establish their just rights. Ambaprasad as Assistant Editor of *India*, a Gujranwala Paper, which he joined on April 4, 1907, made common cause with the local leaders of the peasants. He was prosecuted for sedition before the Lahore Sessions on September 24, 1907, but was acquitted on January 11, 1908.

When the leaders were arrested, Ambaprasad became the next target. He somehow managed to slip into Nepal. In the meantime he was able to establish the "Bharat Mata Book Society" for publication of patriotic literature. Finding the country uncongenial to his temperament and unsuitable for his work he went to Kabul and thence to Iran.

Under the direction of the Berlin Revolutionary Committee and with the help of Germany, Sufi Ambaprasad with two other very prominent revolutionaries went to Turkey. They took a letter of introduction from the Turkish authorities and approached the Amir for help in their projected attack on India. The Amir refused to lend any support to the Indian cause but did not hand them over to the British authorities as the Prime Minister was against such a step.

With or without the knowledge of the Prime Minister the revolutionaries set up a Provisional Government of their own and had been quietly making preparations to join the contemplated insurrection on February 21, 1915, by attacking the enemy from the West. But the collapse of the plan through betrayal in Punjab prompted the Kabul Government to take serious steps against the party of Indians still living there.

The other two comrades with great difficulty managed to get out of Kabul and reached Iran (Persia). Ambaprasad was secured by the British agents stationed there. He was severely tortured for making a confession and was locked up in a prison for the night. Ambaprasad received severe injuries in the manhandling to which he was subjected, and was found dead in his cell in the morning nobody knowing when the last moment came.

Another version puts the place of arrest of Ambaprasad as Shiraz (Persia) which was effected after the World War I had come to a successful close for the British. He was ordered to be blown up from the cannon mouth, an event which he escaped through death visiting him the previous night in his cell.

Secrets Well Preserved

(1915)

Not many people even amongst the revolutionaries knew anything about an unpretentious lad charged by Jatin Mukherji with onerous duties connected with the supply of arms from Germany. He was sent to the Far East before 1915 and had inside knowledge about the arrangements abroad. He came to Goa in the same year and in his anxiety about C. Martin (Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, latterly M. N. Roy) sent a wire from Goa to Martin on October 27, 1915, enquiring how he had been doing. This wire furnished a clue to the British police working secretly under cover and forced the Goa police to arrest him. At the intervention of the all-powerful British Government, the Portuguese authorities expelled him from their territory and he was arrested in the frontier and was removed to the Poona *farashkana*.

The usual methods of extorting confession were applied on him and BHOLA NATH CHATTERJI withstood them as best as he could. At a crucial point when he found it impossible for him to hold out any further, he committed suicide with his *dhoti* inside his cell on January 27-28, 1916, and released himself from the clutches of the police sleuth-hounds.

Two At A Time

(1916)

Two constables of the Dacca Criminal Investigation Department, Surendra Bhusan Mukherji and Rohini Kumar Mukherji, engaged in tracing the whereabouts of two absconding members of the revolutionary party, were attacked at about 6 p.m. on June 23, 1916, at Bairagitola in a *mohalla* of the Dacca City.

The assailants were bent upon leaving no chance of the victims' survival and Surendra was shot five times while Rohini received two more, one of which passed through his brain.

Unaccountable Death

(1916)

SANJIB CHANDRA RAY, a young boy of Kishoreganj, Mymensingh, got rather early into political activities and was noted for his power of organisation and deeds of daring.

In April 1916, an Order for internment under the Defence of India Act was passed against him. When the police officer came with the Order, Sanjib was found missing from his home. He was subsequently arrested in the outskirts of the Sub-Divisional town, Kishoreganj, with some cartridges and a revolver in the bag attached to his cycle. On July 13, 1916, he was convicted and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. He was subjected to inhuman torture which he withstood with commendable courage.

Sanjib was given no respite. In July he was prosecuted while in jail for violation of internment rules in evading service of the Order.

He preferred an appeal against his conviction and was waiting for the hearing of the case. In the meantime, the Government announced in the first week of September 1916, that the prisoner had died of dysentery in the jail. There was not a whisper about his indisposition even the day before he expired. The dead body was not delivered to the relatives for cremation though serious efforts were made for the purpose.

A valuable life was lost in the dark dungeon of British prison-house in India with no body knowing the real fact.

Mysterious Disappearance

(1915)

SRISH CHANDRA MITRA, *alias* Habu, a name by which he was more popularly known to his friends as also to the police, figured prominently in the Rodda Pistol Theft Case.

Habu managed to evade arrest but found it difficult to escape, police vigilance having been more closely tightened up around him.

It is reported that Habu tried to leave India and slip into China through the frontier on foot. In this daring adventure he was shot by the frontier guard and killed. In any case after he had left his place of hiding in Calcutta there was no trace of him whatsoever.

Pestered To Death

(1916-1917)

SACHINDRA NATH DAS GUPTA of Rangpur, a bright young boy of parts, was suspected of complicity with revolutionary activities and arrested on August 24, 1916, under the Defence of India Act. He was interned in a distant village away from home where he was regularly visited by the police and molested in the usual way. Moreover, the unhealthy climate of the place was too much for Sachin to bear and his health gave way.

On a solemn undertaking given by the father, Sachin was allowed to live with his parents as an internee from December 19, 1916. Under Government orders he had to move about within a small circle without any relaxation in the terms and conditions of his internment. He was a student of the fourth year class of a Calcutta College when arrested. He sought permission of the Government to continue his studies in the local Carmichael College which was refused.

Besides, the internee was not allowed to play, not even to mix with anybody; a visit to the local library was closed to him. He was asked not to talk to anybody except the members of his family.

Sachin was noticed to lose his normal interest in matters around him. On September 18, 1917, he told his mother at night

before retiring, that it was no use leading such a life where he could not do any fruitful work. For all practical purposes his case was worse than that of a locked-up criminal. It was too much for him to become a veritable burden on the family with his cursed existence. He further told that he had become a permanent source of trouble to the family which had to live under constant apprehension of search and molestation.

Sachin was an early riser. When he was seen not to have come out even after 7 a.m. his mother knocked at the bolted door without any response. When it was forced open Sachin was found lying unconscious on the floor with a pot containing a very small quantity of a mixture of milk and opium by his side. He did not regain consciousness and the poor lad expired on September 19, 1917 at about 12 noon. He was then 18 years of age.

Three letters addressed to (i) the District Magistrate, (ii) the C. I. D. Inspector, and (iii) his brother were found in the room. To his brother he repeated his feelings of exasperation at the treatment of the police and all that he had told his mother about his stay in the family. Life had become unbearable to him and he took the painful but fatal step to relieve the family and himself of worries that had been mounting up with every day due to the action of the police.

To the C. I. D. Inspector he wrote, *inter alia*, "I now go to a place where you cannot watch and follow me."

The poignancy of untimely and violent death of Sachin was highlighted by a casual but very pointed reference by Rabindra Nath in the article published under caption '*Chhoto O Baro*' (Big and Small) in the *Prabasi*, Agrahayana, 1324. A free (unworthy) rendering of his inimitable language written in Bengali is given below :

The history of all great people proclaims that this urge (for attaining the goal) bubbling, roaring and foaming along its course strewn with rubbles of failures and successes, and breaking all barriers to pieces, mildly descends as blessings on earth. That in spite of the counsel of the sages and lessons drawn from history. forced idleness is worse than death to the boys endowed with natural buoyancy of spirit, would be apparent from a perusal of the heart-rending last letter written by Sachin Das Gupta over his suicide.

Today I notice with supreme pleasure that there is no dearth of young travellers in the difficult path bereft of fortune and honour and beset with untold sufferings. The call came from the high and the response of our youngmen was immediate. On the pinnacle of supreme sacrifice they are getting ready with the support of religious fervour to carve their way through and march onwards..... They never entertained the fond hope that the imitation Englishman (the Indian bureaucrat) would appreciate the high ideals or bless their endeavour in any way.

In countries which are the darlings of fortune, where the specialised avenues of service to humanity and to one's Motherland have widened and adopted diverse courses, where the cherished desires and the sphere of their application have met in a happy confluent, the determined, self-sacrificing, non-calculating of earthly gains and losses, and impressionable boys are the priceless treasure.

A perusal of the last epistle of self-immolating Sachindra leads one to think that if the boy had been born in the land of the Englishman who had penalised him, Sachin could live with dignity and die in a greater halo of glory.

Any satrap of the olden or modern times or his henchmen could turn a country from one end to the other into an inert lifeless tract by persecution and suppression of the lads bursting with the fulness of life. The task is quite easy, but barbaric.... There could be no more cruel waste of human life than, on the merest suspicion to turn boys who had accidentally slipped down in climbing up, who could be brought back from their perilous journey with a simple word of hope and cheer, into lifelong cripples. It is a questionable statecraft to leave without a murmur every boy, every youth to the mercy of the secret police. It is just like decorating meanness and unpardonable sin with insignia of the State. It is just like letting loose a herd of buffaloes into a green orchard at midnight. The owner of the garden sighs, 'Alas!' and smites his head with the palm of his hand in agony, while the owner of the herd gloats over the incident in supreme glee that not a blade in the field had been left undestroyed.

Rabindra Nath's language masterly reflected the agonisingly doleful thoughts and feelings which the lacerated hearts of the parents and relations of every boy held captive on suspicion had been vainly struggling to find expression.

An Emblem of Self-Respect

(1915-1917)

A daring lad of Madaripur left home at a tender age to become one of the most active partners of revolutionary activities under Jatindra Nath Mukherji. He was 'wanted' in connection with the Garden Reach Dacoity committed on February 12, 1915.

RADHA CHARAN PRAMANICK had been hiding from place to place and ultimately he was arrested at No. 20, Fakir Chand Dutt Street, Calcutta, with a pistol and a few round of cartridges.

He was sent up for trial and was awarded two years' rigorous imprisonment under the Arms Act with conspiracy to commit dacoity, etc., on May 27, 1915.

In the Garden Reach Dacoity Case Radha Charan was made an additional accused on July 2. The case was taken up by the Sessions of August 17. He was charged with committing armed dacoity and the case dragged on till November 22. When another charge of committing simple dacoity was added. He pleaded guilty to the second charge and 'not guilty' to the first. He was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for seven years on the same date.

He had been in prison for two years when he developed eye-troubles. He asked the Superintendent of the jail to make arrangements for proper treatment of his malady. In return he was told that 'dacoits' and 'murderers' like him should better become blind than cured whereby the Government and the country would be saved of a world of worries.

Radha Charan took the pledge that inside the jail he would neither ask for nor use any medicine supplied at Government cost. Unfortunately, he was attacked with blood dysentery within a few weeks. Drugs were ready but he was adamant in keeping up to his word and refused all medical aid. It was the month of February 1917; a young man of twenty-two sacrificed his life at the altar of self-respect in preference to humiliation.

Rank Betrayal

(1917)

Some Indian revolutionaries who had been working in Germany went over to Persia in the expectation of rendering better services to the country. Their immediate object was to establish contact with their co-workers in India through Iran and to organise, if possible, a guerilla band for the purpose of attacking India.

KEDAR NATH, only 22, was one of these dare-devils. He was given assurances of help by the Indian soldiers stationed in Persia and was almost lured to the Shiraz (Indian) Consulate with the object of handing him over to the British authorities. Kedar Nath had not been feeling very happy with his new friends and decided to cross the desert for a safe haven beyond the sands.

These traitors came to know of Kedar Nath's intention, arrested him and handed him over to his enemies. He was brought to Meshid and transferred thence to Kerman where he was shot dead by the British troops in Lut Desert in Central Persia in 1917.

Friends in Deed

(1917)

Kedar Nath had two comrades, both members of the Berlin Committee, who worked on the same line and met with the same fate perhaps at the same place and on the same day.

DADAJI CHANJI KERSASP was a student of Engineering in Berlin. He was sent to Afghanistan via Iran with the object of despatching arms to India with comparatively less trouble and risk. His mission having proved abortive he tried to come back to Persia and resume his former activities there. He was arrested in Siestan.

BASANTA SINGH formerly of the *Ghadr* party, attempted to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian troops stationed in Mesopotamia where he met with scant success. He then moved

to Afghanistan in the expectation of finding out the Indian Mission for sending money to India through that organisation.

Both Kersasp and Basanta Singh on their way back were arrested at the Kerman-Afghanistan border by the Indian troops. They were shot dead, like Kedar Nath, under the orders of the British Military Officers.

The Destined Way

(1918)

In the discharge of his duties, Haridas Maitra, a Sub-Inspector attached to the Bogra Criminal Investigation Department, went on May 8, 1918, with a *posse* of constables to the house of a woman to arrest a person suspected of complicity with the revolutionary party. Haridas headed the searching party and as soon as he entered the house he was fired point blank by the youth. During the commotion that ensued, the young man though surrounded by the constables, kept on firing all through and managed to escape.

Haridas Maitra died on the spot. The young man could not be traced.

Kaltabazar Encounter

(1918)

The police and the revolutionaries by now had come into close grips because the former had more time and opportunity to concentrate their attention on the few of the revolutionaries left outside after imprisonment, internment without trial, execution, etc. They had been busy now hounding up suspects in secret haunts and rounding them up.

In one of these excursions the police raided a house, on information, at Kaltabazar, Dacca, on June 15, 1918. The residents in hiding found the house completely surrounded and there was no chance of escape through the cordon. There were only three of them, TARINI PRASANNA MAJUMDAR, NALINI KANTA BAGCHI, and another, and they prepared themselves for an open fight, however unequal that might be. Without giving any opportunity

to gain the upper hand the besieged men opened fire which was promptly returned by the police.

A constable, Patiram Singh, was to receive the first mortal shot when he entered the house and tried to disarm one of the three men found there. The next to be wounded was the Sub-Inspector of Police conducting the search.

On the other side, mortally wounded was Tarini who was removed to the Mitford Hospital to die within a few hours. Nalini was so seriously wounded that he died the next day, June 16, 1918, in the same hospital. The same day Patiram also died. The Sub-Inspector ultimately got round. The third man in the besieged house was taken a captive.

Both Tarini and Nalini had long records of service and of facing danger in the past. When the police had been very active in Bengal, the revolutionaries found Assam to be a comparatively safer place and some wended there to find out a shelter. Gradually Gauhati became one of the centres for resting their heads in temporary peace.

One shelter having been found insufficient for the purpose, the fugitives selected two houses one at Atgaon, very close to the jail on its eastern side, the other at Fancybazar. On January 7, 1918, the police raided the Atgaon house at about 3-30 at night when shots were exchanged between the revolutionaries and the police. Any way, the attacked men were able to escape none being arrested at the place. Emerging out of the haunt, they took shelter in Nabagraha Hill in Assam.

The police agents were able to discover this place and on January 10, 1918, a large number of policemen appeared on the scene at about 2 p.m. when the fugitives had just been getting ready for their meals.

There was a fight between the two parties. The police could realise from the gradual infrequency of firing from the other side that the stock of ammunition had been running short with them. The police began to tighten up the cordon around the fighting men. Nalini Kanta Bagchi was one of those so trapped. He stood by the side of the leader absolutely undaunted and got himself prepared to meet the same fate with the leader.

Nalini was at the time deemed a very important unit in the organisation working in secret. The leader commanded Nalini

to withdraw and retire to a place of safety while he would hold the police at bay.

Nalini was able, eminently resourceful as he was, to get out of the difficult situation just to die on June 16, 1918, as a result of an open fight for which he was destined.

Tarini had long been on the list of suspects and he was 'wanted' by the police most resolutely. But he had always succeeded in evading arrest since 1916, when efforts for his apprehension were greatly intensified.

Tarini was entrapped by the police in a shelter in Comilla. He successfully managed to get out of the trap with a revolver and a pistol in his hand which he had in his possession at the time. He was once surrounded by the police in his residence at Kansaripara, Bhawanipore, in Calcutta and there was absolutely no chance for escape for any other man. He took a leap from the roof of the first floor of the house and got one of his legs fractured. His ingenuity did not abandon him in physical pain and imminent danger of arrest. He used his lameness most efficiently at the time. He tore to tatters his wearing cloth and within a few minutes changed himself into a lame beggar and passed through the cordon without exciting any the least suspicion in the minds of so many policemen who had come there with such elaborate arrangements for his arrest.

Pursuing his secret itinerary Tarini reached his destination at Kaltabazar on June 15, 1918, where he fought so valiantly and died like a hero.

Thus closed an eventful career of two friends who had been clinging together in the midst of extreme danger almost throughout their political career and passed together to the realm of the unknown in the closest embrace in the service of the Motherland.

Culpable Homicide

(1918)

A brilliant student of the Calcutta University, a gold medallist in M.A., Examiner in Mathematics of the Calcutta University, MANINDRA NATH SETH, became the Vice-Principal of the Daulatpur Academy in 1916. When the Rangpur College was started he secured in May 1917, the senior professorship in his subject and resigned his post in 'the Academy'. When going to join his duties in June 1917, he was prevented by the Magistrate-Secretary on the ground that he had some secret reports against the Professor supplied by the police and he could not be allowed to join his new position. He was just offered a month's salary, the most gracious act that the Secretary could do for the aggrieved person.

Manindra saw the Political Secretary towards the middle of July 1917, in Darjeeling, where he had gone to plead for his brother, Sachin, an internee, and also to explain his own peculiar position. Asked as to how he could make his living, Manindra was naively told :

"Well, standing on the bank how can I tell you what course the river will take? Babu, you ought to thank yourself that you are not interned." (*The Amrita Basar Patrika*, January 25, 1918).

Manindra was now faced with a serious predicament. It was difficult for him to try for any job far away from home because he had to look after his two younger brothers, aged 12 and 10, respectively, orphaned by the death of the parents with nobody to take charge of them in his absence. In the circumstances, it was absolutely necessary that Sachin should be released or, in the alternative, given a home domicile.

But Fate ordained otherwise. The prophetic words of the Political Secretary came to be true very shortly. Manindra was arrested on August 28, 1917, and removed to the Presidency Jail, Calcutta, where he was kept with undertrials of all sorts not excluding lunatics.

To a fine gentleman of high education and culture, and endowed with fine sense and sensibility, the arrest and stay with

such undesirables were a great shock to him inasmuch as the thought of his two helpless brothers at home told seriously upon his mental and physical health. The result was disastrous. The Superintendent of the Jail on September 11, 1917, reported to the Government that the prisoner "was under observation for symptoms of insanity."

An order for internment was passed hurriedly on Sept. 26, 1917, against which the jail report went to the effect that "he was dangerous". The treatment that these men imprisoned without trial received at the hands of the authorities was evident from the fact that just after a month, October 28 to be precise, the report that emanated from the jail was that "he was not insane but was responsible for his action," and that "tuberculosis was suspected."

A further order for his domicile was passed on November 4, 1917, and the unfortunate man was removed to the house of an unwilling relative in Calcutta. The condition grew critical and on the second day, *i.e.*, the 6th, the internec had to be removed to the Medical College Hospital in haste.

The Professor, a bachelor about whom the opinion of the Daulatpur people was that "Manindra devoted his heart and soul for the cause of suffering humanity; an ideal teacher in the field of education, who tried his utmost to effect the moral regeneration of the student community. He was loved and respected by every one; and was a friend of the needy", was at his journey's end. To the great relief of the Government, the victim breathed his last at 10-30 p.m. on January 16, 1918, in the Calcutta Medical College, with the last words that related to his helpless brothers' fate, while surrounded by watchers, guards and police officials.

Exasperation

(1918)

Education, culture, social standing, family relations, etc., were no bar to a young man coming within the fold of a revolutionary organisation and inviting the attention of the police with its attendant evils. A note from a correspondent was published in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* on June 25, 1918, to the effect that a sad event had taken place in the Rajshahi Jail at 11 p.m. on June 17, when "a Kayestha, an inhabitant of Mymensingh, an M.A. of the Calcutta University, had committed suicide by besmearing his clothing in kerosene oil and setting fire to it." Nobody could ascribe any reasons for this dastardly act but the fact was there that a valuable life of bright promise was lost in the British prison kept indefinitely without trial.

The conditions in certain jails were such that a number of prisoners had laid violent hands on themselves, turned mad, released just to die or rendered a lifelong physical wreck. The newspaper could not publish the name at the time, such publication in respect of political prisoners being controlled by a Government verbal ukase.

On July 4, 1918, replying to a question put by a member of the Legislative Council, the Home Member disclosed the name of the unfortunate man as RASIK SARKAR and no further detail was vouchsafed.

Step by Step

(1918)

Recklessness is one of the virtues of a revolutionary confronted with contending forces, the family and the country, each claiming priority. Working intimately with the group hauled up in the Benares Conspiracy Case, SUSHEEL CHANDRA LAHIRI, of Madanpura, Benares, a science graduate of the Calcutta University, somehow escaped through sheer luck being embroiled in the said trial. The police had, however, been keeping a close watch on his movements and effected arrest on February 21, 1918, at

Lucknow. After a search of his residence a tin containing two revolvers and in his neighbour's room 200 live cartridges were found.

In the meantime Vinayak Rao Kaple, *alias* Satyen, *alias Barra Babu*, once an important member of a political organisation in Bengal and accused of rank defection, was found dead as the result of a bullet wound in Ghasiari Mandi, Lucknow, on February 9, 1918.

A case was started under Section 20 of the Indian Arms Act and on May 6, 1918, the accused, Sushil, was sentenced to a term of five years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1000.

The prisoner appealed before the Judicial Commissioner, Oudh, on May 29, and July 29, was fixed for the hearing. The appeal was dismissed outright.

The police did not relax their efforts to find out somebody responsible for the murder of Kaple. After investigation a case was started against Sushil, while in prison, with another *in absentia*, as the persons suspected of the assassination. After the usual judicial enquiry Sushil was committed to the Sessions on July 17, 1918, with the other, an absconding accused in the Benares Conspiracy Case. The Magistrate in the course of his commitment order stated that "the cartridges found in his house were of the same make and pattern as an empty one found on the spot where Vinayak Kaple fell". Charges were framed under Section 302 and 114 I.P.C. and 211(1) Cr. P. C.

Sushil was sentenced to death by the Sessions Court on August 11, 1918. The accused declined to make any statement in self-defence and received the sentence absolutely unperturbed.

The judgment was confirmed by the Judicial Commissioner, Oudh, and his term of imprisonment for five years remained unserved by his untimely exit from the world in October, 1918. Unto the last he maintained equanimity of his mind. He bathed in the morning in water brought from the Ganges, and performed the morning rituals of a devout Brahmin. Then he proceeded unflinching and ascended the steps leading to the gallows with dignity and firmness befitting a hero who had staked everything for independence of his country. The last words in his mouth was *Bande Mataram*, with the noose closely tightening against his throat.

Woeful Exit

(1918)

Like so many hundreds of young men in Bengal, SATYENDRA CHANDRA SARKAR, a lad in his teens, was arrested and after a prison life was interned at Chhougacha, a village in the Jessore district. While passing through all the travails of a detenu's life, hapless Satyendra was one day bitten by a rabid dog in May 1918. His only luck was that he was given some sort of medical aid which was usually denied to most of them. He was sent to Shillong for treatment and stayed there up to June 9, 1918. He then had to go back to his domicile.

In about four months after his return he suddenly fell very seriously ill on October 1, and a message to the effect was sent to the headquarters. In such cases the machinery moves very slow and before any succour came the lad died on the next day at 1 p.m. of hydrophobia. It can be surmised that due to violence of the symptoms of the disease, which Satyen manifested in their worst forms, no care could be taken of the patient as those who would brave the consequence were far far away from the place. No tear was shed on the corpse which was disposed of in what manner nobody knows.

Age not Spared

(1918)

In its mad orgy of indiscriminate arrests and internments the Government of Bengal did not allow peace even to men advanced in age and leading a retired life. SARADA KANTA CHAKRABARTI of Naldanga, Rangpur, an affluent man of 60, made Benares his home for a fairly long time before he was arrested on September 23, 1917. He used to devote most of his time in religious pursuits and out of generosity of his heart would help a number of young men with money for their studies or to maintain the family of the indigent. One by one each of these boys was arrested and thrown into prison.

The old man was forthwith removed to Calcutta after arrest and despatched to Alfadanga, an extremely unhealthy place in Jessore district. He was attacked with malaria almost within a week of his arrival, and because of his age could ill stand its ravages. The allowance that was granted to him was absolutely insufficient for a man who had seen better days and would request his relations every month to supplement his income. He was so afraid of the insalubrity of the place that he would request everybody expressing his desire to see him, not to visit him on any account. The letters that he used to write carried the news of his failing health and in respect of the last letter, it was apparent that he had taken the help of others to scribble out his correspondence. There was natural anxiety in the minds of his relations who sent successive pre-paid telegrams to the Officer-in-charge of the Police Station to ascertain the correct position. One of the rare replies dated December 4, 1918, disclosed that the internee had died on November 30, and this could happen under a civilised Government!

Criminal Negligence

(1918)

At Egra in Midnapore there was no qualified medical man, a big area being served by a gentleman who happened to be a student of the Cuttack Medical School, never obtaining a diploma and another who was a half-qualified veterinary doctor. In such a place a valuable life was kept in detention only to die of sheer neglect and callous indifference.

The victim, KUMUD BANDHU BHATTACHARYA, who, if allowed the choice, might have preferred outright execution, was kept in detention in 1916, with a meagre subsistence allowance which seldom could meet his wants. Due to extreme unhealthiness of the place he was a regular sufferer from malarial fever, a grievance which he brought before the authorities in all possible ways.

His case became desperate by December 1918, and not only his but representation of a Head Constable stationed in charge

of him in the absence of the Sub-Inspector, to the District Superintendent of Police went unheeded and the bright young boy died under the treatment of two medical men who in civilized countries would not be allowed to take charge of animals not to speak of human lives. The boy breathed his last unattended on December 15, 1918, with nobody to mourn over his demise nearby.

Elusive Figure

(1918)

Better known as GIRIJA BABU in the revolutionary world, NAGENDRA NATH DATTA, before getting into vortex of politics, received his early training in social services from his father. When others would be reluctant to come forward for the seriousness of the disease and chances of infection, the patient was sure to see the sympathetic face of Nagendra's father, a lawyer of repute, at his bedside.

When barely fourteen or fifteen he asked one of his playmates to bring his father's revolver so that they may gain some experience in handling fire-arms. Just in a fun he aimed the revolver at his friend and pulled the trigger and as there was no cartridge in that barrel, nothing happened. His turn came but the other barrel had a live cartridge left in it and as soon as his friend fired, the bullet passed through one of Nagendra's thighs which took a long time to heal.

When studying law at Sunamganj, Sylhet, Nagendra Nath took active part in the Anti-Partition movement. He joined the *Anusilan Samiti* and started a branch at the place. He put zest into the organisation which was weakened by the arrest of its leaders. He did not take a long time to attract the attention of the police and had to leave the place for a bigger field of activity.

He came in close contact with Rash Behari Bose and was known to be his right-hand man in his stupendous organisational work extending over a large part of northern India. After Rash Behari had left India, Nagendra Nath struggled hard to maintain solidarity amongst different small groups scattered over a wide

area. He fondly expected that Rash Behari would manage to smuggle arms into India or would come personally with sufficient weapons to complete the unfinished mission.

Girija Babu accompanied Rash Behari during his itinerary through police cordon up to the harbour when Rash Behari boarded the ship in Calcutta in April, 1914.

Before leaving India Rash Behari issued instructions to his followers to work under Girija Babu and another leader so that during his absence the organisation could maintain its perfect form.

Though his intimacy with Rash Behari was rather for a short period, Girija enjoyed, through sincerity, selflessness, intelligence and tact, the greatest confidence of the former and was recognised by the leader as a 'type' by himself.

Girija was arrested in 1915, and was made an accused in the Benares Conspiracy Case. His name also figured prominently in the Delhi and Lahore Conspiracy Cases, but it was convenient for the Government to rope him in the Benares Case. He was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment. He was attacked with dysentery in the jail and as a result of a most perfunctory treatment, he expired sometime in 1918, in the Agra jail.

At Supreme Risk (1919)

On the day of the incident, May 9, 1918, a passenger got down from the train at a station in Kishoreganj, Mymensingh, with a bundle in his arm. A constable charged with keeping a watch over all suspects passing through the railway station approached the unknown passenger and wanted to make a search of his belongings. He was allowed to do so. While engaged in his work the owner of the bundle whipped out a revolver and fired at the constable, Prasanna Nandi.

A quantity of ammunition and some implements helpful for political operations were found in the bundle. The culprit ran away and the wounded constable was removed to the hospital in a serious condition where he succumbed to his injuries.

As a Last Resort

(1919)

Amongst many instances of brutal heartlessness and rank irresponsibility the case of MAKHAN LAL GHOSH of Alambazar, a suburb of Calcutta, a mere boy of fifteen and a student of a local school, occupies a peculiarly significant position. Makhan was arrested in the second week of March, 1916, and was prosecuted for complicity in a dacoity case. He was discharged by the Magistrate, but re-arrested under the Defence of India Act and was removed to the Presidency Jail where he was kept in a solitary cell for over a month.

He was then interned at Kalchini, an unhealthy village in the Jalpaiguri district. He fell seriously ill and was removed to the Alipore Jail. Before he could fully recover he was transferred to the Hugli Jail where he remained for over a year. Midnapore Jail was his next shelter where he could scarcely maintain his health.

Next he was sent to the Hazaribagh Jail where he began feeling a little better. Like a kitten carried by the mother cat, Makhan was ordered to proceed to Taldangra in the district of Bankura. His thatched dark dingy abode resembled a veritable death-trap. The area was extremely unhealthy and was infested with poisonous snakes. On his representation the Superintendent of Police visited the place only to abuse him for his complaints and went away administering a sound advice to put up with whatever had been provided by the benign Government. It was impossible for him to stay there any longer; he crossed the boundary of his domicile against internment rules and offered for arrest at the Sadar Police Station.

Instead of proceeding against him in a court of law the internee was forced to go back to Taldangra again where he started a hunger strike. His condition became alarming and he was hurriedly removed to the Bankura Hospital where he resumed taking food.

The scene changed and Makhan was sent to Ondal where he was attacked with cholera. His mother was permitted to look

after his ailing son reaching the place on March 15, 1918. He had scarcely come round when a fresh order was passed asking him to see the Deputy Superintendent of Police of Burdwan. His mother left for her home and the unfortunate lad proceeded towards Burdwan as directed.

No further news were available for over a fortnight and the distracted father tried every means to explore the whereabouts of his son. At long last he was informed that his son had been interned at Maheskhali in Chittagong. Makhan's miseries increased hundred-fold as he communicated to his mother in three successive letters. The last letter written on December 29, 1919, contained that he would "let you know all in time".

A correspondence from the Government dated January 7, 1920, to Makhan's father intimated him that "the Government learn with much regret of the death by suicide of Makhan Lal Ghosh of Maheskhali on the 29th December, 1919, and desire to express their sympathy with his family."

People were left guessing whether it was really a case of death by suicide or the result of snake-bite, malady or assault by the police.

Flare-up in Manipur

(1917-1918)

After the last trouble in 1890-1891, there were no outward signs of the major conflict with British authority in Manipur but the fire was never completely extinguished, it simply smouldered. With the wind of fresh incursion on what the Kukis and Nagas of Manipur thought to be their exclusive right of peaceful existence the fire burst out into flame in a most unexpected manner.

In 1917, during the World War I, the British Government wanted to raise a corps from the people of Manipur to work behind the lines in France. The people, at least a very large section of them composed of the Kukis and Nagas, openly signified their resentment and some of the Chiefs not only resisted the attempt at recruitment themselves but prevented others from helping the outsiders.

Frustrated in every way the Political Agent at Manipur marched in October 1917, with a fairly big party to Mobi, a largely populated Naga village, with the object of capturing Ngulkhup, the Chief, and failing in his attempt put the entire village on fire.

In the meantime the Chins in Burma rose in rebellion which added strength to the Manipuri fighters. They tried to storm the Government headquarters at Manipur in a great force. At Ukha, another village, the Government troops met with stiff resistance and lost a large number of sepoy from the fire discharged by the Kukis from their jungle haunts.

Emboldened by the success they simultaneously attacked a Captain of the Army and also the Political Agent with his party both of whom narrowly escaped with their lives. In revenge, Ukha was reduced to ashes. Several other hostile villages were ransacked ruthlessly and wiped out of existence. Instead of being intimidated or dismayed the Kukis' redoubled their attack and actually raided the Manipur outpost at Tengnoupal, killing the havildar and a number of his men. All communications were disrupted and it seemed that at least for the time being the rebels were having their day of rejoicing.

The Government came to realise the seriousness of the situation. Two strong columns of Assam Rifles were despatched against the rebellious Chiefs in the Southern and Northern Hills while the Government of Burma was ordered to send troops to co-operate with the advancing columns of the Indian army. In addition, the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills marched against the Kuki villages situated near the border of his district.

Confronted with heavy odds of trained men armed with the modern weapons, Kukis retreated to the interior of the jungles. The reprisal was brutal; village after village was looted and completely destroyed by fire; property of any worth was removed from the Naga homes.

But in another sector the rebels met with a good deal of success. The escort of the Captain and two riflemen were killed; several others of the party were more or less seriously wounded.

In February 1918, the Naga Hills column was operating very hard but had to be re-inforced by another column from Silchar to help in the march to Imphal and to restore disturbed communications.

It was difficult by itself to face the onslaughts of the redoubtable Kuki and Naga heroes with "their characteristic fighting tactics in the terrain marked by steep and jungle-clad hills." It was a huge task for the British Indian soldiers to bring to bay enemies "that fired at the approaching force and disappeared without waiting for a counter-attack".

The reprisals were intensified not only by destroying village after village, removing every article of use, all forms of sustenance, food of every kind, but also by "harrying that prevents them from cultivating". The number of combatants and army units were increased and co-operation between the forces of the two columns of the Government of Assam and that of Burma was better organised.

The particular revolt of the dauntless Kukis and Nagas was suppressed ultimately, but their spirit could never be coerced into submission. The attempt to bring the Kukis and their neighbours of the hill into service of the War ended in a dismal failure. (Source: *Government Communique* issued on February 21, 1918).

Punjab in Flames

(1919)

Strictly speaking the convulsion that rocked Punjab in 1919 with all the horrors and sufferings to the people of the unfortunate Province does not suitably fit in with the scheme that has been followed in this book.

From the point of view of a violent national awakening of the masses with all its terrible consequences, to the Indians and to some non-official Europeans, the disorders commencing with the passage of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act (popularly known as 'the Rowlatt Act') had never been surpassed in India. But this outburst had been lacking in the essentials of a revolutionary organisation working in secret with the avowed object of making an alien rule impossible through the use of arms and assumption of power from the unwilling hands of the foreigners. It was an open mass movement with complete knowledge of the consequences to the participants. But its treatment is relevant in the sense that the Act was aimed at the revolutionary movement which was apprehended to raise its ugly head, because "the very important powers which have enabled the public peace and order to be preserved during the War will shortly come to an end."

The Punjab conflagration started with a spark seemingly innocuous engulfing in its course a very large part of the Province with the suddenness of lightning. The whole affair had had no previous preparedness, unlike the under-ground movement, just exploding on an issue not guessed before. It created a vicious circle of violence met by counter-violence on both sides.

The administration of Martial Law removed all vestiges of civilised Government from the three districts whereon it was clapped. The trials that were held under its regime surpassed the terror of a mass massacre of a bloody heartless marauder.

In the pages of the history of India, the Punjab episode would occupy a prominent place because it contributed in a large measure to the growth of a most bitter feeling throughout the country against the Government and helped in preparing the soil for lusty

growth of the revolutionary sentiments at the time and thereafter in the thirties of the present century.

The Government wanted to supplement the ordinary criminal law against revolutionary crimes and introduced two Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council on February 6, 1919. The aim of the measure was "to supplement the ordinary criminal law and for the exercise of emergency powers by the Government." The Act held in its various sections provision for the arrest and confinement without assigning any reason and speedy rough and ready trial with no right of appeal.

On February 28, 1919, Gandhiji declared from Bombay that the Bills showed a deep-seated disease in the governing body which should be first removed. The Bills were, however, passed into law on March 18, 1919, at the teeth of public opposition both inside and outside the House.

The country did not take the challenge lying down. The law was declared as "highly inexpedient and injurious to the best interests of the country". To register his active protest Gandhiji resorted to a twenty-four hours' fasting on March 24. It was decided to observe March 30, as a day of mourning and humiliation throughout the country.

The simmering discontent burst out into flame. A serious riot broke out in Delhi on April 1, 1919. Several persons were killed and wounded from firing resorted to by the police for preventing molestation of men unwilling to participate in the protest meetings and or closing down of shops and business organisations.

On April 9, Gandhiji started for Delhi from Bombay. On April 10, he was served with a notice while travelling by the Up Bombay-Baroda and Central India train at Kosi Kalan Station forbidding him to enter that Province. He was taken down from the train and removed to Muttra. He was further ordered by the Delhi and the Punjab authorities not to enter the areas under the administration of both. Gandhiji disobeyed and proceeded to Palwal Station, Gurgaon district. He was arrested and ordered to remain in Bombay and not to go anywhere else. On April 10, 1919, Gandhiji issued a message to his countrymen saying that "it was galling to remain free while the Rowlatt legislations disfigured the Statute Book". A few front rank Punjab leaders were arrested on the same day.

Delhi declared a general strike on April 10, due to Gandhiji's arrest. Serious riots broke out in Lahore and Amritsar. As usual police came out in large numbers fully armed and firings were resorted to in several places killing a large number of people.

On April 11, 1919, Gandhiji returned to Bombay and addressed a very big public meeting. In other parts of the city violence took place followed by police firing.

On April 12, meetings and processions were organised in Calcutta and the mob went out of control within a very short time.

At Lahore, disturbances of a very alarming nature occurred and four Europeans associated with business houses were murdered by the frenzied mob.

On April 13, 1919, was perpetrated the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. The incident as described by Dyer himself, the 'hero' of the outrage, before the Punjab Disorders Enquiry Committee (Hunter Committee) on November 19, 1919, was of a nature that history has no parallel.

Dyer said in his evidence :

He arrived at Amritsar in the evening of 11th April, 1919. Requested by the Deputy Commissioner he assumed the command. He understood that roughly the position was that civil law was at an end and military law would have to take its place. It was an extraordinary situation and he justified in taking over when the civil authorities asked him to do so without any Acts and Regulations in support.

He mentioned that disturbed state also existed in places outside Amritsar.

He maintained that the Jallianwala Bagh firing was justified. He had been telling the people by proclamation not to hold meetings and they defied his authority. He felt that his orders were not obeyed. Martial Law had been flouted and it was his duty to disperse the crowd by rapid fire.

He had already made up his mind and opened fire immediately ; he got his men in position and did not think any warning necessary. He did not think it necessary to consult the Deputy Commissioner in the absence of regular proclamation of a Martial Law; moreover, there was no Deputy Commissioner present.

He thought it his duty to go on firing until the whole crowd dispersed. A little firing would have dispersed the crowd for

the time being but they would have come back again and he would have made a fool of himself. He thought there was an attempt to isolate him. The situation was serious and he considered the Amritsar mob as rebels. He looked upon the Jallianwala Bagh shooting a duty horrible duty.

Mr. Justice Rankin (a Commissioner): „Excuse me putting it that way, General, but was it not rather a form of frightfulness!

General Dyer: No. It was not. It was a horrible duty I had to perform. I think it was a merciful act. I thought that I should shoot well and strong so that I or anybody else would not have to shoot again. If I had the right to fire one shot, I had the right to fire a lot of rounds. I arrived at the logical conclusion that I must disperse the crowd who had defied the arm of the law. There was no middle course. The one thing was force.

It was his opinion that it did a jolly lot of good.

Asked if he did not think it a disservice to the British Raj, witness replied in the negative and said that what he did was right and they ought to be thankful for it.

Question: After firing took place did you take any measures to attend to the wounded?

Answer: No. Certainly not. It was not my job. The hospitals were open and they could have gone there.

Question: Was the action of yours which as we know has resulted in four or five hundred people being killed approved by the Punjab Government?

Answer: I believe so, certainly.

In its attempt to maintain the peace and tranquillity of the land, the Government deemed it necessary to introduce a law which was subversive of the first principles of liberty of a free citizen. It generated the most resolute opposition from the leaders and the masses alike and produced an effect contrary to the aims and objects of the Government.

The outrage of April 13, exasperated the nation and instead of bringing the infuriated people under control, it made them absolutely unmindful of grim fate that awaited them. On April 15, Punjab was "in a state of open rebellion". At Lahore aeroplanes bombed and machine-gunned rioters. Civil rule was given a go-by and the districts of Gujranwala, Lahore and Amritsar were placed under Martial Law.

Under the new regime men, mostly innocent, were stripped

naked and flogged in the streets with hands and legs tied to stands set up for the purpose. The rumour of three or four men succumbing to the effects of flogging was denied by the Government which stated that only thirty-two persons had been flogged in three districts from April 15 to May 15, 1919, "the average number of stripes administered being only eleven".

Thousands of students were forced to walk sixteen miles a day for roll calls; students and professors, numbering hundreds were arrested and detained. School children, between five and seven, were compelled to attend parade and salute the flag.

Owners of property were ordered to bear the responsibility for safety of the Martial Law posters stuck up on their property.

An entire marriage party, without having the least knowledge of any provisions of the Martial Law, was flogged publicly.

Six boys of the Islamia School, simply because they happened to be big, were flogged and no other reasons were adduced anywhere.

To humiliate the people, open cages were constructed and placed in central places where arrested men, some very respectable, were confined like so many ferocious animals.

Novel punishments like the crawling order, the skipping order and others unknown and undreamt of in any law, civil or military, were freely practised on the innocent and the guilty alike. Persons were handcuffed and roped together and kept on open trucks for fifteen hours or more at a stretch under scorching rays of the summer Punjab sun. Hindus and Muslims were handcuffed in pairs with the object of demonstrating the consequences of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Hostages were enforced and property confiscated or destroyed for the purpose of securing the attendance of absentees. A very large number of Indian houses were deprived of electric connections and water supply system was disconnected as a sort of punishment. Indians were forcibly evacuated from their own houses to make room for Europeans. Indian vehicles were commandeered and the same put to the use of Europeans.

Aeroplanes, Lewis guns and the latest paraphernalia of scientific warfare were paraded before an unarmed population to demonstrate the might of the British Raj.

Steps were taken hurriedly to dispose of the cases against

alleged offenders to forestall the termination of the Martial Law period. Military Courts were set up at several places which tried 852 men of whom 582 were convicted. Scores of men were condemned to death, a good number of whom were executed.

These are specimens of the steps taken by O'Dwyer and Dyer to make India safe for Britain. As to how far they had succeeded in their attempt only history bears the unimpeachable evidence. And O'Dwyer could not escape retribution in his turn.

Dogged by Misfortune

(1917-1920)

When thought of independence is in the air nobody knows how it would influence an individual and bestir him into action. The Mainpuri Conspiracy does not seem to have any connection either with Bengal, U. P. or Punjab revolutionaries; it was in this respect may be said to be of independent origin.

The prime mover who conceived the idea of revolutionary action was one GENDALAL DIXIT hailing from Auriya. He had been a teacher in Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School for some time.

He founded the *Shivaji samiti* in honour of the great hero, so that its members may follow the ideal of his life and methods of action.

At the early stage of his political career he tried to propagate his ideas amongst the educated and well-to-do people who, he thought, would from their knowledge of political serfdom of the country and freedom from worries of day-to-day living, join hands with him. The response to his approach was rather discouraging but he did not lose heart. He directed his attention towards desperate men, the robbers of the Gwalior State, who did little care for themselves not excluding life.

Gendalal once tried to enlist himself in the army but was refused. He used to say that the war that had started was going badly for the English and it was an opportune moment for the people to rise in revolt.

In the fulfilment of his mission he came to Gwalior where he met in 1917, Lachmananand Brahmachari, as he was called, who

had for long maintained patriotic sentiments in his mind. There was a complete understanding between the two and Gendalal busied himself in organising patriotic societies for the furtherance of his mission. At different places in U.P. organisations grew up with membership drawn from younger section showing promise and expressing sympathy for the cause.

He began preaching the idea of revolution and told the new recruits that he had joined a society of very able men who were prepared to sacrifice their lives. The society, as Gendalal would say, had four sections dealing with (i) Secret Service; (ii) Enlistment in the Army and learning the use of arms; (iii) Collection of money; and (iv) Propagation of the objective of the Society through literature.

Gendalal took upon himself the task of collecting arms at the initial stage and he was to some extent successful. With the arms thus secured he would teach trainees at Para in shooting. Not content with this he went to Calcutta to learn bomb-making from experts but failed to establish contact with any of them.

When Gendalal and Lachmananand had been able to form a nucleus they began to feel the want of daring men who would be prepared for any contingency. At this juncture they met Panchama Singh, leader of a big band of desperadoes who had courage, men and arms. They agreed to work together and soon selected men who were capable of quick action over distant areas. Gendalal put himself in charge of the United Provinces.

The whole operation was divided among three different groups one of which was under the leadership of Lachmananand. Dacoities were committed at Mainpuri, Etawah, Auriya, Sandhakhera, Para, etc., and the party became bolder with each adventure.

The Government now realised the gravity of the situation created by Gendalal. On January 31, 1918, a large number of Gendalal's party-men had assembled in a jungle in Bhind, Gwalior. A very big force of armed police, on the information of a traitor, surrounded them. It was the plan of the Government force to wait till dawn when action would be taken. Somebody amongst the policemen coughed; Gendalal's party became alert and immediately started firing. There was a heavy exchange of shots resulting in serious casualties on both sides. Gendalal lost eight men through death and about twenty-five others suffered

serious injuries. The Brahmachari was killed and Gendalal lost the sight of one eye in the encounter.

Gendalal was arrested; in his possession were found two maps, one of the Mainpuri district, a note book and some other papers. After taking stock of the situation and having realised that the approvers enjoyed a great latitude in their movements, Gendalal assumed an air of surrender and expressed his eagerness to help the Government in the impending trial against the accused.

Gendalal was able to allay all suspicion in the minds of the guards and because of his more frequent meetings with high Government officers, who came to him for information, he was allowed to move rather freely than was usual in case of under-trials. With the advantage thus secured Gendalal made good his escape from the jail never to be arrested alive.

A big conspiracy case was started on February 13, 1919, under Sections 121-A, 120-B etc. I.P.C., against twenty-seven persons of whom nine were absconders including Gendalal. Shiu Krishna, the right-hand man of Gendalal was charged with preparing literature of highly seditious nature and was said to have exhorted his fellow men to gain physical fitness, money and arms "to drive out the deceitful English out of India".

The case was sent to the Sessions for trial on May 18, 1919, and the trial started at Mainpuri on June 3, 1919. While the trial was in progress the principal accused, Shiu Krishna, escaped from prison on June 5, 1919, by cutting the bar of the barrack grating adjacent to his bed. He climbed over the intervening wall into the garden of the jail. From the garden he scaled the outer wall and proceeded in the direction of Boregaon. He was successful in evading arrest and judgment was passed on July 27, 1919, against Gendalal and Shiu Krishna *in absentia* as also against others who were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Gendalal, the hero, had to pass his days underground and suffered incalculable privations during the period of his absconding itinerary. In the last days of his life he reached a temple in Delhi in a desperate condition. He wrote a letter to a friend who came with Gendalal's wife for his nursing. To his disconsolate friend he said that there was no cause for sorrow as he had reached the straits in serving the Motherland. He would be happily departing in the thought that he had done his humble duty to his country.

He consoled his wife by saying that there were hundreds of thousands of helpless widows who had none to look after them. She should deem herself fortunate if her husband died in his efforts to see the Motherland free. It was a great source of grief to him that he had to leave the world without fulfilling the mission of his life.

The patient was removed with great difficulty to a hospital, and before his identity could be established, he breathed his last at 2 p.m. on December 27, 1920. (Source: *Biplabi Bangali*, October 2, 1959, pp. 601-698; Chatterji, J. C.: *Uttar Pradesiya ek biplabi netar smritikatha*.)

Stormy Petrel

(1903-1922)

More as an earnest student than on any political mission, VEERENDRA NATH CHATTOPADHYAYA, started for Europe in 1903 with a Bachelor's Degree from an Indian University. While a student of the Middle Temple Inns of Court, Veerendra was expelled in 1910 from the institution due to his association with the revolutionaries then residing in the United Kingdom.

He was drawn towards Shyamaji Krishnavarma and assisted him in publishing *The Indian Sociologist*.

In 1906 he met Kamil Pasha, the undisputed leader of the Young Turks, then in England, and sought his help in the people's attempt in driving out the English from India.

Veerendra was present at the International Socialist Conference at Stuttgart, Germany, and through his journey to Cracow (Poland), and Warsaw he became intimately acquainted with the contributor to the *Talwar* an anti-British paper in Europe.

In 1908, he visited Ireland and in 1909, went over to Paris to join the 'Bande Mataram' group of Madam Cama working there in the interests of India. In 1910, he became a regular contributor to the *Talwar*.

He tried to establish contact with the revolutionary parties of Russia, Ireland and particularly with the Riffs of Morocco to gain

military experience which he thought would be very helpful to Indian fighters for freedom.

In 1919 (July 9), he expressed his views in *The Times* (London) to the effect that though he was anxious to obliterate terrorism, he could not conscientiously help the British Government to suppress it as he was firmly convinced of their wrong policy. He further hinted that the catalogue of assassination would be a larger one and that the responsibility would be at the door of those who instead of espousing the cause of India's freedom wish to hold the British interests in India.

He became alert when the diplomatic relations between the two major European countries became strained in the early part of 1914, and he moved to Germany to advance India's cause by writing tracts in Hindi, Urdu and other Indian languages for a publishing firm that had promised support to Indian aspiration. Veerendra was one of the founders of the Berlin Committee and happened to be its first Secretary.

He managed to go over to Russia after the World War I in 1922, where he died, it is alleged under mysterious circumstances. No further news relating to him were available thereafter.

CHAPTER FIVE

FERMENT IN THE FAR EAST

(1912-1917)

Zalun or Myoka Rebellion

(1912-1913)

The first concerted action on the part of the patriots of Burma after the great Burmese War was the Zalun or Myoka Rebellion of 1913. In 1912 preparations were secretly made by a band of youngmen to strike against the Government at a particular place, and everything going on well, to encourage uprisings at different places. The plan was to attack Zalun on September 18, 1912, and to hold on as long as possible against the Government forces. At the first signs of the rebellion military force was rushed to the field of action and the rebels had to retire after suffering severe loss in life.

The police and the military were despatched to search the neighbouring places to find out the rest of the participants of the fight. They were successful in capturing the two leaders of the group, GAMON SAYA *alias* Po Mya and his lieutenant MYA HPORNGYI (Hrongyi) *alias* U Wethedda in the course of the screening of the area.

On March 14, 1913, the two arrested persons together with a large number of their followers numbering about fifteen were placed on trial before the Sessions Judge, Henzada, and were sentenced to death.

Others belonging to the group, about fifteen in number, were tried by the Sessions Court for conspiracy and or participating in the risings and ten of them were awarded capital punishment. On appeal to the Higher Court the sentences of eight were reduced to transportation for life.

Thus ended one of the earliest attempts to rise in rebellion

against the Government in an organised manner. Unfortunately, the names of the rebels are not available.

Burma Conspiracy

(1915)

The revolutionary stirrings in India did not fail to influence the tenor of Burmese political life in a considerable degree. There had been no time when Burma was completely free from attempts, however feeble, to drive away the foreigners and to revive kingship in their ancient land.

The first organised effort by the Indian revolutionaries to introduce sedition and something more became noticeable during the World War I and contact was firmly established between the two countries through secret channel. Taking advantage of the War and war preparations, the Indian revolutionaries made serious attempts at establishing centres in and outside India, and Burma was reckoned by them as a convenient place not up to then turned very much into a beehive of the police and its spies.

In Burma, the main programme in 1914, was to cause defection in and stir up mutiny among the military forces thereby making the overthrow of the Government possible from inside its own ranks.

There had been Bengali revolutionaries in Burma a few years before the World War I who had been establishing contact with the local people for the dissemination of ideas subversive of Government authority through literature and holding public meetings wherever possible.

Arrival of seasoned revolutionaries and literature from the U.S.A. added strength to the hands that had been silently working against odds. Gradually infiltration of a larger number through the eastern borders brought together a band of young men of exceptional ability, resourcefulness and culture with whom no risk was too great where the freedom of the country was concerned. The main stream of revolutionary ideas flowed from the organisation in U.S.A., the *Ghadr* party, and its members entered Burma from the Far Eastern countries especially through Thailand (Siam) and the movement got its support from its headquarters in Bangkok.

The mouthpiece of the movement was the *Ghadr* newspaper which was sent free to all Indians, especially to those residing at Bangkok. More copies than one were sent to the same person subscribing to the idea with a request to the reader that his copy should be passed on to others after he had finished with it.

One of the recipients of such bundles was 'Arya Prince Charlie at Bangkok', a assumed name no doubt, and his share used to be a roll comprising fifty copies of each issue which were meant obviously for distribution.

Gradually censorship was introduced over entry of foreign newspapers and other articles coming through post and the number decreased with complete stoppage by interception.

Another Paper doing its bit was the *Jahan-e-Islam* started in Constantinople in May 1914, which contained 'articles in Arabic, Hindi and Turkish. Due to its violent attack on the British and her allies, this was also dealt with in the same manner as the *Ghadr*, but not before it had succeeded in its mission exceedingly well. The Urdu section of the Paper published in its issue of November 20, 1914, a speech of Enver Pasha of Egypt to the effect that declaration of independence should not be delayed any further. In his own language it was :

"The magazines of the English should be plundered, their weapons looted and they should be killed therewith. The Indians number thirty-two crores at the best and the English are only two lakhs; they should be murdered: they have no army. The Suez Canal will shortly be closed by the Turks, but he who will die and liberate the country and his native land will live for ever. Hindus and Muhammadans, you are both soldiers of the army and you are brothers, and this low degraded English is your enemy. You should be *ghazis* by declaring jehad, and by combining with brothers murder the English and liberate India." (*Report of the Sedition Committee*, 1918, p. 169).

The conspiracy organised in Burma had the support of the Turkish Government and persons with extreme detestation for the British were placed in positions at the disposal of the Turkish Government whose Consul in Burma at the time proved to be of immense help to the movement.

The attempt to spread disaffection amongst the army stationed in Rangoon, particularly the 130th Baluchis succeeded to a certain extent and there was open revolt against the Government in January, 1915. The rising was brought under control after both

the originators and participants had paid for the miscalculated revolt with their lives. The number of persons punished with varying terms of imprisonment was more than two hundred. The other insurrections were caused by the Malay State Guides and the 5th Native Light Infantry.

The organisers took immense trouble and risk inasmuch as one of them reached Mandalay by way of Manila and Singapore and others from Bangkok *via* Siamese frontier. The centre of revolution in Burma kept itself busy in collecting money and arms as best as it could and it had been humming with activity of grave portents.

By the month of April 1915, the Government obtained evidence of a *Ghadr* plot in Burma and serious steps were taken to tackle it with vigour. *Ghadr* literature was found in several places, particularly in Myawaddy near the Siamese frontier. Enlistment of supporters had been going on apace mainly amongst the Sikhs and the Punjabi Mahomedans. Many names, very prominent in subsequent trials, came to the knowledge of the police. The main offence attributed to the prisoners was waging war against the King, tampering with the loyalty of the Army, and spreading inflammatory reports to assist the King's enemies. There was open exhortation done through a pamphlet, *A Message of Hope to Military Brethren*, to the native officers of the military police who "were invited not to be tempted by medals and badges of slavery but to throw them away, wash out the old stain of servitude and adorn their breasts with the insignia of freedom."

It subsequently became known that brisk preparations had been going on from 1911, mostly by some young men coming from distant Punjab. At least two of these had knowledge of manufacturing bombs; another possessed materials for the purpose. They rented a house in Rangoon where frequent meetings were held with the common object of overthrowing the Government.

The *Ghadr* paper was duplicated in this premises. They maintained regular contact with workers in Bangkok and in India. Subscriptions were collected for the advancement of the cause and their activities grew in volume. Some of them sincerely believed that an all-out rebellion was imminent and success was bound to come.

The conspirators had not been depending solely on their own resources. The German Government took a good deal of interest in the affairs of the *Ghadr* party in U.S.A. They undertook the training of Indians

"returning to India to the use of arms in places along the railway which was being built in Northern Siam in the direction of Burma largely by German Engineers and Punjabi workmen and to invade Burma and foment rebellion by Indian troops and the military police."

In the Far East intense revolutionary activity requiring great tact, intelligence and other resources was noticeable at various places. Bangkok was one of the important centres where representatives of the secret society from India met those coming from San Francisco and from the different centres in Burma, working hand in hand with different groups of Indians. The British Government became extremely alert and adopted measures to meet the emergency. Because of its early knowledge the rising contemplated in October, 1915, on the *Bakr-id* Day was easily foiled by the police. The Military Police Battalion at Pyowbe incited to the point of action also failed at the scheduled time due to defections in the ranks and by prompt Governmental action. The extent of the preparation in this particular case, with revolvers, dynamite and other explosives, was bigger than in most other places. The revolutionaries had shown their mettle in a risky game, but a few timid and covetous souls brought failure and dismay to what might have proved a grand *finale* to a glorious chapter in the history of Burma, attaining with India, independent status during the World War I.

Kachin Rebellion

(1914-1915)

While in a bigger field preparations for armed rising had been going on in collaboration with the Indian revolutionaries, a few incidents took place in different parts of Burma indicating the presence of secret societies ready for immediate direct action.

Early in 1914, NGA PO THAIK began to speak of himself as *Mintaung* (a leader with magical powers) and carried on secret

propaganda amongst the Burmese to win support for his cause. He recruited able lieutenants, three of them being very prominent, and journeyed into the Kachin country with the object of rising in rebellion. PO THAIK and his three comrades were to overrun vast tracts of land in the face of opposition from the Government forces. NGA KYI was put in charge of the 'liberated territories' and he was able to keep hold over it for a fairly long time.

The plan for an attack on Sin Po Poi godown stuffed with military and other stores was regarded as a very bold venture. The rebels assembled at Mawang, a place between Malikha and Myithyma Putao Road, and preparations were set on foot to attack the ration godown at Shinghoi. In the course of the attack they were encountered by the 64th Pioneers under two European military officers. There was an open fight between the two parties at Wawang and the gun battle continued for a much longer time than was expected. The rebels used seven to ten separate guns, a tangible proof of extensive preparation that had been made in the meantime. Wawang was rushed and burnt down but the rebels did not seem to relax their activity. The military was attacked while returning from their field of operation and a few sepoy were wounded. Two Kachins were killed.

NGA KYI was the most active agent in preaching PO THAIK's crusade among the Kachins and was mainly responsible for whatever success they attained. He called himself as *Hawsaing* and PO THAIK as *Mintaung*. NGA KYI was given the credit of making plans which considerably advanced the cause of a short-lived rebellion.

The other two rebels NGA NI and NGA SO BEN accompanied PO THAIK in his travels from place to place in his mission and took active part in hastening the rebellion. Their presence lent great prestige and influence to the *Mintaung*, PO THAIK.

In 1915 the Government became alert and realised the Wawang incident as part of big plan for waging war against the King.

A special Sessions Judge was appointed to try this particular case at Myitkynia and

- (i) NGA PO THAIK,
- (ii) NGA KYI,

- (iii) NGA NI, and
- (iv) NGA SI BON

were hauled up as accused. After a short trial on September 1, 1915, judgment was passed and all the accused were sentenced to death.

Kamaing Rebellion Case (1915)

Shortly after the Kachin Rebellion Trial, the accused in the Kamaing Rebellion Case, the details of which are lacking, had to face a prosecution by the Government on the charge of waging war against the King. All the four Shans, the accused in the case, were sentenced to death and on September 26, 1915, the Judicial Commissioner, Upper Burma, confirmed the sentence. The Lieutenant Governor having declined to interfere all the accused were hanged in due course.

Namti Shan Case (1915)

There were three accused in the Namti Shan Case, all charged with the offence of waging war against the King. They were convicted and sentenced to death. They submitted petitions for reconsideration of the case to the Lieutenant Governor which were rejected on September 25, 1915.

Mandalay Conspiracy (1915)

The revolutionaries of India residing in foreign lands had early conceived the idea of attacking Burma from the neighbouring countries. The idea appealed to SOHANLAL, a veteran worker for the cause of freedom, and he worked heart and soul to give this idea a shape. He was in Siam in 1910, where he was held in high esteem by the Sikh residents. In early 1911, he went to Lahore and thence to U.S.A. in 1912, where he remained up to 1914. His complicity with the party becoming known to the authorities, he had to leave the place and make Siam

his centre of activity with Amar Singh as his lieutenant. He came back to Siam at the end of the year and forthwith got into touch with the old friends and comrades, who were staunch supporters of the *Ghadr*.

He took upon himself the task of carrying his gospel of revolution to Burma and became the central figure of a great conspiracy. Before reaching Burma he had sent two of his confederates as forerunners to find out a suitable premises to receive '*Ghadr* pilgrims' and to continue his activities quietly and without interruption.

Sohanlal called a conference at Pakko which was attended by a large number of workers in the same line. Men were selected and commissioned with special duties. One of them, who saved himself by becoming a Crown witness in the subsequent conspiracy case, was sent by Sohanlal to proceed to Yunnan and Chipintin to meet the German officers who had been training about 200 Indians intended for invading Burma at the proper time. It was so arranged that Sohanlal, Mujtaba Hossain and Amar Singh would go in advance to Burma to prepare the ground for a bigger show.

He came to Burma in the first part of 1915, and tried forthwith to establish contact with the soldiers stationed there. Out of devotion to his task and a desire for speedy result, he threw all caution to the winds and at times would take the risk of meeting soldiers in open places and trying to convince them of the evil of British rule and the degrading position of Indians under British superior officers.

On August 14, 1915, he met one Jemadar and three other men, Havildars, etc., all belonging to the Darajat Mountain Battery stationed at Maymyo. He exchanged salutations with one of them, asked what part of India did he come from and became friendly with him through conversations relating to India. Worming up his position slowly, he tried to explain the pitiable economic condition of India. He gave out that there were many organisations which had been working to stir up discontent amongst the people while preparing themselves for an open fight at the opportune moment. It was better for the Indian soldiers to help them in every possible way and to side with them and

render passive help by not participating in any Government endeavour to quell disturbances and more directly by joining hands with the insurrectionists.

In one of his daily rounds one of the soldiers arrested him and brought him to Maymyo and placed him before the Officer-Commanding. Before Sohanlal could make any attempt to get out of the clutches of his captors he was securely held and his person was searched on the spot. He was carrying on him at the moment :

(i) two loaded Browning automatic pistols and a number of cartridges;

(ii) a small tattered book with green paper-cover written partly in Arabic, partly in Urdu and partly in Turkish entitled *Jahan-i-Islam*, printed in Constantinople;

(iii) four copies of a *fatwa* in Arabic made by a photographic process;

(iv) two pages of formulae for the manufacture of bombs, some money, a watch and a few other articles.

Sohanlal was put on trial on December 14, 1915, in the court of the Sessions Judge, Mandalay, under Rule 2 of Section 2 of the Defence of India Act, 1915; 124, 124-A, 131 I.P.C. (spreading inflammatory reports to assist the King's enemies, sedition, attempting to seduce soldiers from the allegiance to the King). He was further accused of circulating statements with the intention of promoting feelings of enmity and hatred between different sections of His Majesty's subjects; attempting to seduce the soldiers of the Mountain Battery, Maymyo, from their duty by distribution of highly inflammatory and anti-government literature.

The accused was condemned to death on December 15, 1915. His appeal was dismissed on January 7, 1916. After the judgment was passed he was requested by one of his friends to appeal for mercy when he exclaimed: "With tyranny and injustice all on their side, it is they who should beg forgiveness and not I."

Sohanlal was executed in January, 1916, in the Mandalay Jail.

Burma Conspiracy Case

(1915-1916)

In accordance with the resolution taken in U.S.A. amongst the members of *Ghadr* Party several persons entered Burma by different routes, particularly by way of Siam, at different times.

A batch of Punjabis, some of whom were highly educated, influential and held positions of trust and responsibility in the society, reached Burma in 1915 with the express object of starting a revolution. They set to work without delay and rented several premises in Rangoon. They visited different parts of Burma, openly preached sedition, mixed with all sorts of Burmese people, particularly with those having sympathy for the nationalist cause, introduce the topic of rising in rebellion wherever possible, take steps for smuggling the *Ghadr* inside Burma. When police vigilance was intensified and the newspaper could no longer be imported, they made arrangements for its duplication locally. At times they openly advocated mutiny and would say that arrangements had been completed for receiving foreign aid and mass support from the revolutionaries in India.

The centres of activity were scattered over a wide area and one who would join in Singapore would at once establish communication with another in Rangoon. One of the accused left Singapore after the mutiny and went over to Rangoon at the end of February, 1915. Gradually Burma, particularly Mandalay and Rangoon, became the two important cities in the Eastern countries where an all-out attempt was made for a future rising. Arms and ammunitions, dynamites and other explosive materials were collected to the extent allowed under the peculiar circumstances of the case. One of the accused, closely associated with Sohanlal, came to Burma with materials for waging war against the British.

Preparations had been nearing completion when the police came into possession of the fact, swooped upon the organisation, and arrested seventeen Punjabis. In due course the accused were placed before a Special Tribunal at Mandalay on March 6, 1916, for trial.

They were accused under the omnibus charge of waging war against the King, making preparations for an uprising, helping the enemy with material information, seducing the military police from allegiance of the authorities, conspiracy, sedition (121, 121-A, 122, 124-A, Rule 25 of the Defence of India Consolidation Rules 1915, etc.).

On July 31, 1916, judgment was delivered when sentences of death were passed on

- (i) HARNAM SINGH
- (ii) CHALLIARAM
- (iii) NARAIN SINGH
- (iv) BASSWA SINGH
- (v) NARINJAN SINGH
- (vi) PALLA SINGH
- (vii) Another.

The rest excepting one was awarded transportation for life.

On August 16, 1916, the local Government passed an order remitting the sentence of forfeiture of property of all the convicted persons. Harnam Singh, Challiaram and Narain Singh did not submit any petition for consideration of their cases and the question of reducing their sentence did not arise.

Three other prisoners' appeal for mercy was rejected. The seventh accused escaped death with transportation for life. There was one other accused Bhai Balwant Singh, whose appeal for mercy was also rejected.

All the condemned persons were executed between August 19 and 22, 1916, in Burma.

Mandalay Supplementary Trial

(1915-1917)

The *Ghadr* movement in the U.S.A. spread its influence far and wide and workers were sent abroad to kick up revolution wherever possible. The Far East was deemed to be one of the most suitable regions for carrying on with their project and ultimately to use as a spring board for attack on India.

Four persons amongst the many that had gone to Burma from time to time took upon themselves to go ahead with their work connected with a rising. The leader of the group was Moolchand, *alias* Mujtaba Husain of Jaipur; and his co-workers were Amar Singh of Ludhiana, Ram Rakka *alias* Bahle of Hoshiarpur and Ali Ahmad Sadiq of Sahzadpur, Fyzabad district.

They maintained contact with Sohanlal and worked with the common object of driving away the British from the shores of India. Mujtaba Husain, also known as Mahomed Jaffar, extensively travelled the Far Eastern countries.

About his peregrinations something is known from his letter written on October 30, 1915, from Singapore. From Calcutta he went to Chandernagore and on October 3, he sailed as a first-class passenger to evade police notice for Hong Kong travelling *via* Penang and Singapore. He left for Japan on November 3, with an American traveller meaning to go to America, to live there for three years to qualify himself for a naturalisation certificate with which he would be able to return to India safely.

But subsequent letters written from Yokohama and Nagasaki revealed that he had changed his mind and proceeded towards Manila. He became so immersed in the affairs in Burma that he could think of nothing else than to play his part in the great drama in the best way possible.

Mujtaba managed to receive *Ghadr* literature from the U.S.A. and widely circulated it among different centres in such manner as to reach the barracks occupied by Indian soldiers, particularly to those stationed in Sandakan Island between Mindanao and North Borneo.

They were successful to a great extent in their aim and some sort of a mutiny occurred in the Indian army that was suppressed with utmost ruthlessness. It was remarkable that Mujtaba Husain succeeded in persuading a Subedar of a regiment to refuse to go to the front. The Subedar was court-martialled for insubordination by the Officer-Commanding and was ordered to be shot. He met the situation with absolute unconcern and there was no expression of fear or regret on his face. Before he received the bullet in his chest, he quietly asked his comrades present there to avenge his death for a cause which should be very dear to the heart of every Indian.

The very next day the Commandant's *orderly* killed the Commandant with the inevitable consequence to the *orderly*. The Sepoys got out of control, broke the jail and released a large number of prisoners. Instances of indiscipline in the army was not infrequent and this particular incident bears proof of the influence that Sohanlal, Mujtaba Husain and his comrades wielded over those whom they were able to contact.

Amar Singh was a resident of Siam and was a naturalised Siamese subject. He made common cause with Mujtaba.

Ram Rakka engaged himself in collecting materials for the manufacture of bombs, which he had to secure from Bangkok where they were available. He was absent when the mutiny broke out but reached Singapore only a few days after the event. He believed that once the revolution had started the Germans would not be very late in coming to their aid. A resolution was taken in Rangoon to cause the uprising on the *Bakr-id* Day, 1915, which had to be abandoned at the last moment due to paucity of arms and ammunition. This was postponed to the Christmas and it never came to pass.

Acting on information gathered in connection with the First Mandalay Conspiracy Case, the police arrested the four revolutionaries at different times not very distant from one another and started the Mandalay Supplementary Conspiracy Case in 1917. The trial commenced on March 28, in Mandalay and the accused were charged with the offence of waging war against the King, conspiracy, tampering with the allegiance of the army, etc. Evidence covered many aspects of the *Ghadr* party in U.S.A., German collaboration in the rebellion, connection with the Indian

revolutionaries and the individual responsibility of the accused persons.

Judgment was delivered on July 6, 1917, and

- (i) Mujtaba Husain, *alias* Moolchand *alias* Muhammad Mujtaba, *alias* Muhammad Jaffar of Jaipur,
- (ii) Amar Singh of Ludhiana,
- (iii) Ali Ahmed Sadiq of Sahzadpur, Fyzabad District, were condemned to death.
- (iv) RAM RAKKA *alias* Bahle of Hoshiarpur was sentenced to transportation for life.

All property belonging to the accused were confiscated to the State.

The Lieutenant Governor in reviewing the case on appeal confirmed the judgment with modification regarding forfeiture of property. A Rangoon Press Note issued on December 7, 1917, announced that the death sentence of each accused had been commuted to one of transportation for life by the Governor-General-in-Council.

Ram Rakka was sent to the Andaman Cellular Jail to serve out his sentence. He came into conflict with the prison authorities for not submitting to the humiliating conditions and resisting the inhuman treatment to which the prisoners were subjected. He was mercilessly assaulted for forcing him to submission. In protest, he resorted to hunger strike. Before he succumbed, he had been vomiting blood but nothing could be forced down his throat to make him live. He expired in 1919.

Strictly speaking the particular incident does not come under the purview of the book, all the accused having escaped death. But omission of such an important chapter in the history of rebellion in the Far East was likely to be more inexcusable than the exception that has been resorted to as a very special case.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the most significant reprieve that was granted by a Viceroy concerned the accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case (Main). Twenty-four persons were condemned to death on September 13, 1915. The Viceroy was approached and it was announced on November 14, that excepting seven (p. 287) the capital punishment of the rest seventeen, viz., (i) Balwant Singh, (ii) Harnam Singh II, (iii) Jaggat Ram, Hoshiarpur, (iv) Hirda Ram, (v) Kala Singh,

Amritsar, (vi) Keshar Singh, Amritsar, (vii) Khusal Singh, Chuga, (viii) Nand Singh, Ludhiana, (ix) Nidhan Singh, Ferozepore, (x) Prithi Singh, Ambala, (xi) Parmanand, (xii) Ram Saran Das, (xiii) Rula Singh, Bhakna, (xiv) Sawan Singh, Amritsar, (xv) Waswas Singh, (xvi) Bhai Parmanand, Jhansi, (xvii) Sohan Singh, Amritsar, was reduced to one of transportation for life. ¶

5th Native Light Infantry Revolt

(1915)

During World War I, the insurrection by the 5th (Native) Light Infantry Regiment, stationed at Singapore in 1915, was one of the worst that the British administration had to face.

Inspired by Sohanlal and others some were successful in sowing seeds of discontent in 'the Regiment' which was in addition to one that had been lurking in the minds of the troops due to arbitrary promotions and indiscreet deployments. When the particular Regiment, about 900 in number, was asked to get ready for proceeding to Hong Kong, the simmering fire burst into flame and they openly refused to obey.

The army authorities were completely taken unawares, their espionage system having failed miserably. The revolt broke out without warning at 3 p.m. on February 15, 1915, the Chinese New Year's Day, and it at once assumed serious proportions. The rebels tried to influence the entire force comprising the Regiment and some amongst the loyal element having refused to join were shot dead or ordered not to interfere with their action in any way.

According to a premeditated plan settled in consultation with the revolutionaries primarily responsible for the outbreak, the insurrectionists opened fire on the sentries and guards round the German concentration camp and those who were not killed or wounded fled leaving the prisoners an easy chance of escape. The rioters then started for the town. A number of houses by which they passed in their march were sacked and burnt. They besieged the quarters of the Officer-Commanding with whom there had

been some other high military personnel in the Alexandra Barracks. The relief operations could be started only with eighty men of the British war sloop then waiting in the harbour.

Without having much of an opposition the insurgents marched towards the golf links and opened fire at random on those that were present there and the number of civilian casualties were the largest at this place.

Firing continued all through February 16, and went far into the night when it was very heavy. By the 17th, the rioters had spread over nearly the whole of countryside round the town and sound of firing could be heard simultaneously from various points. Some crossed into the mainlands and created a serious problem for the authorities. At 5 p.m. on February 16, a detachment from a ship came under heavy fire from a hut in the Chinese Gardens to the east of Alexandra Road which was met by intensive firing by a squad of relieving party.

Fighting continued near Woodlands up to February 20, when two Russian sailors were wounded and at 4 p.m. four rioters armed with rifles opened fire on the Russian column proceeding towards a point in search of the rebels. It was estimated that there were eight rebels in all who attacked a Russian picket at about 7-15 p.m. and forced it to retreat to the Woodlands, a distance of about fifteen miles from the place. There was also stray firings from a pineapple plantation when two Russians were severely wounded.

On February 21, two raiders were shot dead, one being a native officer and the other an N.C.O. of the 5th Light Infantry.

The gravity of the situation can be imagined by the volume of forces pooled together to meet the emergency. There were, besides the local volunteers, civilian and armed constabulary, the soldiers of the Sultan of Johore (who were engaged especially in dealing with the rioters who had crossed to the mainland). Assistance was sought of the men-of-war waiting at the port during the first stage of the outbreak. In a short time French, Japanese and Russian warships landed detachments and joined the others in rounding up the rioters. Special volunteers and special constables were speedily recruited. Two hundred Japanese volunteers were also enrolled. Detachment of the 36th Sikhs

and eighty-two men of the Malay States Volunteer Rifles were actively employed.

Women and children were removed to ships from Jhonston Pier where launches were kept ready to take them on board the vessels.

Martial Law was proclaimed and orders warning persons who "by word of mouth, or in writing or by signal or otherwise, spread reports calculated to create unnecessary alarm or despondency would be liable to suffer penal servitude" were issued on February 20, 1915.

The revolt was suppressed with the utmost severity and most of the seventeen escaped German prisoners were recaptured. Court-Martial proceedings were started against the rioters and deserters of the Army under the charge of joining the mutiny and combining with other soldiers of the regiment to resist and offer violence to the superior officers and assisting in furnishing the mutineers with ammunition.

On March 3, 1915, three (according to another report, six) mutineers were sentenced to be shot dead by the Court-Martial and the judgment was read outside the main door of the criminal prison on March 1, at 8 a.m., before a large crowd of native population.

The three persons shot dead in the morning of March 8, were :

(i) RASULAH charged with murder of Captain Izard;

(ii) IMTIAZ ALI, who failed to exercise his authority on February 15, assisted the men of his regiment to break into the ammunition, which was used by the mutineers and proved to have been a leader; and

(iii) RAKHNUDDIN, who helped to serve out ammunition to the mutineers and threatened to shoot any man of his own regiment if he would not leave the place to make the movement of the mutineers easy.

Sentences were to be carried out outside the walls of the prison in the presence of the public for which ample provisions were made.

On March 13, 1915, a batch of forty-five men of the 5th Native Infantry were tried at Singapore by the third Police Court amongst whom there were four N.C.O's. They were:

(i) Band Havildar SULEIMAN,

- (ii) Naik MUNSHI KHAN,
- (iii) Naik JAFFAR ALI, and
- (iv) Lance Naik ABDUL RAZAK KHAN

“who joined in a mutiny by combining with others to resist and offer violence to their superior officers, refused to surrender when ordered to do so, and who loaded their rifles with intent to fire upon H.M.’s Forces.” Extreme penalty of the law was demanded by the prosecution against them.

Seven Sikhs were similarly charged. They were :

- (i) Baggat Singh,
- (ii) Attar Singh,
- (iii) Tannar Singh,
- (iv) Rulah Singh,
- (v) Hazarah Singh,
- (vi) Tamar Singh, and
- (vii) Veer Singh.

Of these, it is definitely known that rebel RULAH SINGH was shot dead and the fate of the others did not seem to be any better.

By March 22, 1915, besides those who were executed, sixty sepoys were killed in the fight or by drowning. Of the civil population, forty-three were killed and nineteen wounded.

Not in His Line

(1915)

A very rich man not much given to politics, revolutionary politics in particular, could not escape the patriotic urge that had been sweeping the Far East during the World War I. In the last part of 1914, CASSIM ISMAIL MANSOOR, a member of the well-known family of Indian merchants at Singapore, came in contact with some men of the native troops stationed in Rangoon and thought of helping them with equipment and facilities for movement as might be thought necessary.

In pursuance of his object Mansoor approached the agents of the enemy in Burma through letters. One such was addressed to the German Consul at Rangoon on December 28, 1914, for

securing two ships with help of his resources for transporting men out of Singapore.

The letter was intercepted and Mansoor was charged under eleven heads, nine of treason, tenth, giving intelligence to the enemy and eleventh, of waging war against the King before a Field Court-Martial on May 3, 1915. Quite in keeping with the spirit of the time a sentence of death by hanging was passed on the accused at one sitting.

Not much known to the outside world, a rich merchant who could lead a life of comfort and ease preferred death on the scaffold for the sake of the country.

Mansoor was executed in Singapore Criminal Prison in the first week of June 1915, far away from his native home at Rander, a suburb of Surat, Bombay.

[There is another (news-agency) report, dated Rangoon, May 21, 1915, to the effect that "a few days after the trial" by Field General Court-Martial which was conducted in secret, "the sentence was read out in the presence of the public" inside the jail "and the sentence of death carried out." (*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 22, 1915)].

Out of His Way

(1915)

Men had come out of their way to help the cause of freedom and had paid the penalty with their life.

An Engineer of Pakoh, Siam, AMAR SINGH, took upon himself the risky task of receiving a portion of the arms to be carried by *Henry S.* and keeping it concealed under his care. His name was found in the list seized from an arrested person who was one of those connected with handling of German arms. Amar Singh was arrested on the information secured from the list, tried and sentenced to death. His execution took place in Mandalay, sometime in 1915. (Ref. *Sedition Committee Report*, 1918, p. 125).

Malay State Guides

(1915)

Another section of the army, the Malay State Guides, stationed in the Far East revolted against the British authority. The insurrection was not so formidable or alarming as the one caused by the 5th (Native) Light Infantry. The rising being simultaneously timed with the other added to the gravity of the situation. 'The Guides' were ordered to help the different forces engaged in suppressing the rebels, which they declined and some of them actively participated in the revolt. They refused to obey the orders of the superior officers and did not surrender when called upon to do so. They were further accused of "stirring-up and joining in mutiny".

In a Court-Martial some of them were tried along with a few of the mutineers of the 5th Native Light Infantry and the following five,

- (i) Subedar DUNDE (Dundo) KHAN,
- (ii) Jamadar CHISTI KHAN,
- (iii) 1890 Havildar RAHAMAT ALI (of Halwara, Ludhiana),
- (iv) 2311 Sepoy HAKIM ALI, and
- (v) 2184 Havildar ABDUL GHANNY

were sentenced to death by being shot.

On March 23, 1915, "in the presence of an immense concourse of people, outside the jail walls of Singapore and on the site of the old execution ground, troops and volunteers in garrison paraded in full strength, to witness the ceremony of promulgation of the latest sentences of Court-Martial" upon the condemned officers and men.

The statement of offence was read out to the prisoners who stood silently as rock. "The men were then marched on to the place of execution with hands tied behind them under a strong guard of prison warders. A firing party of the Royal Garrison Artillery and the Royal Engineers were in readiness" for finishing the job.

The sentence of death having been duly proclaimed "the Officer-in-Charge of the firing party raised the sword, gave

'Ready' as the order to load, then in quick succession, 'Present' and 'Fire'."

The condemned men fell and thus "Justice was done", according to the foreigners who held India in bondage under brute force resented by the people of the land. Seventeen other condemned men were made to stand on the other side of the moat each tied to a separate post. One hundred armed military men, half of whom were standing erect, the other half resting on one of the knees, aimed one hundred rifles and when the formalities had been gone through they were ordered to fire twice in quick succession. The first volley killed all the seventeen heroes; the second volley was to make sure that none had escaped the effect of the first. (Ref. Chakrabarti, P.: *Se yuger agneyapath*, p. 85)

Calculated Cruelty

(1915-1916)

An unfortunate lad, CHANDI CHARAN NAG, reached Burma in search of a job from Upalata, Hajiganj, Tippera, in May 1913. He secured an appointment in the Office of the Conservator of Forests, Pegu Circle, and had been putting up at No. 65, Louis Street, Rangoon.

The Government of Burma arrested Chandi under Ingress into India Ordinance, on October 5, 1915, and removed him to the Rangoon Central Jail. He was attacked with typhoid fever in December 1915, and his life was despaired of. For the first time after the arrest, his distracted father was informed, in reply to several representations enquiring about the whereabouts of his son, on February 15, 1916, that his son "was at one time suffering from fever in the Rangoon Jail but is now convalescent" and "unless some unforeseen circumstance arises he is likely to make good recovery" The father was refused any interview with the son (*The Pioneer*, June 13, 1917).

The Government of Bengal enquired confidentially at this time if the detenu could be removed to Calcutta to which the reply was (February 24, 1916) that "tuberculosis is suspected". On March 3, 1916, it was desired by the Government of Bengal that the prisoner "might be sent to Calcutta".

On March 7, 1916, The Burma Government informed Chandi's father that his son "is about to be released from the Rangoon Central Jail and will be sent to Calcutta." On the 11th, Chandi was released and the next day admitted in the hospital in an extremely precarious condition of health.

On April 25, 1916, Chandi was suddenly taken out of the hospital by the police and placed on board a steamer bound for Calcutta to be interned in his native village. He reached his place of detention on April 30, 1916.

After nearly six months of detention in an absolutely uncongenial and unhealthy surroundings, on October 21, 1916, an order was passed to the effect that "he is free to reside where he pleases". It was too late for recovery for want of proper or any medical treatment worth the name or removal to a healthy place for want of funds, and the youngman expired at 11-30 a.m. on January 29, 1917, much to the relief of the benign Government that put a useful life to an untimely death.

Well-matched

(1915-1917)

If the Government of India had been successful in planting informers and *agent provocateurs* amongst the Indian nationalists in the Far East, it was not an infrequent occurrence when such agents had been found out and properly dealt with.

It was a question of opportunity that such assassinations were not so common, otherwise men of daring and unmindful about their own life, were not rare for taking up the work in hand as and when occasion demanded it.

The secret report of the Government official visiting the Far East in 1915, to watch the attitude of Indians staying there, stated that "it is a melancholy fact that the Indian community in the East, taken as a whole, is completely honey-combed with disloyalty."

The said officer selected an efficient person, Harnam Singh, who was engaged in investigation in Siam into the Indian revolutionary plot. He had been doing useful work when another man,

Atma Ram, of the opposite camp crossed his path and changed the course of events.

ATMA RAM was known to be very active and highly intelligent. He ingratiated himself in the favour of the German Legation stationed in Bangkok. It may be mentioned here that he was instrumental in sending the message of German arms being shipped for India and make arrangements for unloading the ship.

The activities of the Indian revolutionary workers alarmed the Siamese Government and steps were contemplated for restricting their movements or deporting them from the country. Before any action could be taken against him, Atma Ram shifted his headquarters to Nanking.

Before leaving the Siamese territory Atma Ram took a bold step and was able to kill Harnam Singh. He was subsequently arrested by British Agents and taken to Shanghai. At the trial that followed Atma Ram took all the responsibility upon himself and said that he had killed Harnam Singh because he looked upon Harnam as the enemy of his country.

The spirited lad was executed in Shanghai on June 2, 1917.

CHAPTER SIX

THE COMBAT DEEPENS

(1924-1930)

The Prelude

The lull of comparative inaction under the spell of the Non-co-operation movement gradually faded out and the revolutionary party of India, particularly in the North, showed signs of renewed activity during a period of about two succeeding decades. It brings to mind a poem that depicts the essence of political philosophy marked by the flow and ebb-tide of events leading to ultimate goal:

*"Great forward leaps,
Followed by fainting falls
Have marked Time's course ;
Each revelation to mankind vouchsafed
Hath come encompassed by mighty storms
Each gift from Heaven
Hath claimed its price in combat,
For without battle unto death
Is naught obtained"*

The "battle unto death", marks the steps henceforward in a greater magnitude by hundreds of young men showing reckless courage and marvellous ingenuity in various field of activity.

Mistaken Identity

In point of death of a person or persons who were never objectives for any violence, much less a fatal attack, the event of January 12, 1924, has a special significance.

A European gentleman, E. Day, an employee of a Calcutta mercantile firm, used to enjoy his morning constitutional in the

maidan and its vicinity between 7 and 8-30 a.m. On the fateful day, he was looking at the show-windows of a firm at the crossing of Chowringhee Road and Park Street when a young man, GOPINATH (GOPIMOHAN) SAHA, dressed in white dhoti, khaki shirt and black shoes, fired at him from a distance of about eight to ten feet. The bullet missed its mark; Day turned and faced his assailant. The second shot hit the victim and he fell on the pavement. A few more shots were fired on the prostrate body of the dying man so that he might not escape death in any way. Day was removed to the hospital where he died at 4-30 in the evening.

The assailant advanced down Park Street, first in a leisurely manner. He was chased by a taxi-driver in his taxi at whom Gopinath fired ineffectively. He accelerated his pace, entered Russel Street and doubled a palatial building to appear again on Park Street. Going further ahead towards the east he tried to induce the driver of a standing private motor car to give him a lift. The driver refused and was shot but was saved by the belt used by him. Saha was now on the run followed by a crowd that was growing every minute.

He seemed to stagger at the crossing of Park Street and Free School Street. At this point he was about to be captured when he fired and hit his pursuer in the forearm. He reached Royd Street by way of Free School Street. Then dashed up Cockburn Lane into Ripon Street and reached the tram-line on the Wellesley Street. Here he put his foot on the step of a hackney carriage but the driver refused to move. At this stage a man came up and grappled with him when he fell on the ground. With the help of a constable he was firmly secured after he had been very badly hurt on the head.

At the time of his arrest he was armed with a magazine pistol and a revolver and forty or forty-five live cartridges in his possession.

Police investigation did not take a long time to put up Gopinath (Gopimohan) Saha on trial before the Chief Presidency Magistrate on June 14, 1926. Throughout the proceedings, the accused, a little thin young boy of sallow complexion with his forehead heavily bandaged, maintained a calm and stoic air regarding the proceedings.

In regard to a certain remark of the Public Prosecutor he said,

"The Public Prosecutor says that I was seen loitering at Lal Bazar and that I was noticed entering a house in Bow Bazar in company with another man. This is quite wrong. I always went about alone and loitered alone and was always trying to kill Tegart *sahib*. I know him too well. But unfortunately I have killed an innocent *sahib*. That innocent *sahib*'s appearance was exactly similar to that of Mr. Tegart. Through the Grace of God Tegart has saved himself and it is my misfortune that I failed in my attempt to kill the enemy of my country. I have committed a mistake.

"If there is any patriotic young man in the country he will complete my incomplete task. I hope he will not commit the same mistake that I have committed and I hope he will work more skilfully."

When he said "I was always trying to kill Tegart *sahib*", he stared at Tegart and smiled most jeeringly.

When Gopinath was being removed from the dock he shouted. "Mr. Tegart may think himself safe, but he is not. I failed to complete the work. I leave the unfinished work for others."

On the next day of hearing, February 17, at one stage the accused asked the Public Prosecutor "to hurry up". At the close he said, "What's the use of lengthening the proceedings?"

On January 21, he was charged with murder and culpable homicide not amounting to murder and was committed to the High Court Sessions to take his trial. Asked whether he would like to make any statement and cite any witness in defence, he said: "What it would come to?" On hearing the charges of offence the accused said, "Very well! Very well! Why not add some more sections?"

The High Court Sessions opened on February 13, 1924. On the second day the accused took a livelier interest in the proceedings. When it had come to a close, he stated:

"It is a very auspicious day for me. The mother is calling me in order that I may rest for ever on her bosom and, therefore, I want to go.

"In the beginning of the last year I read in the newspapers that a European gentleman of the name of Tegart, after going all over the world and collecting information regarding freedom for India, was returning to India with a view to obstruct our endeavours. I began meditating very much on the question of this obstruction to our freedom. While ~~thus~~ contemplating over it, I would feel my head getting heated. I could ~~not~~ sleep at night or eat any food, and would walk about at night on the roof.

"In this state I heard the call of the Mother which was this: 'Follow him'. From that time onwards I began collecting information regarding him. Then I began meditating very deeply over all these matters. While meditating I got the call from the Mother: 'Remove him from this world'.

"With regard to the innocent *sahib* whom I have killed, I am extremely sorry. I do not consider anybody to be my enemy because he is a *sahib*."

Judgment was delivered on February 16, 1924, condemning the accused to death. Gopinath received the sentence calmly.

The last words he said in the court room were: 'May every drop of my blood sow the seeds of freedom in every home of India.' Further, "So long repressions such as Jallianwala Bagh, Chandpur, etc. would go on, this state of things would continue. A time would come when the Government, would feel the consequence."

Between the day of judgment and the date of his execution Gopinath gained five lbs. in weight. He always maintained a mood of unconcern about his death as if nothing extraordinary had happened. He was always seen to be cheerful and enjoying his life in the condemned cell of the prison and used to take his meal regularly with good relish. He had a sound sleep the night before his execution took place.

He was led to the place of execution on March 1, 1924, in the Presidency Jail. He walked up to the gallows unaided, smiling all the while and taking the names of gods and goddesses. Cremation took place at 9 a.m. near the outer wall close to the Female Ward.

In the last letter that he wrote he appealed to his mother to pray to the Almighty that every Indian mother should give birth to a son like him, and that every home should be sanctified by a mother like his.

Madras Agency Revolt

(1924)

Starting with the redress of local grievances for the tribals and oppression of Government officials over the poor, uneducated and helpless, ALLURI SITARAMA RAZU otherwise known simply as 'Razu' became a source of great trouble to the ruling authorities in the Agency tracks.

In his early youth Razu showed his inclination more towards religious pursuits than to his studies and devoted himself to social work asking people to live in peace and amity with the neighbours and fellow human beings.

He was once arrested for his activities which resembled the Non-co-operation Movement for which he had no special love in many respects but was released without trial in 1922.

He made up his deficiency in studies during his school days and compensated it by acquiring a good knowledge of Sanskrit and English when outside of it. Realising that peaceful means were not sufficient for his purpose, he gradually drifted towards organising a revolt with arms against the British. He directed his efforts to introduce village *panchayat* for the solution of local problems, to do away with the drink evil and to introduce Swaraj not necessarily by non-violent means.

Naturally his activities aroused suspicion of the Government and a close watch was placed on his movements. In the meantime Razu planned for increasing his influence by enlisting support of the hillmen and the tribals of the Agency Division consisting of the hilly and malarious portion of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari districts. These tracts were separated from the plains and formed into a separate district called the Agency Division in November, 1920, to bring the more accessible parts under better control and for the purpose of their general development.

Within a short time Razu was recognised as a religious man working for the welfare of the common people. His name became familiar with every hamlet in South India. The hillmen were gradually drawn towards him and he took up their cause in fighting the misdeeds of the Sub-Magistrate and his henchmen to which they were subjected.

Razu was able thus to enhance his popularity and the simple people of the area endowed him with supernatural powers. From Kistna, his native district, to the Agency tracts Razu swayed enormous influence. He was now getting ready for open attacks on police stations. He gathered a large number of hillmen around him all of whom were illiterate and could not be depended upon for big events. He was anxious to enlist support of some capable men to act as his worthy lieutenants and was soon able to find out two leading men of Gudem, GAM MAILU DORAY and GAM GOUTAM DORAY known as Gam brothers who had serious grievances against their *taluk* officers, particularly against the forest reservation policy of the Government. The brothers promised him an all-out support provided he would start a rebellion against the authorities.

Razu agreed and the Gam brothers with their great influence over the hill people became a great source of strength to Razu. Subsequent events proved that these two brothers played a very big and important role in the Agency revolt.

When the arrangements had not fully matured Razu was put under some sort of restraint over his movements by the district authorities. He was removed in early 1920, by the Assistant Commissioner, Rampa Agency, from Krishnadevipeta to Paidiputta where he was given some land for cultivation and peaceful living.

He was able to create confidence in the mind of the Assistant Commissioner and on July 26, 1922, he could induce the officer to issue a passport in his favour for a visit to Nepal. He was allowed to leave Paidiputta on August 4, 1922, but instead of going to Nepal he returned to Gudem Agency to give effect to his former plans.

In connection with the first Fituyiri Rebellion, Madras, it appeared that the rebels under Razu, were scrupulously careful in not antagonising the local officers and the villagers. It was evident that care was taken to avoid hurting people, even when they had definitely refused to join the rebels. Police officers and men when captured were seldom badly treated.

This was the usual practice till the conflict with Razu and his men with the police at Lingapuram took place. The villagers

were then threatened and bullied and police and magisterial officers when captured were beaten up.

With growing strength Razu began to attack police stations and harass Government officers in every possible way. Razu's presence was traced to Rampa, an area overgrown with thick forests. The haunt was selected for many advantages that it afforded, because the hills running parallel with the valley helped noticing the approach of the police forces by the followers and sympathisers of Razu from the adjoining valleys. The further advantage was that the attacking police in the plains were practically helpless against those concealed behind a range of hills.

There had been several skirmishes with the armed police which drew the military forces, particularly by the Assam Rifles and one that took place at Revallu on May 6, 1924, proved unlucky for Razu and his men. More than thirty-seven men were disabled in which a whole detachment of the Assam Rifles took part. On the casualty list were twelve rebels who were killed on the spot including the Fituyiri leader Alluri Sitarama Razu himself.

Thus ended an eventful career that had given no rest to the Government for a period of nothing less than five years.

Razu had many hair-breadth escapes and the heavy reward that was declared on his head proved to be useless because there was not one amongst his followers who could think of betraying him for what was to them filthy lucre.

The fight that was started by Sitarama Razu did not come to an end with his death. Though on the run it was kept alive by Goutam Doray, the most trusted lieutenant of Razu.

In connection with the Agency Fituyiri operations all information as to the movements of Goutam and other members of the gang completely ceased for about a month. On June 7, 1924, a working patrol from Krishnadevipet while making a search for possible hiding places in the country near their camp at Benkadara, came to something like a ravine near the village of Yedumudi and the patrol party, dividing itself into three groups, began a thorough search of the neighbourhood. One of the sections discovered a party of seven or eight of the rebels, but by the time the searching party had realised the identity of the gang, the rebels had started running. Fire was opened and another two sections of the police arrived and joined in the firing.

In this last remnant of the rebels was Goutam Doray himself. He proved his mettle in this unequal fight. He returned the fire and was fired at. Ultimately Goutam Doray and another of his comrades were fatally wounded. There was a serious setback to the Agency Rebellion on June 7, 1924, with the demise of Razu's very able lieutenants.

The lamp glowed dimly for some time more. Mallu Doray, the last surviving chief was regarded as the right-hand man of Rama Razu and was said to be mainly responsible for starting the rebellion. His name figured in about twenty reports and there was abundant evidence that from the first day of the rebellion to the day of his capture he was regarded as the most active, resourceful and dangerous of the rebel band.

He was arrested and in the trial that followed he was sentenced to death on June 19, 1924, and lost his life on the gallows.

One of the Many

(1924)

While taking his round in the Paltan Ground on May 25, 1924, Sub-Inspector of Police, Prafulla Kumar Ray was shot thrice by unknown assailants just after nightfall.

Prafulla was in charge of the Chittagong Shooting Case in which Surya Sen with two of his able lieutenants was an accused. The Sub-Inspector also investigated the Chittagong Robbery Case in which Rs. 17,000 of the Assam Bengal Railway was looted.

The victim was immediately removed to the hospital where after medical inspection it was thought necessary to remove him to Dacca for better surgical aid. He was on his way under competent medical escort but expired at Laksham and his body was brought back to Chittagong for cremation.

The assailants escaped.

Without a Name

(1925)

Before the World War I had started HRISHIKESH LATTA, then a young boy, left India for Persia with Sufi Ambaprasad. Latta went to Germany at the invitation of the Berlin Committee and accompanied Kedar Nath Kersasp to Persia on a common mission. He died there in 1925 as an exile from his Motherland. (Ref: Datta, B. N., Dr.: *Aprakasita swadhinata sangramer rajnitik itihasa* ; p. 178-9).

Tragic Affiliations

(1925)

An unfortunate boy, Ambica Khan, got into the inner circle of some active workers in and around Calcutta and became a suspect of the police. Subsequently, by his own indiscreet acts of vacillation, he lost the confidence of his comrades as well. He was thrown into prison in 1924 and detained in the Alipore Central Jail. His co-prisoners found him gradually depressed possibly due to a struggle passing through his mind. In the early part of 1925, he set fire to his clothes soaked in kerosene oil inside the jail and suffered extensive burns which brought relief to his troubled soul.

Babbar Akali Dal

(1925)

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre set the whole country into commotion and naturally enough created a sense of bitter indignation amongst a group of Punjabis who thought of an armed rising against the Government as reprisal.

The idea of starting an organisation on the line was conceived in 1921, by one KISHEN SINGH GADGAJ of Jullundur with Dhanna Singh of Hoshiarpur which came to be known as Babbar Akali Dal or "Chakrabarties". Kishen Singh had a background

of military training from his connection with the Army where he served as a Havildar of the 2/35 Sikh Regiment. Kishen was not only the brain but the moving spirit of the organisation. He was a man of reckless courage and sometimes in his enthusiasm would throw all cautions to the wind. He delivered fiery speeches condemning the administration of the country and would exhort people to overthrow it by force. Free distribution of a highly seditious leaflet, *Babbar Akali Doaba* first issued in December, 1922, was one of the activities of the organisation.

Kishen Singh and his comrades were soon able to establish branches all over Punjab with Jullundur as centre. The members, as were able, began to collect arms and ammunitions in furtherance of their object. Party discipline was rigidly enforced and overt acts were practised from time to time. They directed their aim against loyalists, *jholie-hucks* as they were named, in particular and were able to murder not a few of them.

The police became alert and warrants were issued as a result of which some of Kishen Singh's trusted men were arrested and put into prison. Kishen was able to escape and he transferred his activities to Doaba where he met a group of men of his own way of thinking. Strengthened by their adherence, he made an itinerary of distant villages with the purpose of enlisting support of a larger number of people. The party was now able to wield great influence over the masses who extended their open or covert sympathy to men who had launched on a bold adventure.

The police redoubled their efforts after murder of a few loyalists and the party was given no rest. On September 1, 1923, a group composed of KARAM SINGH, UDAY SINGH, BISHAN SINGH and MAHENDRA SINGH had been passing through Bomeli in Kapurthala State when they were surrounded by the police and the military from opposite directions closing all avenues of escape. There was a sharp exchange of shots between the two contending forces and everyone of the surrounded men was killed on the spot in an unequal fight. A few of the policemen were also killed.

DIHANNA SINGH of Hoshiarpur, the right-hand man of Kishen, proved by his action that it was better to die as a hero than to spend the whole life in prison. He was decoyed to a village, Manahana, by one of the black sheep in the party where a large police force had been waiting for his arrest. He was held fast

by both of his hands by policemen. He somehow crashed himself against one of his escorts and the bomb that he had been carrying with him exploded killing him and five of his captors and the European officer-in-charge of the police force.

It was extremely unfortunate that in the hasty recruitment of men the leaders could not bestow sufficient care in the choice of individual members. There were still more who easily succumbed to the temptation offered by the Government. One such fellow informed the police after offering a shelter to JAWALA SINGH, BANTA SINGH and BARIAM SINGH in his house. On December 12, 1923, the three persons had to fight a posse of armed police where Jawala and Banta were killed. Bariam managed to escape and with great difficulty reached Lyalpur where in turn he got into a trap laid by the police on June 8, 1924. Preferring death to arrest he fought like a lion and died a soldier's death.

The Government rounded up all persons suspected of having complicity with the organisation and got ready for starting a big criminal case against 91 members of the Babbar Akali Dal. After the usual preliminary enquiry the case was committed to the Sessions on April 4, 1924. On June 2, 1924, the accused were charged with the offence of being in possession of imported arms, ammunition and military stores and in such a manner as to indicate the intention that such act might not be known to any public servant; of going about armed without a licence; having committed and attempted to commit murder; cause grievous hurt; committing robbery and dacoity in pursuance of conspiracy entered into between Kishen Singh and several other accused towards the end of 1921 in the eastern part of the Jullundur district. They were further charged with having delivered seditious speeches, warning the people not to help Government by giving any kind of information regarding their movements, propaganda or actions; and that by their speeches they tried to create disaffection against the Government with the object of fomenting rebellion and turn the Britishers out of Punjab.

The trial lasted for over a year from the stage of enquiry to the delivery of judgment and during this period three of the undertrials lost their lives having thus escaped all punishment, capital or otherwise.

On February 28, 1925, in the main Babbar Akali Case, fifty-

four were found guilty, of whom five were sentenced to death and eleven to transportation for life.

Of the five condemned persons—

(i) KISHEN SINGH was declared to be the chief of the organisation.

(ii) KARAM SINGH and (iii) NANDA SINGH were held responsible for the murder of Subedar Gaimda Singh of Ghurial.

(iv) SANTA SINGH was one of the chief conspirators and declared to have committed murder of several persons, single-handed and also to have committed robberies and dacoities.

(v) DALIP SINGH, a mere boy of 18, was condemned for several murders and other offences.

An appeal was preferred to the High Court including of one accused sentenced to transportation for life. On July 1, 1926, the High Court rejected the appeals and enhanced the sentence of DHARAM SINGH to one of death.

All of them were executed on February 27, 1926.

Master Stroke

(1926)

It is difficult to guess the shape that a revolutionary urge would ultimately assume in its course. It seeks a suitable opportunity for manifestation in a most unexpected manner.

Some youngmen start with collection and storage of chemicals for the manufacture of bombs and odd weapons that would serve their purpose without knowing when and on what object they would be used. They are simply acting on the urge that drives them forward towards a goal when to be achieved nobody knows.

The police got scent of some conspiracy in the course of investigation in the Kakori Case and they searched a house at Bachaspatipara Lane, Dakhineswar, Baranagore, on November 10, 1925. Youngmen found there were arrested and in the house were seized a live bomb, one Welby six-chambered revolver fully loaded, one muzzle-loading horse pistol, a large number of cartridges, gun powder, pellets, several bottles of nitric and sulphuric acid, glass tubes, batteries, etc. In fact this haunt was

described as "a miniature bomb or explosive factory". Several documents were seized, one of which began as follows: "The aim of the present work is to place in the hands of revolutionary people such weapons as explosive materials," and "the simplest and quickest method has been selected and most powerful and most shattering substances have been chosen."

A case against the nine arrested persons were started before a Special Tribunal the first to be constituted under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act (1925) on November 28, 1925, at Alipore. They were declared to be parties to a criminal conspiracy to commit offences under Section 19 (a) and (f) of the Indian Arms Act and 4 (b) of the Explosive Substances Act and 120-B I. P. C. The possession of explosive substances by the accused persons was clearly "malicious and unlawful and they intended to endanger life or to cause serious injury to property in British India either by themselves or through other persons with the help of those articles".

The judgment in the case was delivered on January 9, 1926. in which ANANTAIAI MITRA, RAJENDRA NATH LAHIRI and another were sentenced to ten years' transportation and others to various terms of imprisonment.

About the find at 4, Sovabazar St., PROMODE RANJAN CHOWDHURY and another were arrested on the same day as at Dakhineswar, on November 10, 1925, in the evening. Amongst the articles seized were one five-chambered revolver of Belgian make, 44 rounds of .450 bore cartridges and 31 cartridges of .31 bore.

There was a mass of literature strewn on the floor. Amongst this was a manuscript in English entitled *Formation of Young India*, which was sub-divided into several sections. The final goal was expressed as "the service to the country and humanity". The 'Immediate Object' was "Independence of the Country." As to the "Means: all possible means including armed revolution."

The "Requisites" were: "(i) An organisation consisting of (a) Sacrificing youngmen, (b) Sympathetic people, (ii) Finance. and (iii) Arms, ammunition and explosives."

Another piece of writing captioned "How to rise?" stated that "revolution in India would come in the following way: (i) Individual demonstration, i.e. murder of high officials; capturing Government money, arms and ammunition, etc.; destroying

Government institutions and bridges, jail outbreaks, wrecking of trains, etc; (ii) Simultaneous demonstration; (iii) Insurrection including guerilla warfare; (iv) Revolution."

The writer advocated communication and contact with England's enemies so that assistance may be obtained in times of need.

Promode Ranjan Chowdhury and his friend were placed before a Special Tribunal at Alipore on January 2, 1926, on charges of conspiracy to unlawfully make, manufacture and possess arms, in contravention of provisions of the Arms Act, the Explosive Substances Act and the Indian Penal Code.

The Sovabazar house was recognised as an outpost of Dakhineswar, a temporary shelter for men and materials to be despatched to the Dakhineswar house, and men of both the groups had been working with the same purpose.

Judgment was delivered on January 15, 1926, and both the accused were awarded the same sentence, viz., five years' rigorous imprisonment.

Thus closed the first part of the drama when the accused after conviction in the two cases were lodged in the Alipore Central Jail to keep the State safe from the depredations of at least a handful of determined men with whom the freedom of the country was the supreme concern.

The second Act of this thrilling drama now started.

In the course of his duties, Bhupendra Nath Chatterji, Special Superintendent of Police, C. I. D. Intelligence Branch, used to visit the Alipore Central Jail to meet the political prisoners in the State Yard almost regularly after the office hours. On May 28, 1926, the Officer came to the jail gate at 5-20 p.m. and then proceeded to the State Yard which was at the head of a passage running north to south towards the jail gate. On the west side of the passage was the Condemned Cell Yard, where prisoners under sentence of death were detained. To the south of it, on the same side of the passage, was the Hajat Yard where under-trial prisoners were accommodated. On the east side of the passage was the Bomb Yard where the prisoners in the Dakhineswar and the allied cases were detained.

Bhupen reached the State Yard at about 5-30 p.m. where

he stayed for half an hour talking to some detenus on the ground floor.

About half an hour later he left that yard. According to evidence for prosecution the ten accused were in the Bomb Yard when Bhupen coming by the passage reached the place. The Warder of the Bomb Yard was overpowered and thrown down on the floor. He was relieved of the key of the enclosure and four men rushed out while the Warder was held fast to the ground by four others.

The Officer was attacked with the speed of lightning with a crow-bar and the baton snatched away from the Warder. He sustained serious injuries, five on the left side of the head and two on the right hand. There was extensive fracture of the skull. The lethal weapon penetrated the nose and lacerated the brain. The globe of the left eye was burst and the whole of the bone of the orbit broken to pieces penetrated the skull smashing the temple bone. The upper jaw was fractured and the face was badly battered. Bhupen died at 8-30 p.m.

The story has been a bit differently narrated by two active participants of the incident. When Bhupen had been coming back from the State Yard he was keenly watched by the members of the conspiracy. One of them asked the Warder to open the gate of the cell so that he can go out and pick up his *dhota* which had dropped on the court-yard below from the first floor. No sooner this was done he came out and called '*hullo*' to the Police Officer who had already passed a few steps ahead of the cell occupied by the prisoners towards the main exit. He stopped and turned back. The prisoner rushed at him, caught him by the collar of his European costume and administered a stunning blow on his nose. The Officer looked dazed with its effect.

The Warder was seen coming to the rescue forgetting his duty to blow the whistle for alarm. PROMODE RANJAN came out with a crow-bar, about two feet long and an inch thick, collected secretly before, and raised it to scare away the Warder who disappeared from the scene in no time. Promode like a springing tiger gave Bhupen repeated blows who with the first staggered and fell down with mutilated face. ANANTAHHARI, who had snatched away the baton of the Warder, joined in the assault. Bhupen was literally battered having received more blows than were necessary for the

purpose. Every one of the party performed his respective share of duty in respect of the plan as a disciplined soldier with perfect skill and composure.

The alarm was sounded, the bell ringing fiercely and all the participants retired to their cells like quiet innocent boys as if nothing of moment had happened within ten miles of their cells. Promode had his hands besmeared with blood and the crow-bar, the fatal weapon, had been literally dripping red. As the washings of hands and the crow-bar would give a clue to the identity of the assailant, Promode washed both the hands as well as the bar in the *thali* (plate) for food for prisoners and gulped down the whole contents that was more blood than water. It was as if Bhimsen satisfying his thirst for vengeance with Duhshasan's blood. Another took the crow-bar and buried it deep in the edge of the wrestling ground meant for the prisoners so successfully that the first two attempts to discover it proved abortive.

Armed police was rushed in and before the orgy of violence on the prisoners could start, the Superintendent of the jail intervened and the whole force had to retire foaming and fretting over their failure to reach the prisoners with their grudge.

On the charge of murder, a case was started again before the same Special Tribunal on June 15, 1926, against ten persons confined in the Bomb Yard which was concluded on June 18. Judgment was delivered on June 21, 1926, in which Anantahari Mitra, Promode Ranjan Chowdhury and another were condemned to death; others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

An appeal was preferred before the High Court and hearing started on July 26, 1926. Judgment was delivered on August 9, 1926, when the two judges presiding over the Bench agreed and confirmed the sentence of Anantahari but differed over Promode Ranjan, one being in favour of transportation for life. The third man was acquitted. The third judge to whom the case of Promode was referred, confirmed the death sentence on August 23, 1926.

Anantahari Mitra and Promode Ranjan Chowdhury were executed on September 28, 1926, a death which resembled in so many respects that of Kanailal Datta in 1908.

Kakori Train Outrage

(1925-1927)

Of the many revolutionary activities in the United Provinces, the Kakori train outrage comes out pre-eminently to be the most important particularly in respect of sacrifice of three, nay four, valuable lives over one particular incident.

Young men hailing from different districts of the U.P. and also from Bengal came together by a common bond of love of their Motherland to discuss ways and means for driving out the foreigners from the country. RAMPRASAD BISMIL of Sahjehanpur declared that 'nothing would come out of non-violent struggle and the country must adopt other means for its emancipation.

Almost all the members of the present conspiracy met at Ramprasad's house early in 1924, to chalk out a programme of work and in a subsequent meeting the course of action was decided upon amongst themselves. Each of them assumed a separate name to be used amongst the members of the Society such as, 'Nawab', 'Gangaram', 'Quick-silver', and so on and so forth. The leader, Ramprasad had four such names. And ASHFAQULLA was known as 'Kunwarji' and used to put on Hindu dress on occasions.

The party under Ramprasad in conjunction with those charged in the Mainpuri Conspiracy Case, where Gendalal Dikshit figured prominently, were alleged to have been involved in several actions taking place in Sherganj, Bichpuri, Mainpuri, etc.

On August 9, 1925, a passenger train, was stopped by the pulling of the alarm chain between Kakori and Alamnagar within fourteen miles of Lucknow Junction. The first information report was lodged with the police on the same day at about 8-30 p.m.

It transpired that when the train had left Kakori for Lucknow at quarter past seven at night four men had previously entered the brake van of the moving train and asked the guard to stop it as they had left their luggage behind at the railway station at Kakori. The guard refused to do so and two raiders instantly overawed him with open revolvers and pulled the com-

munication chord. As the train stopped about sixteen men entered the brake van and removed the chests carrying cash from the guard's van. A number of them kept watch over the passengers.

A Gurkha passenger who tried to take up his rifle was shot dead by one of the raiders and another passenger who leaned out of the window was wounded by a revolver shot. A European who was armed with a rifle was wounded on the leg as he was about to alight from the train to attack the strangers.

The raid had been going on when the arrival of the Dehra Mail near the standing train forced the raiders to take to their heels.

The chests that had been removed from the brake van were emptied at a place not very far from the scene of occurrence the next day.

Searches were conducted at every suspected area in the U.P. and other places and the most of the suspects were arrested on September 25, 1925, from various places in the U.P. No attempt was left untried to establish connection with the revolutionaries of Bengal, Singapore and elsewhere.

A case was started with twenty-five accused including RAMPRASAD BISMIL, RAJENDRA NATH LAHIRI and RAUSHAN SINGH in December, 1925. After the preliminary judicial enquiry the case was sent up to the Sessions on April 16, 1926 which started sitting at Lucknow from May 1, 1926, with twenty, five accused having been discharged. Some had been absconding and the trial proceeded *in absentia*. Besides Kakori, the accused were held responsible for Bamrauli Dacoity (December 25, 1924), Bichpuri (Pilibhit dist.) Dacoity (Mar. 9, 1925) and Dwarakapur Dacoity (committed on May 24, 1925).

After a protracted trial which was held up for a long time due to hunger-strike of the accused three youngmen, RAMPRASAD BISMIL, RAUSHAN SINGH and RAJENDRA NATH LAHIRI were condemned to death and others to various terms of imprisonment under Secs. 121-A, 120-B, 396 and 302 of the Indian Penal Code on April 6, 1927. In the meantime ASHFAQULLA was arrested with a few others and a separate case on the same charges was started against him. The trial at the Sessions was started on March 24, 1927. The judgment awarded extreme penalty of

the law for the accused. The prisoners were separated from one another and Ramprasad was lodged in the Gorakhpur Jail, Rajen Lahiri in the Gonda, Raushan Singh in Allahabad and Ashfaqulla in the Fyzabad Jail.

A petition for mercy to the Viceroy was rejected on October 10, 1927, and the prisoners were informed of the date of execution fixed for October 12, 1927.

The execution was to be stayed as the prisoners appealed to the Privy Council which was admitted in the last week of November, 1927. It was rejected on December 12, and the respective jailors were informed about the result of the appeal.

(i) Rajendra Nath Lahiri was executed in the Gonda Jail on December 17, 1927.

(ii) Ashfaqulla and (iii) Ramprasad Bismil on December 19, 1927, in the Fyzabad and the Gorakhpur Jail, respectively.

In the Naini Jail on December 21, 1927, (iv) Roushan Singh, the last of the comrades, lost his life on the scaffold.

Each of the young men showed exemplary courage in the face of death. The statements and communications are worthy of preservation for the future generations who would be called upon to safeguard the freedom of their Motherland.

From the Gonda Jail wrote Rajen Lahiri on December 13, 1927:

"The Superintendent informed this morning that my appeal to the Privy Council had been rejected. My death will be a glorious one and none need be sorry for it. All of you should pray to God so that I may be born again and may devote my life for the good of the Motherland."

Rajen did not forget to offer his hearty thanks to his fellow countrymen who had helped them in all possible ways in their defence.

A brother of Rajendra Nath who had seen him on the day of his execution informed the public that he (Rajen) looked so cheerful

"as if he was simply changing his material body for a fresh and more dignified one. He faced the punishment quite boldly and there was something Divine on his face. He engaged himself in the *bhajan* songs throughout the previous night and was citing hymns from the Gita and Upanishads until it was 6-15 in the morning.

"He with bold steps and smiling face followed the warders and stood erect on his feet on the platform of the gallows and faced the eternity in a cheerful mood."

Ramprasad with all his courage and resourcefulness in the field of action was moved by the sight of his mother who had come to bid adieu to him before execution. It was a case of transferred grief, of the thought that the mother might feel deeply for the loss of her son.

At the sight of her weeping son and mistaking it to be one of fear for execution, she said that she had not expected to see him so moved at a time when he should face death with the greatest joy and utmost courage. She was at once corrected of her mistake and forthwith her countenance changed from one of sorrow to that of pride.

Ramprasad consoled his father by saying that it did not behove a man, and father of Ramprasad at that, to weep when a lady had overcome her feelings of grief at the loss of her dear son.

Roushan Sing, the report goes, "remained notably composed till his end and the last word which escaped his lips was *Bande Mataram*."

ASHFAQULLA showed a remarkably cool courage and love for his Motherland. The lawyer defending him in the Sessions Court has given a picture of his client which holds him in lofty relief even amongst the revolutionaries. He spurned an attempt on the part of the Government to make a statement relating to his association with the comrades and his own part in the Kakori drama and buy his release.

The outcome of the trial was a foregone conclusion. Three had been condemned to death; further evidence had been adduced to prove his guilt and there was nothing to inspire any hope of escape with his neck. In this background Ashfaqulla appeared in the court-room on the day when the judgment was to be delivered in a very jovial mood clad in a light yellow coloured attire. His mien, his stature and his denouement on that occasion displayed the inner strength of his soul.

Ashfaqulla was awarded two capital punishments for his participation in the Kakori and also in Bichpuri outrages; and given long terms of imprisonment for other offences.

Friends and relations were overwhelmed with emotion on the pronouncement of the judgment. On the other hand Ashfaqulla said there was nothing to give oneself up to grief. There was one matter over which he was not feeling happy. The jailor had said that the prisoner had gained considerably in weight; so much so that he had broken all previous records except of one who had exceeded Ashfaqulla's by another six pounds. He assured the jailor that he would not allow his record to be broken. But alas! he would be prevented from securing that exalted position because he would be put in the condemned cell after the delivery of the judgment. Had he been allowed to receive the 'B Class' prisoners' treatment as he had been enjoying as an undertrial, during the remaining few days of his life, he would certainly have been able to beat all records of all times in this respect.

At the last interview with a friend, his brother and nephews who were allowed to see him in the Fyzabad Jail for the last time, he calmly told his sobbing relations that the least sorrow should not mar the solemn occasion of great rejoicing; they should behave in a different way. He felt himself honoured to find him as a representative of his countrymen on whom had devolved the noble task of struggling for the freedom of the Motherland. They ought to be glad to find that one of their near relations, a brother and an uncle, had been sacrificing his life for the country. They ought to remember that there had been such high-souled men like Kanai and Khudiram in the Hindu community and it was an additional privilege for him because most probably he happened to be the first Mahomedan to follow the footsteps of martyrs of undying fame.

It is a great pity that the halo of glory that these young lads had wrapped around them should be bedimmed by their countrymen in a most flagrant way.

In a Wider Field

(1928)

Maulvi BARKATULLA was one of the most active and resourceful members of the party that had been working outside India for her emancipation.

In early youth he went from Bhopal to England to prosecute his studies there. He had enjoyed the air of freedom in that country and came back with a mature plan of action.

He established contact with some of the revolutionaries of Bengal. On its Partition his feelings became sour and he contemplated joining hands with the natives of the Province who had planned to strike at the root of the power that was responsible for the vandalism. He began to work amongst the Muslims and was able to inculcate to some extent the spirit of nationalism amongst those who had persistently refused to co-operate with the sister communities in any political agitation.

He secretly left India for Japan, which was regarded as an emblem of military strength by the coloured races of Asia. He adopted teaching as a profession and brought out a newspaper *Naya Islam* with himself as its Editor.

He was not allowed any rest in Japan as his steps were dogged by the sleuth-hounds of the British secret service. He somehow managed to reach U.S.A. where he found a surging wave of nationalism amongst the Indian residents and the leaders had been asking all nationalists to return to India and join the revolutionaries who had been preparing themselves for the coming upheaval.

He came to know that attempts were being made to influence the Muslim countries in the Middle East and hastening his departure from U.S.A. joined the Indo-German-Turkish Mission in 1915, at Istanbul. Barkatulla reached Kabul with the Mission and the members were able to form an Azad Government in Afghanistan.

Due to the Afghan Government withdrawing its support "the Mission hurriedly left Afghanistan and Barkatulla went over to Germany and was detailed to direct a campaign to win Indian prisoners of war captured by the Germans from the British ranks

from their allegiance." Barkatulla became a member of the Indian National Party in Berlin which was attached to the German General Staff.

On the termination of World War I, Barkatulla made a tour of some of the European countries preaching the cause of India's freedom and reached Russia in 1921. The next year he came back to Germany and published a newspaper, *Al-Islam*, which had a rather brief existence. From Germany he participated in the deliberations of the Anti-Imperialist Conference held in Brussels in 1927, and delivered a well-reasoned speech advocating the cause of the nations held in bondage by the Imperialist powers.

It is reported that Barkutalla died as an exile on January 5, 1928, in Germany not having many friends near the death bed.

Epic Struggle

(1928-1931)

An Unexpected Turn

The measures adopted by the authorities to quell the disorders left Punjab seething with discontent. Sporadic acts of violence had been taking place at various places from time to time when the Simon Commission reached Lahore on October 30, 1928.

The procession to demonstrate against the Commission had been proceeding towards the railway station where it was obstructed by barbed wire fixed to strong wooden posts. In the first row near the barbed wire fencing stood Lala Lajpat Rai and some other leaders.

The procession was perfectly non-violent and the people had been waiting without arms when it was attacked unprovoked at the orders of some high police officials. One of the blows struck Lalaji's umbrella which was badly damaged while he was given a few lathi blows, one of which struck him on his chest. About the assault Lalaji himself stated that the injuries caused by the police attack although not very serious, yet "I think their after-effects has resulted in a great shock which has affected my health." He died of collapse of heart caused by nervous exhaustion on

November 17, 1928. "The injuries received by him on October 30, no doubt hastened his death" reported his physicians.

After Lalaji's sad demise dire reprisal was not very long to come. It was undertaken by a band of young men who had already been working for causing a revolution for the overthrow of the Government.

Bhagat Singh and his comrades numbering about two scores and a half formed a party as *Hindusthan Republican Association* and the *Indian Republic Party*, which were subsequently merged into one organisation as *Hindusthan Socialist Republican Party*.

At a meeting held at Delhi in August 1928, a Central Committee was constituted with the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of different provinces, a separate leader being put in charge of a distinct region.

BHAGAT SINGH and SUKHDEV were placed in charge of Punjab; CHANDRA SEKHAR AZAD, Shiv Verma and another, in charge of U.P. Similar arrangements were made in respect of Bihar and Orissa, Rajputana and other places. Chandra Sekhar Azad assumed charge of the Military Department. Bhagabati Charan became the Chief Lieutenant of Bhagat Singh.

It was decided that the several Officers-in-Charge should be held responsible for any work or action under their respective jurisdictions. For anything to take place outside the province of any particular leader and any effort made for seeking outside assistance, the matter should be referred to the Central Committee, the only body competent to issue final orders.

All arms and ammunition were to be deposited with the Central Committee and were to be issued for use by members of any province wherever and whenever necessary. So also all matters relating to finance were to have been dealt with by the Central Committee.

Saunders' Murder

The Council of the *Hindusthan Socialist Republican Party*, Lahore, met in a secret conclave in Mozang House on December 10, i.e., just a few days after the Punjab National Bank incident, to chalk out a programme of action. The meeting ended with a decision for murdering Mr. Scott, the man responsible for assaulting Lalaji.

On December 11, one of the party was deputed to watch the movements of the said police officer and it was done on three consecutive days. Preparations were made for action on December 14, at 4 p.m.

In the meantime Bhagat Singh had been getting ready for 'the Day' with comrades selected for the purpose. As a part of the programme leaflets printed on pink paper on behalf of the *Hindusthan Socialist Republican Party* were being distributed broadcast amongst all classes of people.

The date for attacking Scott was postponed till December 17. Rajguru, Bhagat Singh, Chandra Sekhar Azad and another assembled together near the office of the Senior Superintendent of Police which was situated on the main road which adjoins the D. A. V. College and the District courts. They had three cycles kept ready to help them in their escape. One was to go on foot.

Rajguru advanced a few steps towards the place from where he could attack his victim. Azad kept himself very close to the enclosure of the D. A. V. College near the entrance.

Saunders, mistaken for Scott, came out of the office of the Superintendent of Police at 4-37 p.m. and was going to ride his motor cycle when RAJGURU darted forward with a revolver in his hand and fired at Saunders hitting him on the head. He fell to the ground and BHAGAT SINGH came running to the place and fired five or six shots on the prostrate body of Saunders. The assailant seemed to be extraordinarily self-possessed as after shooting he turned his back on the scene and walked away nonchalantly with his hands in his pocket.

When the shooting had been going on a European Sergeant came out of the office and chased the assailants along with Channan Singh, Saunders' guard.

All the participants in the shooting proceeded towards the main gate of the D. A. V. College boarding. One of them turned round and fired at the Sergeant which narrowly missed. This did not stop the Sergeant from continuing his pursuit. As it happened, he slipped and fell and broke his arm.

Rajguru and Bhagat Singh also had almost entered the small gate of the D. A. V. College when they noticed Channan Singh advancing very close on their heels. Chandra Sekhar Azad who had been waiting to cover their escape fired at the policeman

mortally hitting him in the abdomen. He continued his chase a few yards more trailing the pathway with dripping blood.

The assailants entered the D. A. V. College by the entrance near the Principal's quarters, passed through a hall to the boarding house, reached the first floor and went to the rear part of the building. They scaled down the wall on the ground, took their cycles and escaped by the back door of the building.

The police in their hunt subsequently found the cycles abandoned at a distance and it came to be known that a car had been waiting somewhere behind the Nabha House in which the culprits made off for the country and all tracks were lost of them.

Then began a frantic search for the assailants. The forests on the bank of the Ravi were combed by the police in the expectation of discovering revolvers or any other articles connected with the outrage that might have been left behind during the flight.

The police in the course of investigation searched several places including the offices of the Servant of India Society, Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Hostel, the *Daily Pratap*, etc., but nothing incriminating was found. Up till December 10, nothing less than twenty arrests were made of whom there was a number of students.

On the other hand a letter was received by the Editor, *The Tribune* of Lahore, from a person who declared himself as the Commander-in-Chief of the revolutionary forces of India. It was stated in the letter that he was still at large, that none of his associates had been touched, that he still possessed a large quantity of ammunition and cartridges and that he was determined to go on with his activities.

On December 21, 1928, a hand-written poster was found on the walls of the Lahore and Shalimar gates purported to be from the same gentleman and offering a reward of Rs. 5,000 for his own arrest in addition to any that might have been offered by the Government.

It was further stated that "his thirst for blood is still unquenched", and he proposed to remain in Lahore for another five days. He added that he had no desire to murder Channan Singh.

Several other posters bearing on the subjects were found

pasted here and there in the course of the next few weeks but the frequency of their appearance made it quite clear that it was done by designing persons more in fun than for anything serious.

Arrests

Arrests of some suspects did give the Punjab police neither satisfaction nor rest. Secret watch and following up of information of a suspicious nature became the rule with them.

On April 9, 1929, the police received information that certain persons had engaged some iron-moulders of Lahore to make a few oval-shaped articles hollow on both sides which were stated to be parts of a gas machine. The curiosity of the local workmen was roused and they mentioned this fact to a constable of acquaintance. Information passed on to the police headquarters who in turn instructed the informant to watch the individuals who had given orders for the articles and follow them to their destination.

SUKHDEV was seen to visit the moulder from time to time and to quietly wend his way to the Kashmere Building. The house appeared to be locked and vacant during the day and opened at night. Strict watch was kept to ascertain when it was visited. It was found that the drains of the house showed signs of deposit of something like sulphur in them. In the meantime after comparison of the cases of bombs, information received from Delhi showed that the bombs thrown in the Assembly Chamber were shaped like those manufactured at Lahore.

Eventually the information led to the raid on April 15, 1929, of room No. 69, Kashmere Building in McLeod Road rented by one Bhagabati Charan at Rs. 13 per mensem about a month before. The room was not occupied for about a fortnight after which period some students were found living there. They used to leave the flat at 10 a.m. and come back in the afternoon. They would sometimes be absent for days. Searches conducted at the place resulted in discovery by the police of 11 bombs, 24 cartridges and two pistols. The tenant, Bhagabati Charan, was absent at the time. Three persons were arrested at the place of whom one was Sukhdev.

On the same date a man was arrested at Bilaspur Railway Station with seven bombs in his possession. On May 13, 1929,

search at Saharanpur discovered five bombs, five revolvers and two cartridges. Two arrests were made at the place. The total number of persons in police custody was more than twenty at the time.

A 'Noisy' Session

While the Meerut Conspiracy Case had been going on and the Lahore Conspiracy Case was in the offing, the Government of India introduced a Bill in the Legislative Assembly on February 5, 1929, which was characterised by the Leader of the Congress Party as "aimed at Indian nationalism and at the Congress". The Bill was sent to the Select Committee for necessary amendments.

The President of the Assembly, Vithalbhai J. Patel, recommended on April 2, 1929, postponement of consideration of the Bill till the Meerut trial had been concluded. He suggested that before he gave a ruling, the Government might consider the advisability of proceeding with the Trades Disputes Bill. But the Home Member made it clear that it would be dangerous to public interests and he was not prepared to accept the advice.

On April 8, 1929, the President at the outset gave his rulings on the Trades Disputes Bill. About the other matter he had just uttered, "Now that the Trades Disputes Bill is out of the way, I now proceed to give my ruling regarding the Public Safety Bill" and had not finished when two bombs exploded in quick succession on the floor of the House followed by two revolver shots.

Naturally, panic overtook and overwhelmed the Members and the visitors who ran helter skelter and created a pandemonium.

It was noticed that one young man in the visitor's gallery pushed his way forward and coming to the railings bent over it and threw the first bomb. Then another followed him with the second.

The impact of the explosion particularly of the second was so great that the floor where the bomb had exploded was torn and two benches were ripped.

The second man drew out a revolver immediately after and fired two random shots. Then he began to throw away certain leaflets in the air purported to be the Manifesto of the *Hindusthan Republican Party*. (Vide Appendix, p. 412).

One of them shouted at the top of his voice, "I have done my duty to the country", and threw away his revolver on his seat. The other followed suit. The sergeants came and they allowed themselves to be arrested without the least resistance.

It transpired that they had entered the Assembly Chamber and took their seats before anybody came there. They must have waited for more than an hour and a half with the bombs wrapped up in paper before they used it.

The names of the two young men as given out by themselves were Bhagat Singh, about 24 years of age, of Punjab, and the other, Batukeswar Datta, about 22, of Bengal but domiciled in Punjab. Bhagat Singh was wanted in connection with another case and was able to evade arrest so far.

In reply to questions Bhagat Singh told the police officers that insults had been heaped upon the nation through the so-called Indian Parliament and it was disgraceful to allow such things to pass without serious protest. They had, therefore, decided to sacrifice their lives to stop the farce and present the bureaucracy in its true colours before the public.

The arrested boys seemed to be absolutely calm and composed as if nothing had happened.

The following notice headed *Loud Voice to Make the Deaf Hear* was pasted on the Lahori Gate on April 15, 1929.

"Police unlawful action in Lahore on the 7th instant has compelled us to take further action in the matter. It has, therefore, been decided by the Commander-in-Chief of the Republican Association Army at Simla that the Officer-in-Charge of the Lahore police will be cut out of the way just like Saunders. Soldiers Roll No. 203 and 182 are, therefore, directed to take immediate action.

By Order
G. Rasul
Personal Assistant
Commander-in-Chief, Republican
Association Army of India."

At the bottom of the notice which was on red paper and typewritten appeared the following:

"Copy forwarded for information of soldiers 203 and 182 and Scott, Senior Superintendent of Police, Lahore, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore and Editor, "Tribune", Lahore."

Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Datta made a statement on

June 6, 1929, before the Magistrate. As to the motive and circumstances relating to the incident they said that

"the attack was not directed towards any individual but against an institution itself. . . We are next to none in our love for humanity and as such far from having any malice against any individual; we hold human life sacred beyond words. We humbly claim to be no more than serious students of history and conditions of our country and human aspirations and we despise hypocrisy."

The protest was against the Central Legislative Assembly not only for its worthlessness but also for its far-reaching power of doing mischief.

"We have been convinced that it exists only to demonstrate to the world India's humiliation and helplessness and it symbolises the overriding domination of an irresponsible and autocratic rule."

Time and again national demand had found its way to the wastepaper basket; solemn resolutions passed by the House had been trampled under foot on the floor of the so-called Indian Parliament; resolutions regarding the repeal of repressive and arbitrary measures had been treated with sublime contempt while on the contrary Government's measures and proposals rejected as unacceptable by elected members have been restored by a stroke of the pen. It was, therefore, they were constrained to call the institution "a hollow show and mischievous make-believe."

It continued,

"The mentality of public leaders who help to squander public time and money on the so manifestly a stage-managed exhibition of India's helpless subjection was incomprehensible to them. The wholesale arrests of leaders of the labour movement only served to confirm their conviction that the labouring millions of India have nothing to expect from an institution that stood as a menacing monumnet to the strangling powers of exploiters and the serfdom of the helpless labourers."

Quoting the words of an erstwhile Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to the effect "that the bomb was necessary to awaken England", the accused proceeded:

"Our sole purpose was 'to make the deaf hear' and to give the heedless a timely warning" as they keenly felt that "from under the seeming stillness of the sea of Indian humanity a veritable storm is about to break out. We have only hoisted a danger signal to warn those who are speeding along without heeding the grave dangers ahead."

They had "only marked the end of the era of Utopian non-violence" about "the futility of which the rising generation was fully convinced."

"The expression 'Utopian non-violence' needed some explanation. It was the force when aggressively applied is violence, and is therefore, morally unjustifiable; but when it is used in furtherance of legitimate cause, it has its moral justification. Elimination of force at all costs is Utopian, and the new movement which has arisen in the country and of which we have given a warning, is inspired by ideals which guided guru Govind Singh and Shivaji, Kemal Pasha and Reza Khan, Washington and Garibaldi, Lafayette and Lenin."

If they had intended to cause serious damage to property and destruction of human life they could easily do so with a bomb of a more devastating nature because they possessed the requisite knowledge for the manufacture of such bombs. They could also throw the bombs in the thickest part of the Assembly and also on Simon who had been sitting in the Chamber and within the range of their attack.

They continued,

"We then deliberately offered ourselves to bear the penalty for what we have done and to let the Imperialist exploiters know that they cannot kill ideas. By crushing two insignificant units the nation cannot be crushed. We wanted to emphasise the historical lesson that *lettres de cachet* and bastilles could not crush the revolutionary movement in France. Gallows and Siberian mines could not extinguish the Russian revolution. Can Ordinances and Safety Bills sniff out the flame of freedom in India? Conspiracy cases, trumped or discovered, and the incarceration of all young men who cherish the vision of a greater ideal cannot check the march of revolution."

Bhagat Singh was asked in the lower court as to what they meant by the word "Revolution".

His answer was,

"Revolution does not necessarily involve sanguinary strife nor is there any place in it for an individual vendetta. It is not the cult of the bomb and pistol. By 'revolution' we mean that the present order of things which is based on manifest injustice, must change. Producers or labourers in spite of being a most necessary element of society are robbed by their exploiters of the fruits of their labour and deprived of their elementary right and this must stop.

"The capitalist exploiters squander millions on their whims. These terrible inequalities and forced disparity of chances are heading to world chaos. The present order of society is merry-making on the brink of a

vulcano and innocent children of the exploiters no less than millions of the exploited are walking on the edge of dangerous precipice."

To save the situation radical change was, therefore, essentially necessary and the society must be reorganised on a socialistic basis. "Unless this is done and exploitation of man by man and of nations by nations, which goes masquerading as Imperialism, is brought to an end, the sufferings and carnage with which humanity is threatened today cannot be prevented, and all talks of ending wars and ushering an era of universal peace is undisguised hypocrisy." The contemplated revolution would be sovereignty of the proletariat "as a result of which a world federation should redeem humanity from the bondage of capitalism and the misery of imperialistic wars."

The accused concluded by saying:

"This is our ideal and with this ideology for our inspiration we have given a fair and loud enough warning. If, however, it goes unheeded and the present system of Government continues to be an impediment in the way of the neutral forces that are welling up, a grim struggle must ensue involving the overthrow of all obstacles and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Revolution is the inalienable right of mankind. Freedom is the imperishable birthright of all. The labour is the real sustainer of society. Sovereignty of the people is the ultimate destiny of the workers. For these ideals and for this faith we shall welcome any suffering to which we may be condemned. To the altar of this revolution we have brought our youth as incense, for no sacrifice is too great for so magnificent a cause. We are content. We await the advent of Revolution. Long Live Revolution!"

The Trial

Preliminary investigations having been finished Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Datta were placed before a Magistrate in the Central Jail to take their trial on May 7, 1929, at Delhi charged under Sec. 307 I.P.C., and Sec. 3 of the Explosive Substances Act and attempt at murder.

As the accused were brought before the Magistrate they shouted "Long Live Revolution!", and "Down with Imperialism!", whereupon both of them were ordered to be handcuffed.

The next day, May 8, they were committed to take their trial at the Sessions.

On June 10, 1929, the Assessors were divided in their opinion.

On June 12, judgment for transportation for life was pronounced by the Judge.

The accused preferred an appeal to the High Court which sat on January 6, 1930. It was dismissed on January 13, 1930.

Triumph of the Spirit

When the Lahore Conspiracy Case was started on July 10, 1930, there had been some accused who had already been on hunger-strike for some days and were in a very weak state of health.

After their conviction Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Datta were subjected to serious physical hardships and humiliating treatment in jail. Their protests went unheeded and they decided to launch on a trial of strength with the Government to raise the status of political prisoners which as they demanded must at least be on the footing of European special class convicts. They contended that they should not be given hard labour, be kept separate from "the worst type of hardened criminals" and that they would be provided with facilities for reading books and other literature while serving out their sentence. Their demand was treated with contempt and because of their utter foolhardiness further humiliations were crowded upon them. They were put on fetters and for the breach of jail discipline, punishments of a more severe nature were devised and applied.

As a last resort they decided to render themselves incapable of hard physical labour and to press their demand home they gave up taking any food whatsoever that might supply nourishment to their body.

On June 23, it leaked out from the prison cell that "for the last nine days" Batukeswar had refused all food and for this offence he was punished with bar-fetters from the beginning. Due to weakness he could neither speak nor stand on his legs.

On July 9, 1929, Bhagat Singh was taken to Lahore from the Mianwali Jail in handcuffs and fetters. This was, it transpired, the 25th day of his hunger-strike.

Batukeswar had to be carried in a stretcher in the Court on July 13, because of his extreme weakness due to refusal of food. The accused in the dock shouted "Long Live Revolution!" and "Down with Imperialism!"

A sympathetic hunger-strike was resorted to by the co-accused and JATIN DAS who reached Lahore on June 16, 1929, was one of them.

After waiting for ten days the jail authorities applied force for making the prisoners take their diet. Each cell was visited by five convict warders accompanied by a doctor. The prisoner was thrown on the ground; the hands, legs and the head were held fast to prevent all chances of movement. In such a state milk was poured through a tube inserted down the nostril to the stomach, clenched teeth preventing the tube being passed through the opening of the mouth.

As it was the determination of the prisoner not to allow any milk reaching the stomach, the resistance to such procedure was naturally very stiff and the corresponding suffering of the prisoner very great.

The method, from the point of view of the jail authorities, succeeded to a certain extent because that kept the person alive. The prisoner then had to adopt means to induce vomiting so that even the small quantity of food that had entered the stomach might be gulped out.

Because of the alarming condition of his health Jatin was allowed bail on two sureties of Rs. 25,000 each, on July 2, and on the very next day the order was cancelled without assigning any reason.

On July 11, 1929, as the prisoners were brought back from the Court, eight Pathans were employed to compel Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar to allow force-feeding. In the unequal struggle both suffered a good deal. Bhagat Singh was mercilessly belaboured and marks of violence were shown to the Court next day. Batukeswar was rendered unconscious.

The methods adopted by the hunger-strikers to carry on the grim fight have been described by Ajoy Ghosh (*Bhagat Singh and his Comrade*) himself a hunger-striker undertrial in the case, in the following manner:

~~Determined~~ Determined to break us the jail officials removed all water from our cells and placed milk instead in the pitcher. This was the worst ordeal imaginable. After a day, thirst grew unbearable. I would drag myself to the pitcher, hoping every time to find water but drew back at the sight of

milk. It was maddening. If the man who had hit upon this device had been there before me, I would have killed him.

"Outside, the guard sat watching every moment, mute, impassive.

"I could not trust myself much longer. I knew that in a few hours more I was bound to give way and drink the milk. My throat was parched, my tongue swollen.

"I called the guard. As he stood outside the barred door I asked him to give a few drops of water at least. His reply was: 'I can't do it. I have no permission.'

"Fury took possession of me. I snatched the pitcher and hurled it against the door, breaking it to pieces, spilling the milk on the guard. He thought I had gone mad. He was not far from right.

"In the meantime sympathetic hunger-strikes were taking place wherever there were political prisoners. A powerful mass movement had grown up to back our demands The Meerut Conspiracy Case prisoners went on hunger-strike after a few days. The news flashed across the seas. It created a stir in England. World attention was focussed on conditions in Indian prisons."

On July 13, the Government conceded that "special diet may be allowed on medical grounds only." The prisoners refused to yield as the Government had not conceded 'special diet' as their right as political prisoners.

While others had been slowly passing from life to the jaws of death by inches, the condition of Jatin Das took a serious turn on July 24, 1929. His pulse failed twice which was attributed to the exertion of even the feeble resistance he offered to feeding by force. When a tube was being inserted through his nostril and another through his throat, he lost all consciousness. The previous day he had been warned that if he would not submit, worse lessons awaited him. The threat failed to produce any effect on the dying man, and now he was made to feel the consequence.

On July 24, 1929, Jatin Das was removed to the jail hospital. The news of the grave condition of certain prisoners due to mass hunger-strike agitated the minds of the leaders of the country. The All India Congress Committee, then holding its session at Allahabad, noted with concern, on July 26, that the methods adopted by the Government "would shock peoples of a barbarous country."

On the 25th the doctors did not venture to apply the least force for feeding him because it was considered that "artificial feeding was of no good to him owing to the resistance which he

offers." There was slight fever and sign of congestion at the base of the lungs.

On July 26, Jatin's condition deteriorated further. He developed pneumonia with a temperature of 103°.

His condition became critical on July 31, and fits of unconsciousness became very frequent. As medicine was mixed with water, he refused to take any liquid whatsoever.

On August 1, his pulse-beat slowed down to 45. Next day he took a few drops of water only to moisten his tongue. During the night of August 6, he was unconscious at least for four hours at a stretch. On the same day he was given enema which rendered him more weak.

Jatin now crossed the danger point.

On August 23, he passed a restless night; on the 26th, his eye-sight was affected. On the next day it was noticed that his brain was getting anaemic and the left leg losing power of movement. On August 30, he was prevailed upon to take medicine which caused hiccough to start.

In deference to the wishes of the Members of the Punjab Jail Enquiry Committee, which had been set up on the order of the Government issued on August 18, for examination of rules relating to under-trial and convicted prisoners, "the hunger-strikers of the Lahore Conspiracy Case decided to withdraw their strike from 5 p.m. of September 2." It was now too late for Jatin who "marched straight on towards death and freedom."

On September 1, Jatin's left side down from the waist became completely paralysed. He was unable to open his eyes and his voice completely failed.

September 3 dawned with high fever, rapid pulse and signs of sinking in the patient. He became very restless from high fever on September 6.

At about seven in the evening of September 8, Jatin suffered from a collapse of his hand and feet.

On September 10, the prisoner completed the 60th day of fast. His brain became anaemic; his limbs lost all power of locomotion and he was now more dead than alive. On September 11, the Home Member declared in the Assembly that Jatin's condition was critical.

Jatin vomited blood and his palms and feet became cold on September 12, in the morning.

The fateful moment for which Jatin had desired came with slow but steady steps relieving him from pain at 1-5 p.m. on September 13, 1929, when he had completed the 63rd day of his fast. About 10 in the morning he regained sufficient consciousness to recall his friends to his bedside and bade them good-bye in a cheerful spirit.

On September 12, the day before Jatin's demise, a prominent Muslim member declared in the Assembly that "a man who resorts to hunger-strike is moved by his soul."

The last conscious words that Jatin could utter with great difficulty were: "I do not want my obsequies to be performed at Kali Bari in orthodox Bengali fashion. I am not a Bengali; I am an Indian."

About 2-30 p.m. Jatin's body was brought out on a wooden bier from the Borstal Jail. His eyes were sunken deep in their sockets and his cheek-bone heavily protruded out due to great emaciation. His face was ghastly pale.

Indian nationalist newspapers wrote columns of editorials extolling the sacrifice of Jatin and his power of endurance against the pangs of hunger and thirst and the spectre of creeping death that had been spreading its shadow over a period of long sixty-three days without remorse, without respite.

The Tribune wrote on Jatin's demise:

"If ever a man died a hero and martyr to a noble cause, that man is Jatindra Nath Das and the blood of the martyr has in all ages and countries been the seed of higher and nobler life, better social and political order."

Mary, the worthy spouse of Terence McSwiney, the Lord Mayor of Cork, who had sacrificed his life in Ireland under similar circumstances wired:

"Family Terence McSwiney unites patriotic Indian in grief and pride on death of Jatindra Nath Das. Freedom will come."

On September 24, 1929, when the Court trying the case of Jatindra Nath Das and others met, the Crown Counsel paid his tribute to the memory of one for whose death on the gallows he had been striving for through a judicial pronouncement. Said he:

"With the permission of the Court I ask leave on behalf of my colleagues and myself to say a brief word of reverence to the tragic event which has occurred since the last sitting of the Court. I desire on behalf of all to express sincere regret and genuine sorrow which we feel on account of the untimely death of Jatindra Nath Das. There are qualities which compel admiration of all men alike and pre-eminent among them are qualities of courage and constancy in the pursuit of an ideal. Although we do not share the ideals which he followed, we cannot but admire the unwavering fortitude and firmness of purpose he displayed."

Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar abandoned hunger-strike on October 4, 1929, in deference to the resolution of the All India Congress Committee.

After the arrests and some of the suspects still absconding a case was started against the accused composed of two parts that of bomb factory at Kashmere Building and the murder of Saunders and other offences committed before and after the incident.

On June 26, 1929, a challan was filed against six accused including Sukhdev under Sections 302, 120-B, and 109 (abetment). In the absence of one of the accused the case was adjourned till July 10.

Some of the principal accused were:

Sukhdev *alias* Dyal, *alias* Swami, *alias* Villager, son of Ramlal, Lyallpur, arrested on April 15, in Lahore Bomb Factory;

Jatindra Nath Das, son of Bankim Chandra Das of Bhowanipore, Calcutta, arrested on June 14, 1929, in Calcutta and brought to Lahore on June 16, under escort;

Bhagat Singh, son of Kishen Singh, resident of Khawasrian, Lahore, arrested in the Central Legislative Chamber on April 8, 1929, and convicted in the Assembly Bomb Outrage Case;

Raghunath, *alias* "M", *alias* Shivram Rajguru, son of Hari Rajguru of Sadashivpeth, Poona, who was placed before the Court on October 18, 1929, after his arrest at Poona a few days before.

Of the absconding accused two were more prominent; *viz.*, Chandra Sekhar Azad, *alias* Panditji, son of Baijnath Ram *alias* Sitaram, Bhilopore, Benares;

Bhagwati Charan, *alias* B. C. Vohra, son of Rai Bahadur Shiv Charan Das, Lahore.

Bhagat Singh's complicity with the Saunders' murder came to be known through a statement of a person in course of an

investigation relating to the Dusserah bomb explosions, first of which occurred in 1926, and the second in 1928, in Roshnara (Roshani) Gate. It transpired that two ex-students of the Oriental College had been frequenting the boarding house on the first and second floors of the building where the bombs exploded.

Further complicity of Bhagat Singh was established by the fact that his pistol seized in the Assembly house had the same bore as what had been used in the Lahore outrage of December 17, 1928.

It was contended by the Government that the accused along with others at Lahore and at other places in British India at various times and occasions from 1924, till the time of their arrest had been engaged in a conspiracy to wage war against the King, in depriving him of the sovereignty in British India and by criminal force had tried to overawe the Government established by law in India.

The means adopted to achieve their objective were collection of arms, men and munitions, securing of fund for the same purpose by means of forcing or raiding banks and treasuries, the manufacturing of bombs, murder of persons who obstructed the carrying out of the objects of conspiracy, blowing up of trains, production, possession and circulation of seditious and revolutionary literature, rescue of persons convicted of political offences and detained in lawful custody, seduction of educated youths with a view to enlist them in the conspiracy and to obtain help, monetary or otherwise, from persons in foreign countries who might feel interested in accomplishment of revolution in India and by any other methods found necessary for adoption.

The accused were credited with certain overt acts of which the following were specifically mentioned:

An attempt on the life of an Inspector of police, C.I.D., at Benares on January 13, 1928;

Embezzlement of funds of a post office at Burhalganj, district Gopalpur, on June 26, 1928, in furtherance of the object of the party;

Plan for plundering the Punjab National Bank on December 4, 1928;

Murder of Saunders on December 17, 1928;

Throwing of bombs and firing of pistols in the Central Legislative Assembly Chamber on April 8, 1929;

Dacoity at Maulnia on June 7, 1929;

Manufacture of bombs at Lahore, Saharanpur, Bilaspur, Calcutta and Agra;

Unsuccessful attempt at blowing up of the train carrying the members of the Simon Commission from Bombay to Poona by means of dynamite;

Planning for rescue of prisoners convicted in the Kakori Conspiracy Case, etc.

The prisoners entered the court room on July 10, 1929, shouting *Long Live Revolution ! Down with Imperialism !* and at the appearance of Bhagat Singh and Dutta the prisoners renewed their slogan and embraced each other. At the outset one of the accused complained to the Magistrate that a policeman had abused him and if no steps were taken to remove the offender he would be compelled to "to take the law in his own hands".

There was no arrangement for defence of some of the accused and the Crown Counsel submitted a petition on July 19, for engaging lawyers at the cost of the Government. The High Court rejected the petition on July 26, on the ground that the Special Magistrate trying the case was not authorised to appoint counsel on behalf of the hunger-striking prisoners without their consent.

Exasperated by the treatment at the hands of the police and the Magistrate's failure to give them protection the prisoners created a situation which was very difficult for the Magistrate to control.

He ordered that each accused should be handcuffed with a constable at the time of coming to and departure of the accused from the court.

The trial could not proceed smoothly as various difficulties cropped up in its course and there had been occasional breaks due to adjournment from time to time. The accused, at least some of them, could not or wilfully did not attend the court and by August 14, 1929, speculations became rife that section 540-B of the Criminal Procedure was going to be amended providing for an enquiry or trial being held where the accused's absence arises from his voluntary act such as hunger strike. It desired also to empower the Magistrate or a Judge to dispense with the attendance of any accused and proceed with the enquiry in his absence if he is satisfied that the accused by his own conduct rendered himself

incapable of being present in the Court. The finding of the court as a result of such enquiry in the absence of the accused in such circumstances could not be held illegal but the accused would have the right to be represented by a counsel at a later stage.

On September 8, 1929, the Code of Criminal Procedure Amendment Act 1929, was introduced in the Legislative Assembly by the Home Member.

On the issue of the Bill an adjournment motion was moved by the Congress Opposition in the Legislative Assembly on September 14, to censure the Government policy regarding the treatment of undertrials in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. In the teeth of opposition of the Treasury Benches the motion was carried by 55 votes to 47.

The Government received a rude shock and instead of forcing it through the Assembly outright sent the Bill for circulation, the object being "to create mutual trust and remove suspicion", with the threat that "if emergency arose before the next meeting of the Assembly, the Government would reserve the right to have emergency power to prevent delaying tactics."

The trial proceeded in a most perfunctory manner. On October 21, the witness, an approver was seen sinking in the box hit by a shoe thrown at him by an accused. The Magistrate ordered that the accused should be in handcuffs while in the Court. On the next day the prisoners refused to come out of the police van for attending the court room while both the hands were in handcuffs. They were bodily lifted from the van and placed in the dock.

On October 23, the accused complained of severe torture by the police and sought the protection of the Magistrate. While they were brought out from the barracks it was suggested that they be taken to the court with handcuffs on both hands which they protested. They were then sent back and were again called out after an hour when they saw about 300 policemen and warders ready for applying force.

The accused refused for the second time to be handcuffed when they were subjected to inhuman assault, one of the methods applied being penetration of fingers into the rectum and kicking at the testicles. The assault together with a liberal use of canes

continued for more than an hour when the prisoners kept themselves absolutely non-violent.

The accused let the Court know that they would go undefended from the next day, October 24, 1929.

On May 1930, the Government issued an ordinance terminating the preliminary trial of the accused and authorising the Chief Justice of Punjab to constitute a Tribunal of three judges for finishing the trial expeditiously. The judges so selected were to be invested with powers to deal with wilful obstruction to administration of justice.

The Tribunal dispensed with the presence of the accused on May 17, 1930.

Charges were framed against fourteen accused under sections 120-B, 121-A, 122, 123, and 302 I.P.C. and sections 4, 5, and 6 of the Explosive Substances Act on July 11, 1930.

The long drawn trial came to an end on October 7, 1930, when judgment was delivered by the Tribunal.

(i) BHAGAT SINGH was found guilty under sections 121 and 302 I.P.C. and Sec. 4-B of the Explosive Substances Act;

(ii) SHIVRAM RAJGURU, *alias* 'M' under sections 121 and 302 I.P.C.

(iii) SUKHDEV under sections 121 and 302 read with sections 109 and 120-B I.P.C. and Sec. 4-B of the Explosive Substances Act and all the three were sentenced to death.

Eight others were sentenced to transportation for life.

On the pronouncement of the judgment Bhagat Singh said, "There was more pleasure in being hanged than linger in jail and file appeals."

An appeal was preferred to the Privy Council and it was rejected on February 11, 1931.

On March 3, 1931, the officials of the Central Jail called on the relations of the condemned prisoners and asked them to interview the accused.

Great hopes were raised in the public mind when it became known that Mahatma Gandhi had taken up the matter with the Viceroy seriously and had been trying to mitigate the severity of the sentence.

Without giving any hint to Mahatmaji the Viceroy rejected the petition and everything was now made ready for the final stage.

The father of Bhagat Singh received a communication on March 18, 1931, at Lahore which stated,

"I am directed to inform you that your interview with the condemned prisoner Bhagat Singh has been fixed for the 23rd March at 11 a.m. You should arrange to bring all your blood relations with you."

Similar notices were received by the relations of the other two prisoners.

On Monday, March 23, 1931, all the three prisoners were executed in the evening at quarter to seven in the Lahore Central Jail.

The cremation was performed by the agents of the Government on March 24.

The following notice was issued by the District Magistrate and was found pasted at different places of the city in the early hours of the morning of March 24:

"The public are hereby informed that the dead bodies of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev who were hanged yesterday evening (March 23) were taken out of the jail to the bank of the Sutlej where they were cremated according to Sikh and Hindu rites and their remains were also thrown into the water."

A letter by Sukhdev to his brother from the prison was intercepted by the police which contained the plan and motive of action. An interesting study, the letter was couched in the following language:

Plan of Action

"First of all we thought that one man should be sent with a pistol and after killing Mr. Scott, should there and then give himself up. Then in a statement he should have given out that revenge for national insult so long as revolutionaries existed could be taken in that way. It was, however, thought better to send three men, as man-power was believed to be deficient in the people. In this too, the object of making good our escape was not predominating; it was not so much wished. Our idea was that after the murder if the police followed us we should face them. He who survived and was arrested should make his statement. With this in view, we ran away and got over the roof of the D. A. V. College Hostel at the time of action. It was so arranged that Bhagat Singh, who could recognise Mr. Scott, was to fire the first shot. Rajguru was to stand at a little distance and protect Bhagat Singh, and if anyone attacked Bhagat Singh, then Rajguru was to face the opponent. After this both Bhagat Singh and Rajguru were to run away, and as while running away they could not

return back to shoot those who chased them, Panditji was to stand behind them for their protection.

"At the same time we were determined to pay more attention to kill him rather than to save our lives. We did not like that the person aimed at should die in hospital. For this reason even after Rajguru had fired the shot Bhagat Singh did not cease firing till he was satisfied that he (victim) was dead. To run after murder was not our plot. We wished to enlighten the public that it was a political murder and its perpetrators were revolutionaries and not associates of Malangi. We, therefore, affixed our posters after that and sent some for publication. Alas, neither our leaders nor the Press rendered any assistance at that stage, and in order to deceive the Government they deceived their countrymen. We desired that they should write in a roundabout way that it was a political murder and was the result of the Government's policy which was responsible for such action. But they knowing all this and in spite of my repeatedly saying this, did not dare to say so. It was a good thing that we were arrested and everything came to light to the people.

"Dear brother, I consider my arrest as good luck only for this reason. After clearing the nature of this action I was to dwell on policy. I want to show that our idea was that our actions should fulfil the desires of the public and should be in response to those grievances against the Government so that they might attract public sympathy and support. With this view we wanted to infuse revolutionary ideals and tactics in the public and the expression of such ideas looks more glorified from the mouth of one who stands on the gallows for the cause."

APPENDIX

The pamphlet headed *Hindusthan Socialist Republican Army* and signed by one Balraj, Commander-in-Chief ran thus :

'It takes a loud voice to make the deaf hear' with these immortal words uttered at a similar occasion by a valiant French anarchist martyr, do we strongly justify this action of ours. Without repeating the humiliating history of the past ten years of the working of the Reforms and without mentioning the insults hurled down upon the head of the Indian nation through this House, the so-called Indian Parliament, we want to point out that while the people are expecting some more crumbs of reforms from the Simon Commission and are even quarrelling over the distribution of expected bones, the Government are thrusting upon us new repressive measures like the Public Safety and Trade Disputes Bills while reserving the Press Bill for the next session. Indiscriminate arrests of labour leaders working in the open field clearly indicate whither the wind blows.

In these extremely provocative circumstances the *Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association* in all seriousness and realising its full responsibility have decided and ordered its Army to do this particular action so that a stop be put to this humiliating force and to let the alien bureaucratic exploiters do what they wish but to make them come before the public eye in their mailed form.

Let the representatives of the people return to their constituencies and prepare the masses for the coming revolution and let the Government know while protesting against the Public Safety and Trade Disputes Bills and the callous murder of Lala Lajpat Rai on behalf of the helpless Indian masses, we want to emphasise that you can kill individuals but you cannot kill ideas. Great empires crumbled but all the ideas survived. The Bourbons and the Czars fell while revolutions marched triumphantly ahead.

We are sorry to admit that we who attach so great sanctity to human life, we who dream of a very glorious future when man will be enjoying perfect peace and full liberty have been forced to shed human blood. But sacrifice of individuals at the altar of great revolution that will bring freedom to all rendering exploitation of man by man impossible is inevitable. Long live Revolution !

Trusted Lieutenant

(1930)

Known in the Revolutionary Socialist Republican Party as the trusted lieutenant of Bhagat Singh, BHAGWATI CHARAN (Vohra), of Lahore, played a very important role in the risky affairs of Punjab that led to execution of Bhagat Singh and his two comrades, Sukhdev and Rajguru.

It was Bhagwati Charan who rented room No. 69 of the Kashmere Building on March 15, 1929, at Rs. 13 per mensem, for the use of the party as its 'arsenal'. During the search, on April 15, Bhagwati Charan was absent, and every effort of the police to get him as an accused in the Lahore Conspiracy (Saunders' murder) Case miserably failed. He was declared a 'proclaimed offender' and an absconding accused.

His house was visited on May 10, 1929, where a list of all his movable property was made by the police and his wife was asked to send her husband to the Police Station on some urgent business.

On February 9, 1931, through one of the approvers (in the Lahore Conspiracy Case) the police came to know that while experimenting Bhagwati Charan was severely wounded by the explosion of a bomb in a jungle on the bank of the Ravi which blew off both of his hands. It happened in January, 1930.

As an effect he died instantaneously. No medical aid was possible in the circumstances.

His friend present on the occasion disposed of his body in the best manner he could and India lost one of her devoted sons who silently laid down his life in the cause of revolution to be relegated to oblivion.

While the Lahore Conspiracy Case had been dragging on its weary length, a conference was held in February 1930, amongst the free comrades of the accused to plan an attack on the Railway Clearance Accounts Office (Lahore) for funds and to rescue Bhagat Singh and the other undertrials.

* Durga Debi, wife of Bhagwati Charan, contributed Rs. 3,000 to the fund after disposing of all her ornaments and other belongings of value.

As the Government vigilance had been greatly augmented, no action could be undertaken for execution of the plan.

Overzealous Officer

(1929)

A meeting was held in connection with the boycott of foreign cloth at Barisal Town Hall on March 10, 1929, and a Sub-Inspector of Police, Jyotish Chandra Ray, attended it as a part of his duty. When the meeting terminated at 6-30 p.m. Jyotish started for the Thana by Fakirbari Road. When he was near the southern side of Police Club tank he was suddenly stabbed from the back. It was a serious injury and the victim succumbed to it.

A mere boy of fourteen of Kirtipasha under Jhalakati P.S., reading in Class IX of the Banipith School was arrested and placed on trial for the murder of the Police Officer.

The case for the Crown was that it was a deliberate and political crime and "no personal motive" for the murder could be attributed to the assailant. The Judge remarked,

"What impelled the accused to commit the crime is his conception of patriotism. . . . It is a political crime planned and carried out with great ingenuity and skill."

And further,

"I accept the evidence that Jyotish was being shadowed. I deduce from the extremely workmanlike nature of the wound that the crime had been rehearsed and that the accused had very probably perfected himself in the use of a dagger as a weapon of assassination and the crime would not have been so expeditiously and competently performed without very careful previous preparation. Had it been a case of murder from private enmity or grudge I shall have considered myself bound to mitigate the extreme penalty but it appears to be clearly a crime aimed at the very foundation of constituted authority and I think that in these circumstances it is not for me to take upon myself the decision that clemency should be shown to the accused."

The boy was sentenced to death on April 22, 1929. On an appeal to the High Court, his sentence was reduced, on July 26, 1929, to one of transportation for life.

Explosion's Toll

(1930)

Suddenly the lights went out enveloping the place in darkness when a function had been in progress in a College at Amritsar. The assemblage was startled by the sound of an explosion. When lighting was restored a student of the institution, PRATAP SINGH, was found dead lying in a pool of blood.

It was guessed that the bomb was meant for the Principal of the College who had been helping the police by acting as their secret agent.

A number of persons were arrested in this connection and placed on trial at Amritsar. On July 29, 1930, UJAGAR SINGH, one of the accused was condemned to death by the Sessions Judge.

"Sweetness in the Desert Air"

(1930)

DEBENDRABIJAY SEN GUPTA, better known as 'Bolu' in the circle of his friends and relations, in Nalchira, Barisal, stepped into dangerous political arena in his early teens. At a time when India had been struggling for her emancipation with the weapon of non-violence and the Civil Disobedience Movement had taken its grip on the minds of the people, Bolu adopted a different course with his preference for the cult of stiletto and the bomb.

In the last week of May 1930, in a dilapidated hut, he was engaged in making bombs in the sub-divisional town of Bhola, when one of these exploded in his hands and killed him outright on the spot. He belonged to a group of young men whose selfless sacrifice is known to only a few whose remembrance is the only record of an event that took the toll of a valuable life in its bloom.

Sparked off

(1930-1931)

Having expressed his determination to violate the Salt Laws, Gandhiji was arrested just after midnight i.e. about 1 a.m. on March 5, 1930, at his camp at Karadi and taken to Yervada Jail.

The whole country was ablaze and it took a particularly sinister turn at Sholapur. On May 8, the mob ran amuck and serious cases of simultaneous rioting were reported from several parts of the city. The police came out in a large force and resorted to firing. At least 25 rioters were killed and nearly 100 injured. Three policemen also lost their lives.

There was a veritable conflagration consuming six police chowkies and the Sessions Court building. The bodies of the dead policemen were thrown into the fire and burnt to ashes.

The situation did not improve up to May 12, the mob still having the upper hand in the disturbed areas. On May 12, Martial Law was proclaimed; machine guns and pickets were posted at strategic points; barricades were erected at each picket post for stopping all traffic.

A large number of people were arrested as a result of vigorous round-up conducted indiscriminately at all places. Curfew was clapped on the city between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. which was kept in force up to May 22. It took some weeks before the rigour of the Martial Law measures were relaxed.

There was no premeditated plan in this outbreak of mob violence. It could seldom be called a secret act of the revolutionaries. It just sparked off a flame that engulfed the mass of the people in its terrible rage.

Trial was started against a number of persons out of whom four persons, *viz.*,

(i) MALAPPA DHANSETTI, (ii) JAGANNATH B. SHINDE, (iii) SRIKISHEN SARDA, and (iv) ABDUL RASUL KURBAN HUSEIN, were condemned to death by the Special Sessions Judge.

The accused preferred an appeal to the High Court. The Judges disagreed in respect of punishment meted out to three, excepting Dhansetti about whom both upheld the judgment of the Lower Court.

On July 14, 1930, the appeal of Dhansetti was rejected and

the case of the other three condemned prisoners was referred to a third Judge, who finally upheld on August 2, the verdict of the Special Sessions.

The four prisoners were executed on January 12, 1931, in Yervada Jail, and they joined the galaxy of those who had previously been brutally killed by police and military bullets during the earlier stages of riot.

Forgotten Hero

(1930)

Like so many others of his way of thinking without the knowledge of devastating effects of explosives and working without the requisite caution, WAZIRCHAND, a member of the *Naujuan Bharat Sabha*, Punjab, was involved in a serious accident when a bomb burst in the course of manufacture in his hands on May 26, 1930. The explosion blew away both his hands and rendered him completely unconscious. The sound of the explosion drew men from around who found him lying in a pool of blood almost on the point of dying.

He was removed to hospital where proper police guard was placed to prevent his escape, but eluding all vigilance he passed away on May 27, 1930, early in the morning.

None to Escape

(1930-1934)

There was no mistake this time about the identity of Tegart, the Police Chief of Calcutta, as on January 12, 1924, when through mistake an innocent European gentleman lost his life. Luck had not yet abandoned the Official and he escaped miraculously unhurt, when an attempt was made on his life on August 25, 1930.

At 11 a.m. Tegart had been proceeding from Kyd Street to the police headquarters at Lall Bazar keeping close to the tram-track on the left side of Dalhousie Square East. He had passed along the way a few yards towards the north of the Paper

Currency Office when a big explosion took place very close to the left followed by another on the opposite side of Tegart's car.

People began running round the south-east corner of Dalhousie Square in the direction of Hare Street. The first bomb-thrower ran along with the throng keeping to the footpath opposite the Foreign Delivery Offices and almost reached the front of the Dalhousie Institute some fifty yards from the corner. He was found thoroughly exhausted, and' barely had he placed a waterproof on the railings of the Square he fell unconscious on the pavement at the foot of the boundary wall. His undergarment was found soaked with blood which soon flooded the place around the wounded man. He was put under arrest and removed to the Lall Bazar police station where he died. On his person were found one .450 bore revolver and two bombs.

During the course of events which took a little more than thirty seconds another Bengali youngman was found running chased by a traffic constable alongside the south of the Square. He jumped into a waiting taxi where he was held by a telegraph-office employee. He aimed his revolver at his captor and secured his release. He jumped out of the taxi and made a dash along Wellesley Place followed by another constable. He entered Government Place where he was overpowered and taken to the Hare Street police station. He had in his possession a loaded .320 bore six-chambered revolver, a misfired cartridge and four spent cartridges, a loaded bomb with aluminium shell, a cigar and some money.

In the course of investigation it transpired that the name of the dead man was ANUJA CHARAN SEN GUPTA of Senhati, Khulna. He was sometime Editor of a now defunct periodical, the *Hindu Sangha*, and living with his brother at 11/1/1, Kerbala Tank Lane.

The arrested man was DINESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, a student of the University Law College. He hailed from Bashirhat, 24-Parganas. He was a resident of 7, Ram Mohan Ray Road, Calcutta.

The Surgeon holding the *post mortem* on Anuja deposed before the City Coroner on September 2, 1930, that the deceased had eight separate injuries with splinters embedded in each of them. His death was due to excessive loss of blood.

Dinesh was placed on his trial on September 11, 1930,

charged with the offence of (i) conspiracy to kill Tegart with Anuja Charan Sen Gupta, (ii) attempt in furtherance of a common intention to kill Tegart, (iii) for abetting maliciously and causing explosion, (iv) possession of explosives likely to endanger life, and (v) having in possession a loaded bomb. On each of the three counts, viz., (i), (ii) and (iv) he was sentenced on September 18, 1930, to transportation for life and for (v) to twenty years' rigorous imprisonment. All the sentences were to run concurrently.

Dinesh somehow escaped with his life. He was transferred to Midnapore Jail as a 'C' Class prisoner on October 17, 1930, to serve out his sentence there.

Between the midnight of February 7 and early morning of February 8, 1932, Dinesh with four other long-term prisoners were found missing from their respective cells. There was a frantic search for their apprehension without any result.

Dinesh hereinafter appeared in two daring adventures, first at Chandernagore on March 9, 1933, and again at Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, on May 22, 1933.

Big Game Shooting

(1930)

The espionage system of the revolutionaries had gained a degree of perfection at the time and full use was made of it. A report reached Dacca that the Inspector-General of Police, F. J. Lowman, would visit the city on August 29, 1930, and the machinery was set in motion to use this opportunity and take full advantage of it.

The Inspector General, with Hodson, the Superintendent of Police, Dacca, had visited the Superintendent of the River Police, Naraiangunge, who had a stroke of apoplexy and was lying in the Mitford Hospital. While he was talking to the Superintendent in the compound of the hospital at 9-15 a.m., the assailant came from behind walking and started firing at both Hodson and Lowman from a distance of about fifty feet.

The assailant displayed remarkable swiftness in firing as

also in marksmanship as none of the bullets missed the targets. Hodson sustained three and Lowman two bullet wounds. One of the bullets that hit Lowman entered his body through the left groin and became lodged in his spine.

A contractor chased the assailant and was able to hold him by the hand but the latter wrenched himself free and escaped with two other associates through the Medical School compound leaving his revolver and a pair of slippers behind.

The daring young man carried two revolvers with him because with the one that he had still in his possession he kept their pursuers at bay by occasional firing. It was not unlikely that the friend watching his way of escape also helped him in affording protection from attack.

Lowman was operated upon without any effect. He died on August 31, 1930, in the morning at 9-15 a.m.

Dismayed by their failure the police wreaked their vengeance on the inmates of the medical messes. Fifty-one boarders had had to be admitted into the Mitford Hospital as a result of manhandling by the police.

Random Shots

(1930)

Violence became rampant particularly in Punjab and Bengal and anybody engaged in surveillance, arrest or prosecution in connection with revolutionary activities became, in turn, targets for attacks.

A high police official, a Khan Bahadur to boot, received recognition for his services as head of the prosecuting agency in connection with legal proceedings relating to Martial Law (1919), Babbar Akali (1923), Lahore Conspiracy (1930) and Dusserah Bomb (1930). He had been driving along the bank of a canal in the direction of the Mall, Lahore Cantonment side, on October 4, 1930, at 11 a.m. with his police *orderly* when he was suddenly attacked by unknown assailants several shots being fired at the car. The shots missed him but his *orderly* received a bullet that remained lodged in his body. He was operated upon and after a long struggle succumbed to his injuries on October 10, 1930.

A reward of Rs. 10,000 was offered for the arrest of or information relating to the culprits but with no result.

Fought to the Last

(1930)

A strong police party had been waiting outside the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Cawnpore, on December 1, 1930, preparatory to searching the college premises when one of the policemen noticed a person passing that way whom he recognised as SALIGRAM SHUKLA, 'wanted' under the Prevention of Intimidation Ordinance in force at that time.

Shukla was at once pounced upon and was told that he was under arrest. Shukla tried hard to get himself freed and assistance at once rushed to prevent his escape. The man pulled out a revolver and fired three shots which hit three separate policemen of whom Prem Ballabh was seriously wounded. He died subsequently.

The whole police force with two European officers then grappled with one man who showed no signs of surrender. One of the European Sergeants hit Shukla on the head with the butt-end of his pistol. Shukla fell to the ground still retaining the pistol in his hand. The second European Officer gave Shukla a second hard blow on head with a truncheon and Shukla almost lost his consciousness.

Taking him to be dead the policemen now started examining the conditions of the injured, one of whom was on the point of collapse. Shukla regained his consciousness and sufficient strength to take to his heels. He was twice shot at by a Sergeant and almost instantaneously died from the effects of the second bullet.

In the Citadel of Power

(1930-1931)

It was mid-day, 12-30 p.m. on December 8, 1930, when the august seat of the Government of Bengal, the Writers' Buildings, had been humming with activity of 'hundreds of the highest officials and their assistants of all ranks, three young men, dressed in European costume with mufflers round their necks, reached the first floor of the building by the western staircase. Perhaps because of their dress nobody took any serious notice of them.

The three persons were, as their names transpired in the course of investigation, (i) SUDHIR GUPTA *alias* BADAL, (ii) BENOY BASU and (iii) DINESH GUPTA *alias* NASU. They sought for an interview with the *sahib*, Col. N. S. Simpson, the Inspector-General of Prison, and his *orderly* asked them to fill up the customary slip and wait till they were sent for by the Officer. Without doing anything of the sort, they brushed aside the *orderly*, dashed inside the room where Simpson was deeply engaged in dealing with office files.

Before the visitors' intention could be realised or Simpson could take any measure for self-protection, the intruders drew out their revolvers and fired five or six shots almost all at once and Col. Simpson was seen falling down from his chair. They rushed out of the room and ran towards the east part of the building by the broad corridor facing the Dalhousie Square on the south.

The Secretary, Department of Agriculture, threw a chair at the assailants who in return was shot at. It was apparent that both the parties failed in their purpose. They came before the room of the Finance Member and asked the *orderly* whether the *sahib* was inside the room. The *orderly* realising the situation told them that the Member was out and there was nobody inside. One of the three young men fired some shots at the room, the bullet passing through the glass-panes of the swing-door.

On hearing the report of gun-shots, the Inspector-General of Police came out with a revolver in his hand and fired at the men from behind. The shot missed its mark. A sergeant took the revolver from the hand of the Police Chief and fired at the

running men but the bullets went wide. The Assistant Inspector-General of Police came with another revolver and fired with no better result.

The assailants now entered the Passport Office where they loaded their revolvers. An intending foreign passenger and the office assistant were scared away by the men in possession of firearms and slipped out of it in no time.

The Judicial Secretary came to the door of his room and peeped outside. He was forthwith shot at and a bullet entered his thigh. The officer rushed out limping and bleeding profusely and took shelter in the next room.

Sudhir, Benoy and Dinesh were now in the last room. One of them peeped through the door and fired at the police who had now been guarding the room. The fire was returned. Lall Bazar Police Headquarters were informed and the top-ranking officers came gasping to the place of occurrence. As the firing from inside the room had ceased, a constable was asked to look inside the room and give a faithful report of the situation there.

Two out of the valiant three were seen lying on the floor and the third sitting on a chair reclining his head on a table in his front. He seemed to be dying if not already dead. There were two revolvers and a number of cartridges on the table and some white powder strewn about him, a quantity of which he might have swallowed.

The second man who was lying on the floor had a bullet wound to the left of his neck. One six-chambered revolver with fired and misfired cartridges was found lying between his two legs.

The third man had wounds on both temples. He was still conscious and gave out his name as Benoy Bose. The name of the first man as given by Benoy as Supati Ray who was subsequently identified as Sudhir Gupta. The second man, though stated to be Biren Ghosh, was really Dinesh Gupta.

In the pocket of Benoy was found a bull-dog pattern revolver with fired and live cartridges. On the floor of the room and also in the pocket of Sudhir were found three tri-coloured flags which represented the National Flag as accepted by the Indian National Congress at the time.

Lots of cartridges and spent up bullets were seen scattered

in the room as well as in the corridor which were picked up by individual officers and men.

Benoy and Dinesh were removed to the Medical College Hospitals. On December 9, they were remanded to jail (hospital) custody until December 15.

In the meantime Benoy got worse on December 10, the brain matter still oozing out. On the next day his condition still further deteriorated and at night it reached a stage of crisis. When conscious he refused to take any medicine and interfered with the bandage around his head as best as he could. On December 13, 1930, Benoy breathed his last at about 6-30 a.m. His dead body was allowed to be taken to Nimtolla Ghat for cremation accompanied by a few relatives and a larger number of policemen.

Benoy made a dying declaration to the effect that he had shot Lowman which caused the latter's death.

Dinesh was operated upon on December 12, and a bullet was extracted from the region of his temple. He made slow progress though at times relapsing into a state of danger from occasional internal haemorrhage.

Dinesh was discharged from the Medical College Hospitals and handed over to police custody on December 31, 1930.

The composition of a Special Tribunal was Gazetted on January 17, 1931. The case opened on January 20, with charges under Sections 302, 307, 120 I.P.C. and 19-F of the Arms Act.

It was proved that Simpson received two shots from his revolver. Judgment was delivered on February 2, 1931, at 5-30 p.m. and he was awarded the highest penalty of the law. He received the verdict with philosophic resignation.

His case was referred to the High Court for confirmation. It was heard on March 17 and 18, and Their Lordships delivered the judgment on March 27, 1931, confirming the sentence passed by the Tribunal.

During the period between the date of judgment delivered by the Special Tribunal and his execution Dinesh showed a remarkable spirit of his faith in God worthy of the best *yogi* with the least attachment to life and all that is dear to human existence.

On February 9, 1931, he wrote to his brother that there was not the least doubt that he had received a "thrilling experience"

in life and the manner of his death would also be "a novelty to me."

He gained in weight and wrote to his another brother, "You are a doctor. Can you believe that I have gained 12 lbs. since" (the pronouncement of the judgment). On his expressing doubt, he was assured by the jail doctor that the weighing machine was perfectly correct.

The fate that awaited Dinesh or Nasu, his nickname, naturally perturbed the minds of his mother, brothers and sisters-in-law. In reply to their importunities, Nasu wrote on March 29, 1931, that it was really impossible for him to prescribe the means by which they could attain peace of mind because he did not possess any knowledge himself about the problem. But he added,

"Because we entertain a terrible fear for death we are thereby vanquished by it. If we can conquer this fear then death would be a mere trifle with us. Instead of being afraid of death we must welcome it in an attitude of equanimity and fearlessness."

Continued he:

"We are Hindus; if we get unnerved at the very thought, then we fail at the first step. We know that we do never die; what dies is the ephemeral body. Soul is deathless. I am He, the Soul; and the Soul is God. When a man realises this sense then he can say.... I am ageless, deathless and eternal."

It might be contended by those who had been addressed that it was a mere truism and might put a rejoinder, 'But what is the path to reach this stage?'

The reply was:

"The only way is the complete surrender of self to God. There is no other means than that. However much we take His name through incantations, penance and outward adornment on the face by sandal paste (*tilak*, *phonta*) or otherwise, we do not really love Him. Who has developed real devotion to Him, death to him is a hollow sound (without substance). Him really loved Nemai of Bengal, Jesus Christ, the love incarnate, and all those young lads who had embraced death with a smiling cheer."

Divine Dispensation should not be doubted and

"one and all has access to the gateway of His judgment-seat and unceasingly the process of trial is going on there. Please have unflinching faith in His judgment. Try to receive with perfect ease His decrees on your heads bent low with devotion (with the utmost humility)."

To his brother Nasu wrote on April 8, 1931, (in his own language)

"Death may not be an adventure to me, but I take it as the blessing of God. Hindu philosophy says that God's blessing does not always come as worldly happiness, but it also manifests itself in the form of danger and death."

At the thought of his mother Nasu could scarcely restrain himself. In the same letter he wrote (in English) :

"To die, for me, no terror holds
Yet one fear presses on my mind
Much I fear that over my corpse
The scalding tears of mother shall flow.

"I pray to you all, not to lament over my dead body. We must win over death,—we won't let it win us."

He would not like strains of sorrow or sadness at his death. He would cherish

"Memories of life and laughter
Memories of earthly glee
As I go to the hereafter
All my lullaby shall be."

To the same brother was his note dated May 1, 1931:

"I am the son of God. He is my supreme and ultimate aim. He is the Truth and I want to be one with Him in everlasting love."

Dinesh reiterates his views on death in his letter written on June 22, 1931,

"I am not grieved in the least to die. I do agree that life is sweet but sometimes death is sweeter. . . . I want to sleep, deep sleep, sleep that soothes the heart from the endless miseries and misfortunes of this world. Death is my friend, my greatest benefactor. Death will release me from bondage, death will make me free. My liberty is in death, my life eternal is in death.

"When I die, I want no tears. If anyone loves me and is really sorry for me, let him not cry aloud. My soul shall not be satisfied with tears, with salty water of helpless beings."

Dinesh was fast asleep when he was roused to get ready for the final journey. He performed his morning duties in the most normal way, took his bath and informed the guards that he was ready. With unfaltering tread he ascended the steps leading to

the gallows, loudly shouting *Bande Mataram* till the noose had completely choked his voice at 3-45 a.m. on July 7, 1931.

Dinesh as the true son of mother India did as he should. The surgeons performed their duty by bringing him back from the jaws of death. The British Government in India vindicated the Majesty of the Law by sending him to the gallows. And Independence of India took a long stride towards the goal by his supreme sacrifice.

It became subsequently known that the three friends were responsible for the attack on Lowman at Dacca. All of them came to Calcutta and reached Baranagore. Stayed for a few nights in the house of Badal's uncle under the loving care of the aunt.

People began to whisper in the locality and it was unsafe to stay there any longer. Badal shifted to the collieries and worked underground to evade the police. The other two were living nearby and all the three maintained contact as far as possible.

They came to Calcutta and with the help of the local friends matured the plan of assault. On the day of the incident Badal, immaculately dressed as a European, met the uncle at the factory to bid good-bye and was next heard to have killed himself in the Writers' Buildings on December 8, 1930.

In the Seat of Learning

(1930-1931)

The Convocation of the Punjab University had just concluded between 1-15 and 1-20 p.m. on December 23, 1930, and the Vice-Chancellor requested the Chancellor to declare the function closed. When it was done the procession started strictly maintaining the order of precedence.

A young man from Mardan, P.S. Waladher, N.W.F.P., had entered the Hall without the necessary pass some time before the visitors had started dribbling in. He was seen sitting all the time in the visitors' gallery dressed in European costume.

When the University Chancellor, Geoffrey de Montmorency, the Governor of the Province, had gone a few paces forward, HARIKISHEN, the unknown intruder, stood up in his seat with

a revolver in his hand and fired two or three shots in quick succession from the left and jumped towards the main entrance firing another shot. Brandishing the revolver all the time of his advance Harikishen reached a pillar near the porch. He was chased by a Police Sub-Inspector and a few others and eventually overpowered.

Three persons were wounded by the shots including the Governor himself. A Sub-Inspector guard, Channan Sigh, on duty at the entrance was seriously injured with one bullet wound on the upper part of the right side of his neck, and near the angle of the left half of the lower jaw. He was removed to the Mayo Hospital where he expired at 6-15 p.m. on the same day. Death was due to shock, haemorrhage and interference with respiration.

After the preliminary investigation which was started on January 2, the accused was committed to the Sessions on January 5, 1931.

Harikishen made a statement before the trial court in the course of which he said, "As non-violent methods to win nation's freedom were frustrated by repression and thousands of my countrymen, and even women and children, were jailed, beaten and insulted", his belief changed from non-violence to violence. His conviction was further accentuated by the speech of Churchill, which led him to believe that Englishmen of his type would never let the slavery of India end. He was, therefore, determined to do an action which would create international sensation in order that the world could understand the situation in India. He held the Governor to be responsible for severe repression.

He purchased the revolver for Rs. 95. Being in possession of the weapon he decided to take action on the Convocation day as that would be in the presence of not only a very large but a distinguished gathering.

Harikishen was charged with murder of S.I. Channan Singh, and attempt at murder, and was sentenced to death.

On June 6, 1931, Harikishen's brother was informed that the last interview was to take place on the same day.

Harikishen was executed on June 9, 1931 at 6 a.m. in Mianwali Jail.

Precarious Plight

(1930)

There were several men who had been able to evade arrest and save themselves of the trouble of an accused in any of the conspiracy cases that kept the Lahore young men on the run for months and years at a stretch.

Coming from a modest middle class family of Kaneha in Rawalpindi district, BISHESWAR NATH, a mere lad of twenty, was 'wanted' by the police for a long time.

Ultimately the police were able to secure some clue to his movements and on November 4, 1930, visited Dharampura, a village in Lahore Cantonment area. After sufficient precautions against chances of escape, the police forced their entrance into the house where two revolutionaries had been staying for the previous few weeks.

Both the 'wanted' men came out and began firing at the search party which was promptly returned. A shot from one of the constables wounded Bisheswar Nath in the back, the bullet passing through his navel. He was operated upon in Mayo Hospital. The bullet was extracted from his body, the operation proved of no avail and the patient died at 11 a.m. on November 5, 1930.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A SECOND FRONT IN THE STRUGGLE

Burma Rebellion

(1928-1931)

1928-1929

Near about half a century before the Burma Rebellion actually broke out in a violent form, there had been rumblings of discontent in a very large part of Burma, especially in and around Tharrawaddy. Sporadic outbursts were rather a common feature and came to be accepted as part of existence in that country. Moreover, the Mandalay conspiracy and rebellion at Kachin and other places in 1914, give an idea of Burma never being quiet at any time during British occupation.

The trouble was not limited to isolated spots and were found to occur in greater frequency in parts widely distributed in lower Burma. Thayetmyo, Tharrawaddy, Insein, Prome and areas contiguous to these districts were the chief centres of trouble. The General Council of Burmese Associations had laid the foundation and the superstructure of unrest was mainly raised upon it.

The first sign of mass disapproval of Government measure was resistance to Capitation Tax that was started in 1928-29; and the discontent generated by the agitation gradually shifted towards violent revolutionary activities.

The leaders with progressive thoughts were not slow to work up the mind of the disgruntled elements and the idea of a rebellion worth the name was conceived almost simultaneously with the Anti-Capitation Tax agitation.

The rebellion was planned on a large scale. It became evident from subsequent events that it was not merely a local outburst but part of a definite plan to organise insurrection in different parts of Burma. Preparations were made in absolute secrecy, and plenty of arms and ammunition were clandestinely or openly

collected. In the case of a successful raid, they would look more for arms than for any other booty.

Recruits were tattooed with *Galon* and were styled the *Galon Army*. The *Galon* or *Garuda* of the Hindu mythology is a fabulous bird which destroys the *naga* or snake. Here *naga* was the emblem of the foreigner. Thus the *galon* emblem was deemed to be a symbol of victory over the British.

There was a central organisation for giving effect to the plan but the method of operation followed the type of guerilla action where the fighters would avoid as much as possible any open combat with the Government forces. They kept themselves in hiding in the thick jungles at the foot-hills and started attacking the enemy when opportunity presented itself.

They developed a good espionage system and on information reaching early they would slip away further into the hills only to reappear when attack was found to be most convenient.

An old and experienced civil servant of Burma, Mr. Thirkell White, reported that "it was not a question of dealing with... organised resistance on a large scale as of suppressing countless small isolated gangs."

In the opinion of the Government of Burma the issue was complicated by the association of the Bengal revolutionaries with whom contact had already been established. With first manifestation of violence in its earlier stages twelve Bengalis were arrested from different parts of Burma of whom two were clerks in the office of the Port Commissioners, two were school teachers, six others at Rangoon following different avocations and one each was from Insein and Yamethin.

The *phongyis* or a large section of them joined hands with the malcontents and their assistance or collaboration added great strength to the movement.

The greatest incentive to the rebellion was intense hatred for all Britishers and of all those, particularly the Chinese, who helped the foreigners in the continuation of their rule. Restoration of Kingship was the dominant idea which suited to the traditional liking of the people. Further, there was a tremendous active and tacit support to the agitation from the public which made it more difficult for the authorities to suppress the rebellion within any reasonable period. The rising tide of nationalism, so much in

evidence in India at the time, touched the heart of every Burman who timed their insurrection with the great movements of open defiance to the authorities that had been convulsing India to her very depth.

1930

A proclamation of the Mindaung (rebel King) was issued in the middle of January 1931, under the signature of Thupannaka Galuna Raja (King of the Dragons) living in the city of Buddha to the effect that "war was declared for the benefit of Rahan, religion and the inhabitants of Burma."

It came to be known by November 1931, that the revolutionary activity covered an area over 20,000 sq. miles of the country, including a large portion that was dense jungle interspersed with hills here and there. The area infested gives just a remote idea of the magnitude of the rebellion.

It is admitted on all hands that of the many uprisings against the British rule in India (including Burma) the Tharrawaddy Rebellion was the most outstanding in many respects. With regard to the length of the period it covered without break, the magnitude of disorder, loss of life and threat to British occupation in India, it is to be regarded as only second to the great Sepoy War of 1857.

The recklessness with which the Burmans fought the well-organised army of the Britishers fully equipped with the implements of war of the highest effectiveness, surpasses the spirit of the Indian sacrificing their lives in India. More Indians were killed due to ruthless massacre not only of those who had any contribution in the great upheaval but also of a very large section of the civil population butchered as a reprisal for the indiscretion of the mutineers. In Burma, very much unlike in India, the Britishers, save and except a very few, escaped with no loss of life nor even of property to any great extent. The police and the military personnel suffered a good deal in 1929-31, but there was a disparity between the number of casualty to the national heroes and their opponents, the former far outnumbering the latter in fatal cases.

In the following pages are related some of the many hundreds of cases of open clash with the police and military of the local

Government strengthened from time to time by battalions of soldiers brought from India. Only incidents of major importance and particularly those where there is report of death of the patriots have been enumerated. It will be seen from the total number of casualties, though it seems to be a bit exaggerated, that only a small part of the long series of fights could be collected and reported. Press reports or Government hand-outs are to be taken with a good deal of caution but having failed to tap any other source these are to be accepted for what they are worth.

Systematic acts of violence started from the third quarter of 1930. The party was held responsible for a political dacoity in Rangoon town in September 1930, and for the derailment of a mail train in October at Nyaungchi-Dauk in Toungoo district, in which high officials of the Government had been travelling. At this time a new feature of the activities was the wide distribution of revolutionary pamphlets among students and others directly inciting them to violence.

The first incident of any importance occurred on December 22, 1930, without warning, when some insurgents mobbed a village a few miles south-east of Tharrawaddy. The booty consisted of five guns and it resulted in the death of two Government employees and a raider.

The unrest soon spread to Insein on the 23rd. Two villages close to the Tharrawaddy border were completely looted. On the same night at Inywa, the railway station property and telegraph instruments were destroyed. The rebels were hotly chased by the civil and military police but they succeeded in entering their forest strongholds and evade arrest.

On December 24, 1930, the rebels surrounded and set fire to the Weywaw Bungalow and killed a European Forest Engineer, who arrived at the place for putting up for the night. His gun was taken away. The military appeared on the scene very shortly after and engaged the rebels at some distance from the place in a fight when four of them were killed. Nothing daunted, the malcontents raided a police post at Yedaik at dusk, a skirmish ensued and there was loss of life on both sides. The nature of the country was of great advantage to the rebels who could come out from hiding places and conveniently retire to their haunts.

On December 29, 1930, a platoon of Punjabis came in

contact with 200 rebels near Udokwin and attacked them at long range. Eleven rebels were killed in the fight.

The following day the forest camp at Okkan was raided by the rebels. who were in turn was attacked at Sitkwin. On the same day a rebel was killed in a fight with the police at Henzada.

On December 3, 1930, a very large number of rebels advanced towards Pashewegyam and were met by the police. A bloody fight ensued lasting for 90 minutes involving loss of life on both sides.

1931

The forest fastness at Alantaung was stormed by the military on January 1, 1931, and seven rebels fell fighting. The place served as the rebel headquarters where a 'palace' was found in the most inaccessible part of the forest. A huge quantity of petrol, dynamite and rifle cartridges were collected there. In the fight one of the rebel chiefs Po LWIN was shot dead and two others lost their lives in an attempt to carry the dead body away. There were seven other casualties on the rebels' side. With the leader a large number managed to escape in the direction of Minha across the Yomas towards Pegu. Fighting continued at Minha.

Villages far away from Tharrawaddy such as Taungbyat, north-east of Sitkwin, were found to be equally affected. The Government forces had to fight a strong detachment of rebels on January 3, 1931, of whom fifteen were killed on the spot.

At the beginning of January 1931, more cases of rebel activities were reported from some of the districts of the Province. One such of the year took place at Yamethin, 275 miles from Rangoon, on January 4, 1931, under the command of a *phongyi* where 39 rebels were found dead after the battle. Two villages, Hna Hmansi and Wadaw, about eight miles from Yamethin, were attacked simultaneously on the same day.

Rebel activities were noticeable in Okkan on January 7, 1931, where the rebels were engaged by the police. In the fight both the parties suffered serious loss, the rebels losing six of their men.

Pegu, Minlaung (Amherst district), Lanmadow, Okho, Htanbingon, Minha and other places could not escape contagion of the spirit of revolt.

Dedaye township in the Pyapon district was the next point of attack on January 7, 1931, supposed to be carried out under the direction of the head of the rebellion. It became known that practically all the inhabitants of four or five villages in the extreme south-east corner of the district close to the sea participated in the rising.

The areas of operation of the rebels in this particular case was an open paddy plain very much unlike Tharrawaddy which was covered with dense jungles. On the appearance of the police the rebels, undaunted by the risk of remaining exposed to enemy guns, started attack on the police and had to retreat leaving thirty to forty dead behind them.

So far as could be ascertained that up to January 5, 1931, the insurgents had lost 300 combatants as killed, more than 200 were wounded or captured. It became evident that the insurrectionists had collected a very large quantity of firearms, a good portion of which consisted of guns. Near about Minha, Okko, firearms including a few guns were seized by the military.

The rebels carried on attacks almost without a respite, in the first quarter of 1931, at several places not very close to one another. Thintawya Forest Reserve was the scene of one encounter. Townships or villages overrun, and the list is very much incomplete, were Dedaye (Pyapon district), Yamethin, Gangaley, Datchoung, Thayagong, Zigon and Gaungda. At some places the raiders were encountered by the Government forces and at others there was no resistance worth the name. At Dedaye and Yamethin the rebels lost about fifty combatants.

Against the hope of the rebellion coming to an end, increased activity was noticeable in causing dislocation of railway traffic. Dynamite was used on March 1, 1931, to blow up bridges and tamper with railway lines between Inywa and Lethadaw and at several other places.

Though severely handicapped due to lack of military equipment, the activities of the rebels showed little signs of abatement. On Tharraw branch line Zibyugon station was attacked and the Station Master killed. On January 13, 1931, attacks in different parts of Tharrawaddy continued as before. Signs of rebel attack were visible in Insein proper at about this time.

The seriousness of the concern felt over the present rebellion

was reflected in the promulgation of an Ordinance on January 31, 1931, to expedite trial of insurgent cases. The existence of a terrorist organisation partly working in consultation with those in Bengal was admitted and given proper stress regarding its gravity.

On or about February 5, 1931, in a free fight between the military and the rebels, three of the latter were killed and six wounded at Laptadan in Tharrawaddy district. About 44 villagers were bold enough to attack on February 20, 1931, a party of forty military police at Zaingthwe, ten miles west of Inywa and four and half miles from Tharrawaddy.

It was now the turn of Henzada. The township office of Irgabu at Dodan, and another at Hamandan were raided on February 23, 1931. On the rebels' side there were some deaths, six at the former and three at the latter place.

Rebel activities were very much intensified in the last week of March; police patrol posts were openly attacked and dacoities were committed in an increasing number. A Deputy Conservator of Forests and a District Medical Officer were seriously injured.

About forty miles from Rangoon a tree was laid across the road and a bus carrying a posse of constables was attacked by a number of rebels who were lying in ambush.

The Kampadi outpost in east Okkan in Insein district was attacked for the third time by about 65 rebels on March 25, 1931, when four rebels were killed.

While the police party had been returning to the camp, the rebels reappeared and inflicted serious injury to some of them while losing two of their comrades.

At the same time, on March 25, 1931, when the Kampadi battle was being fought, a police contingent while out searching the Magayi forest reserve in Tharrawaddy, found a rebel camp and at once engaged the rebels in an encounter and killed 22 of whom two were prominent local leaders.

Not being satisfied with the results obtained, the Government sought the services of aeroplanes to locate rebel concentrations in Pegu and Tharrawaddy in particular in March, 1931. Naturally enough the insurgents were put to a disadvantage but with them it was "even if the flesh creeps the spirit upholds."

With all Government victory proclaimed hitherto, the Okkan

police station on the border of Tharrawaddy and Insein was raided on April 6, 1931, the officers attached to the police station were killed with one casualty on the side of the attacking party. One other rebel died in an encounter not very far from Okkan.

Pegu and Toungoo districts were very much affected by the rebel activities in April 1931, especially the northern part of Pengwogon where civilians, suspected of helping the Government, had to suffer a good deal at the hands of the rebels.

On or about April 6, 1931, following a suspect making purchases in a bazar, the police traced a rebel haunt in the jungle at Pegaung in Tharrawaddy, opened fire on the camp occupied by the insurgents and killed four of them including a leader.

In the first week of April 1931, a young Bengali was sentenced to three years' hard labour for distributing inflammatory leaflets urging the people to get rid of the Government by all means. Investigation disclosed close connection between the activities of this youngman and the Bengal revolutionary associations.

A total of fifteen rebels were killed in Hlepyidin, Tharrawaddy, Issin and Insein villages in the first week of April, states a message dated April 8, 1931.

The trouble in Thayetmyo district had been steadily increasing and on April 11, 1931, the rebels raided Poon village in Kama township where the headman of the village and a police officer were killed and firearms removed. The rebels paid their share of loss in human lives.

Skirmishes of more or less serious nature had been taking place near Kyaukpyok, Ton in Thayetmyo, Henzada on or about April 10, Bassein, Thanton, Henzada (Kazinda) on April 27, and again on April 28, when five rebels were killed at Kanthoa on March 29, 1931.

In the morning of April 12, 1931, the rebels and the police accidentally came face to face at Zaloke under Bo We. The fight lasted for a short while and one insurgent was killed. It was reported on April 18, that in an encounter at Leedi at least five dead bodies of rebel were found at the place.

Thayetmyo proved to be a focal point of enemy attack where repeated raids were carried out in quick succession. On April 21, 1931, a party of several hundred attacked a military police out-

post of 25 men and was bold enough to come to very close quarters. The rebels lost 25 lives in this encounter.

Even after the repluse of the raiders with heavy loss, reinforcements had to be rushed to the area. But the rebels showed absolute recklessness by attacking again on April 23, at Imbe or Imbai, a few miles north of Kama. The mounted infantry were reinforced by a platoon and the rebels were driven away with a further loss of 42 lives.

By degrees the Government came to realise that the movement was more deep and widespread than what had hitherto been believed. Fresh troops, the 2nd Manchester Regiment, had had to be imported into Burma from India to augment the fighting strength of the Government forces. There was no doubt by now that the principal object of the revolutionists was to drive away the British lock, stock and barrel and to restore Burma's ancient monarchy.

A report from Rangoon of May 1, 1931, stated that a large force of rebels was encountered near Kawinza and five rebels had been killed in a sharp fight that ensued. Two others were killed when their camp near Kanthaya was attacked unawares. At Insein two rebels died from police-firing.

The rebels about sixty in number attacked a police post at Myoma village near Wettigan on May 5, 1931 and carried away the Deputy Superintendent of Police and a few other policemen. Succour was rushed to the post and in the encounter that followed seven rebels were killed.

Reports of enemy attacks at Thayetmyo, Henzada, Hanthawaddy, Dedaye, Pyapon, Insein, Tharrawaddy causing serious damage to Government property and death of some headmen and police officers reached Rangoon by the middle of May. On May 11, 1931, the (British) Parliament was informed from an unconfirmed report that nearly 1,000 rebels had been killed and more than 2,000 captured up to that time.

The Shwebo and Maymyo areas had to be reinforced by a large contingent of troops reaching Burma and curfew had had to be enforced in Henzada from May 12, 1931.

A report was received on May 6, 1931, that a whole party consisting of a European District Superintendent of Police and his posse of constables were ambushed while pursuing rebels near

Prome. None could be found alive. With reinforcements from the headquarters the rebels were hunted down in the neighbouring areas of whom seven were killed.

The rebellion was pursued, observers remarked, with unparalleled recklessness and in spite of heavy casualties, "the rebels' murderous activities seemed to be getting more and more imposing".

In an engagement at Mezali in Thayetmyo on or about May 12, no less than 21 rebels were killed.

No place, big or small, was safe from the rebels' attack. The police outpost at Letu was overtaken, four police officers and men were killed. A considerable quantity of ammunition and several guns were taken away on May 15, 1931.

A high European Official of the Survey Department was ambushed and killed in Maymyo on May 18, 1931, and his body, riddled with bullets, was found later on at some distance from the place of occurrence.

A military camp, one of the many newly constructed punitive police stations, situated in Henzada district was attacked unawares by a body of rebels on or about May 19, 1931. They killed a number of sepoy while left three of the attackers dead.

In Thayetmyo, the Kama column while moving through a thick jungle in search of rebels was savagely attacked on May 23, when the Commander of the military party and two rebels were killed.

A rebel camp was discovered on May 25, 1931, in the Tharrawaddy district seven miles from Hlelangu and forthwith attacked. Four rebels died while others managed to escape. The camp was completely destroyed. On the same day another rebel was killed in Thayetmyo.

On May 26, 1931, the secret camp of one of the topmost among the rebels was attacked by the military and four rebels fell fighting, two of whom were identified to be righthand man of the leader of the rebellion.

By the end of May 1931, the local authorities declared the happenings at Tharrawaddy to be a "situation of grave peril" and it was thought imperative to requisition the services of other battalions from India.

Prome and Insein were very much disturbed in the third

week of May 1931, and a high European official with others were killed.

A surprise attack was made on a stronghold near Henzada, when the Government suffered a few casualties. At Kyaukma on or about May 18, near Thayetmyo, the military and the rebels met in a violent skirmish, there being seven deaths on the part of the rebels.

Events assumed a gloomier shade, so said a note issued from Simla of May 21, 1931, and it became imperative to bring from the Nizam's State more than one infantry brigade with signal units and transport to meet the anxious situation in Burma. Three infantry battalions were to form the Brigade, composed of two Indian and one British units. It was admitted on all hands that the situation was beyond the control of the local force and it would well-nigh be impossible to face the onslaughts of the raiders at several points during the three months of torrential monsoon that had been fast approaching.

Kanyutkin (Toungoo) was raided and in Tharrawaddy not less than five points were ransacked to the dismay of the authorities concerned.

Two rebels and an army personnel lost their lives in an encounter with the military (on or about May 23, 1931) in Minoon township. Reports streamed to Rangoon of violent rebel activities from Tharrawaddy, Insein, Henzada, Thayetmyo, Hanthawaddy, Pyapon, and where not. It seemed that the Government had ceased to function and the revolutionaries could do as they pleased. A police outpost at Taungbokauk in Henzada district was attacked on May 23, 1931, where three of the attackers lost their lives. Maubin also suffered at this time at the hands of the rebels.

Pyapon, Myaugmya, Henzada reported, (May 28, 1931), cases of violent attacks on Government outposts, and cases of arson of private holdings particularly of the headmen became more frequent. Dacoities at Toungoo, Tharawaddy, Insein were committed where property of considerable value together with five rifles were looted. All other measures having been found insufficient, the Government declared 98 Burmese Associations including 45 under women in the Upper Chindwin distict, unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. New police outposts, about ten, were opened in Tharrawaddy district alone.

The situation in almost all the affected areas remained unchanged even up to the third quarter of 1931. The Burmese Government, feeling helpless with the available forces, sent frantic messages to Simla for sending a cavalry battalion. The request was turned down on the score of heavy loss of horses in the encounter with the enemy as well as from a local disease and advised the Burma Government to raise their own mounted infantry with the hardy Burmese ponies which were acclimatized to the country and its peculiarities. The inhabitants of the affected areas lost all confidence in the Government and most of them began to flock around well protected towns and seashores where attacks were much less frequent.

On May 31, 1931, as a result of rebel activity, the Rangoon-Mandalay Mail crashed over a bridge about 116 miles from Rangoon and reports of serious tampering with the line, burning of railway quarters on May 31, reached Rangoon, which made the Government feel nearly helpless.

On June 1, 1931, about 500 rebels from Kwingyi, Inya and other places attacked the Wettigan police station in revenge and departed after causing serious damage to Government properties.

In the face of serious Government attacks on Kyauktaungdi in Prome, a village south of Wettigan, Insein and Kama, Mmegyigaung, Henzada, the rebels did not show any sign of relaxing their activities. Here they lost twelve of their ranks while they carried depredations in Tharrawaddy with unabated vigour attacking several houses in the course of two days. They felt so unperturbed that they dined in one of the raided houses and then quietly disappeared picking up booty as they pleased. Houses of Europeans and persons suspected of helping the Government were burgled or robbed in open defiance of the law which seemed to have vanished from the land.

On June 2, 1931, after a severe fight at Wetto near Pakhaung in the Prome district a total of eighteen corpses were discovered in the village which the rebels had used as a base for their stores and provisions.

Rebel activities continued unchecked and by June 1931; the suggestion of throwing into Burma a full division with ancillary troops was mooted in all seriousness. On the Rangoon-Mandalay railway service the running of all trains at night between

Nyaunglebin and Pye was completely stopped. All important trains, even in daytime, were arranged to be piloted by armed trains.

The rebels who were engaged in creating trouble around Kama and attacked Thalegyi, Padaung P. S. on June 6, 1931, had been in hiding at Kyaurgu and retired quietly from the field of operation leaving one dead. On the same day, the police rushed from Prome, about 30 miles from the place, and surrounded the village. A short fight resulted in the death of one rebel.

In the meantime, emboldened by the rebel sorties, the villagers of Thabeyon, Prome, attacked a police party of one Sub-Inspector and thirty constables in the middle of June 1931, unfortunately losing eleven men as dead including the leader. Mindon, Thayetmyo, was looted on June 12; in Myaungmya, Moulmein, extensive cases of arson were perpetrated and the districts of Tharrawaddy and Insein reported series of dacoities of both private and public properties.

A rebel haunt was surrounded by the police, stated a report of June 18, and one rebel was killed while others escaped.

New trouble in the shape of jail-breaks and attack on jail officials were caused at the Nyaunglebin sub-jail by fifteen undertrial Burmese prisoners who escaped to the hills after looting the jail armoury and throwing the city into panic. Hotly pursued they covered their escape with a shower of bullets. There were casualties on both sides but nothing serious to the escapees happened. A few of them were subsequently arrested from different places.

Getting exasperated at somewhat unsatisfactory results of military operations (Simla, June 19, 1931) the Government measures exceeded all limits and reached the verge of barbarism. On or about June 13, 1931, in a serious engagement with the police at Wetto near Paukkaung the insurgents lost 22 as killed. Sixteen of these dead bodies were decapitated and the severed heads were stuck on the ends of poles and paraded through the villages to terrorise people who might have the least sympathy for the insurgents' cause. The heads were brought to Prome and kept on show for the public for days together.

Loss of life in the rebel fighting force was serious and twenty-two rebel corpses were found after an engagement at Wetto near Pankkaung about June 15, 1931.

The entire disturbed area suffered from dacoities in the third week of June; rather there was a large number of cases than before. Rebel activity was renewed with greater force (Rangoon, June 24) at any number of places.

Injured rebels detained in hospital under guard escaped and could not be traced reported a message dated June 27.

The haunts and places of hiding were distributed over a large part of Burma and one such was located and attacked in the thick forests of Okshit Hill, a few miles west of Padaung on June 29, 1931. In the encounter four of the rebels were killed.

At break of July, simultaneous outbursts of lawlessness caused consternation to the authorities in the districts of Tharrawaddy, Insein, Henzada, Pyapon, Thayetmyo and Prome.

The wave of unrest swept a vast area and sometimes it was difficult to think that occupation of those areas could be regained.

Besides military operations stern action was taken against villagers suspected of harbouring or assisting the rebel in any way. A large number was detained under strict surveillance or deported to places far away from homes and detained in camps constructed for the purpose.

By July the Government forces could sufficiently arrange their points of attack and the rebel showed signs of weakness in their operations but their depredations continued.

Still then, several dacoities were committed in Bassein, Henzada, Thayetmyo, Pegu and Prome with casualty to the rebel, one each at Prome and Bassein. The military was successful in locating rebel haunts in deep jungles of Wanetchaung and Taikkyi townships. At one place there was a free exchange of shots in which a rebel leader was killed. Rebel casualties were on the increase by the middle of July 1931; four died fighting on the Prome Road. Thayetmyo witnessed one of the worst outrages; villagers were killed and a large booty was lifted in several operations by the rebels. In one encounter two rebels lost their lives. Bassein, Pyapon and Toungoo had their usual round of looting (Rangoon, July 14); so suffered also most of the other disturbed districts.

In the Shan States

The Shan States could not escape infection. A fight between the rebels and the police became a matter of very common occurrence by July 1931. In the early stages a Burman revolutionary visited the monastery of Makinau, a Danu village in Hsumhsai, a sub-state of Hsipaw. Makinau is about 45 miles from Maymyo on the Mandalay-Lashio Railway Line.

Here he began to recruit men in the name of the Galon Society. A local band was formed which was to be subsequently joined by Galons from Burma. This was intended to overrun Hsipaw town.

The leader built a *Aungbale Myo* (Victory City) in Pingbaw in Lawksaw State. On July 1, 1931, the Northern Shan States Battalion with local police and military officers surrounded the place. There was a sharp exchange of shots in which forty rebels died. Guns and other war materials were seized.

A Baluchi battalion went into action on July 3, 1931. In the Shan States a band of 150 rebels was attacked by the military of which seventy were killed. On or about July 7, a Lewis gun section accompanied by sowars and signallers attacked the rebels at Lahio when the Government forces suffered heavily, two sepoys being killed and a large number wounded.

On July 6, the rebels made a desperate attack on a military base at Nawnkhiogyi in the Northern Shan States where the military suffered heavily particularly in prestige. Nine rebel corpses were found strewn in the field when the action was over.

On July 8, 1931, a fierce battle took place at Leptadan, a Karen village, Tharrawaddy, between the villagers and the rebels when about twenty rebels were killed by the villagers assisted by the military.

In the Zalur area, Hienzada, a fight took place between the rebel and the Karen irregulars when three rebels were killed on July 9. In the Hanthawaddy district the rebel leader TEE TEE was killed in an action on the same day.

To meet the situation police force was further strengthened and the 2nd/5th Mahratta Light Infantry was rushed to the affected territory.

In Prome, the troops came upon the rebels most unexpectedly

in Myoma, Wetigan area, on July 22, 1931; seized fighting equipment and killed an absconding rebel leader who tried to rush through the cordon.

The Burma Emergency Powers Ordinance, V of 1931, was promulgated by the Viceroy on August 1, 1931, covering at the initial stage the districts of Pegu, Haunhawaddy, Tharrawaddy, Prome, Bassein, Henzada, Thayetmyo, Maubin, Myaungmya, Pyapon, Toungoo and Insein. Under the Ordinance the control of post and telegraph offices and the Press was taken over by the Local Government. It further provided for the arrest and custody of persons believed to be connected with the rebels.

At one time it was seriously thought of placing Burma under Martial Law because "for some months" the situation in Burma "has been a cause for grave concern" to the Government of India and the Local Government. The rebellion which broke out in Tharrawaddy in December 1930, "has spread to several other districts and there is danger of further extension in some areas."

The provisions of the Ordinance were to be "exercised for the suppression and prevention of rebellion and for the protection of life and property of all classes of His Majesty's subjects."

There was a severe set-back to the rebels by the arrest of one of their foremost leaders and the death from the military firing of at least three others. Trials were being held in different districts with penalties of death to scores of the accused, while the rebel activities continued though greatly subdued.

On July 12, 1931, there was a severe encounter at a place 21 miles up the Pegu river when fifteen rebels were killed and six guns were captured. In a different engagement, 28 miles from Rangoon four rebels were killed.

Wettu Kayinzee, a village of great importance was attacked by the rebels on July 10, resulting in two deaths on the part of the rebels.

A village in Padaung township near Kama border was attacked on August 6, 1931. A police party rushed to the place of action. One rebel was left dead on the spot. Others, hotly pursued, had to sacrifice another two to the military firing.

A series of dacoities were committed in Pyu Forest Reserve, Henzada, and also in Toungoo, Thayetmyo and certain other areas of Lower Burma in the first week of August 1931.

A police patrol party was attacked in a village on the bank of Irrawaddy about 32 miles from Tharrawaddy on August 14, by a band of rebels and a sanguinary skirmish ensued. Many rebels including the leader was killed.

A police outpost at Theindaw, Tharrawaddy, was attacked and burnt down by the rebels on or about August 17, when in a counter attack many rebels were killed.

The Henzada territory suffered from the rebels' attack at various places and in one of these a Sub-Inspector of Police was murdered on August 27.

Stray cases of dacoity were reported from different places and one in Rangoon proper displayed a great daring on the part of the attackers. The rebel hideouts in Thayetmyo, Prome, etc., were gradually decimated by military operations. All these districts affected by the rebel activities showed signs of revival principally through dacoities and attacks on Government posts.

Two rebel camps were sighted and attacked at a place eight miles from Mindon on September 9, 1931. Several rebels including some leaders were killed in the action.

The rebels suffered serious set-back by the death at Tandawgyi of two trusted leaders in charge of all the rebels in the valley of Pegu river on September 15. A few others were also killed.

The Government forces collected forty guns and considerable quantity of ammunition in Thayetmyo district in the last week of September 1931.

There was heavy casualty, seven of the rebel ranks and two leaders had to lay down their lives, in an encounter at Taufaung, Pegu district, on September 25. In the Prome district the rebels successfully raided a village and took away two guns with a number of cartridges.

It was reported on September 24, that rebels had raided the Padigon Railway Station, Prome district, and retired leaving four dead. Nine others were captured. Later it was found that the telegraphic communication had been completely destroyed.

Forty rebels entered a village in Paung-deh area, Prome, on September 26, surprised the gun-holders and looted guns and a considerable quantity of ammunition. Another party damaged a forest bungalow in the same district.

A dense jungle in Thayetmyo, ten miles west of Kama was the scene of a serious fight on September 27, in which two rebels were killed, one of which the leader, Po HTAIK, brother of Saya Nyan, a lieutenant of Saya San.

In an encounter with the military on October 12, 1931, in a village near east of Tharrawaddy two rebels were killed and one or two more seriously injured.

The next rebel attack of considerable violence was at Inwagyi, Prome district, on October 17, where the rebels dined and slept in the village as if absolutely unconcerned about the danger they were hemmed in. Next day they visited the neighbouring village, enjoyed meals at the cost of the villagers and quietly left the place having collected a considerable sum from the people.

An increased number of violent crimes was reported on October 15, eleven cases in a single day; and marked by intense activity around Shewebandaw township, Prome district, where the rebels met a contingent of mounted police. Six rebels were killed at Insein and one at Prome during the same period.

On October 24, the Government forces consisting of two platoons and a large number of civil police surrounded one *phongyikyaung* (monastery) harbouring the "Tiger Army" and there was a bitter fight between the two contending forces at the place. The loss on the rebels' side was rather heavy, the number being fifteen, including two leaders Do Po HTIN and Bo TA DUN, the first belonging to the Tharrawaddy and the second to the Prome districts.

A rebel camp situated nine miles north-east of Spinkarlan, Tharrawaddy, was attacked, so a report of October 24, announced. CHIT TI, the leader with five other comrades-in-arms was also killed on the spot. Several guns, rifles and ammunition were seized.

Further reinforcements in Burma was found necessary and the 4th Indian Divisional Signals were ordered to proceed to Burma from Poona, Bombay, on October 27, in accompaniment with a wireless telegraphy section of the Corps of Signals, "A" and "B" of the 3rd Indian Divisional Signals.

A new cult of the Sun and the Moon attributed to a *phongyi* of Magwe district was noticeable after an encounter taking place on or about October 27, in which two leaders SAYA CHIT and YAN GYI AUNG of the Padiathin were killed.

The police gained a distinct advantage over the rebels when a party of civil police from Thegon, according to a report dated November 5, 1931, attacked a band of rebels killing the leader who commanded the forces that infested Shwedaung hills between the Irrawaddy and the Prome railway.

A rebel camp near Kyaukse, Thayetmyo, was raided by the military on November 13, 1931, and in the fight that ensued one rebel was killed. Two others were killed by the Burma Rifles in a village in Prome district on November 16.

Near a stream south-west of Sinsakhan the troops met some thirty rebels on November 11, and succeeded in killing the leader.

A party of irregulars encountered a band of rebels on November 22, at an obscure place and killed two on the spot.

In a village in Prome district another successful raid on the rebel camp on November 11, resulted in the death of two rebels and seizure of one gun. Another rebel was killed in an action that occurred in the same district.

Paung-deh, Prome district, was visited again by the military on November 27, and SAN GYA, a leader of great prominence, was killed in action.

In the Pegu district the police attacked a village haunt of rebels on December 24, 1931, and one rebel was killed.

In a jungle in Prome district a fight between the rebels and military on December 3, resulted in one rebel being killed.

Prome saw one of the worst encounters for the rebels on December 27, when Simizwe detachment of the military unit attacked one of the biggest concentrations of the rebel with Lewis gun. The head of the group popularly known as the 'Lion Army' together with another prominent leader and five other fighters fell dead. Five guns, a large quantity of ammunition and other articles were seized.

A Rangoon message of January 22, 1931, reported that Bo GYAW, a rebel leader belonging to the Henzada district, was shot dead by the military police, operating in the area.

In Prome a noted rebel leader with men was found by the villagers in an exposed place on February 3, 1932. The intensity of the rebellion having abated considerably the villagers mustered courage and attacked the rebel with guns. There was a sharp exchange of bullets in which a few insurgents lost their lives.

Near the Henzada-Tharrawaddy border in a stiff fight Bo We, the most important of the Henzada group, was shot dead on April 15.

Attack on Government property including quarters of high European officials, robbery of mail bags, attempt at derailment of trains, dacoity, arson and other forms of rebel activities continued right up to the first quarter of 1931. The Government measures including speedy trials by Special Tribunals, massacre through sham trials, awarding sentences of death of nearly four score accused in a single trial became the feature of Burma administration during the post-rebellion period. Complete calm could never be achieved but the situation seemed to have been brought under control by the middle of 1932.

Unbending

(1928-1929)

Amongst those who had kindled the fire of independence in the hearts of the people of Burma, the HPOONGYI U. WIZAYA of Kyaungone, Bassein, occupies a place of great eminence. Not long before the Tharrawaddy Rebellion, the fight for the political awakening of Burma was carried on by the Buddhist monks who had renounced worldly affairs, possessed no property whatsoever and toiled for the welfare of the masses.

Wizaya was a monk of the Buddhist order. But his activities in the field of politics earned for him on July 10, 1921, simple imprisonment for twenty months, from a magistrate at Pyapon. He suffered another imprisonment for about the same period from which he was released on February 28, 1928. This could not subdue his spirit. For a speech that came under the purview of sedition he was arrested on April 4, 1929, enjoying a freedom lasting for thirty four days only and was put, on April 6, in the jail lock-up as an undertrial prisoner.

His limited liberties in the jail were interfered with and he resorted to hunger-strike on April 9, 1929. Then he demanded (i) special diet as a political prisoner, (ii) privilege of being allowed to wear the yellow robes on certain festival days and

(iii) to fast twice a month. This demand was turned down by the authorities and he was charged for violating jail-discipline by refusing his diet.

His trial for the original offence was held inside the jail and he was awarded six years' rigorous imprisonment. On appeal this was reduced to three years.

He continued his hunger-strike which lasted for one of the longest periods ever known. Force-feeding of milk did him more harm than good and after a fasting for 163 days the indomitable patriot expired on September 20, 1929.

How many are there who know him even by name!

Warrior to the Last

(1930-1931)

The Burmese Rebellion of 1929-32 was one of the gravest that Britain had to face in its administration of India. There was a large number of leaders to give shape to the outburst on an unprecedented scale but the chief credit goes to one who had played the part of an outstanding leader showing great skill and ingenuity in organising and fomenting a rebellion of vast magnitude.

SAYA SAN is a name that will go down in history as one of the bravest revolutionaries that fought the British forces tooth and nail on the soil of Burma. He would move with the speed of a shooting star from place to place infusing spirit into the drooping hearts, finding new recruits to carry on till the foreigners had left the land and supplying fighting equipment where they were needed most. He was attributed with magical powers perhaps not without reason. Next to Sohanlal of the Mandalay Conspiracy Case fame he carved out an immortal niche in the hearts of the Indians and Burmans alike. Anybody speaking of Tharrawaddy Rebellion would at once think of Saya San first and of all others next.

For his unique position and the various activities and the power of elusiveness he acquired various names and one that was frequently talked in the company of foreigners was the "Scarlet

Pimpernel of the Burmese Revolution". In the secret circles of the Burmese people anybody would know who was meant by the "Golden Crow" or "the King of Galons". For his safety and as a fugitive evading the law he had to assume several *aliases* and the last being known as 'Nyana' of 'Nyna' at the time of his arrest. His parents gave him the name of San Sha. He was a native of the Shwebo district in Upper Burma, a district which furnished most of the recruits to the army of the Burmese Kings.

He spent a considerable part of his life in Lower Burma and in Siam changing his profession as often as he liked. He settled down in Tharrawaddy in 1930, and began his preparations for the rebellion before November of the year. At the initial stage he concentrated his attention for the rising in Tharrawaddy, Insein and Pyapon.

The Government forces failed to get any clue of his whereabouts and because of the love and respect of the people in which he was clothed, nobody would even whisper anything amongst themselves about him that might lead to his arrest.

In the Government circle Saya San was accepted as the originator and the undisputed leader of the Tharrawaddy Rebellion having conceived the idea as far back as 1928. It was alleged that he proclaimed himself as the King of Burma. Tracking the steps of a stray man trudging along an unwonted path of Alantaung, the police came to know of a 'palace' in the thickest part of the forest in Alantaung which was being used as a stronghold by the rebels. The place was stormed on December 31, 1930, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition together with indigenous weapons for fighting were seized.

Some five or six rebels were killed on the spot and a person suspected to be Saya San, was captured. Subsequently it transpired that the arrested happened to be a prominent man but undoubtedly not Saya San. The resourcefulness of that elusive personality stood him in good stead at this hour of peril and he slipped out of the place deftly when it was found that the game was lost.

After the incident at Alantaung Saya San moved from place to place as he discovered now that Tharrawaddy had become absolutely unsafe for his stay any longer. He visited Myingyan

and the famous shrine on the Mandalay Hill recruiting and conferring benedictions on men while proceeding northward.

After many narrow escapes and ever kept on the run by the police and the troops he arrived at Loikaw in the Shan State. He proceeded further to the fastnesses of the Northern Shan State but could not rest content having left his followers behind.

For the time being recruitment improved and he tried to gather his scattered men to try conclusions with the Indian forces then being manned by European officers. He measured strength of his men at different odd places and the result did not inspire much hope for the future.

Saya San, known as *phongyi* Nyana at this time, passed over to the Shan States and continued his struggle as best as he could. Though handicapped to a certain extent by the death of two of his most trusted lieutenants the joy of prosecuting an unequal warfare in the cause of country's freedom sustained him and maintained the buoyancy of his spirit.

Since the middle of July 1931, rumours were current that the rebel gang headed by Nyana, lately operating in the Shan States, had been driven down to the Mandalay district and that they had encamped somewhere in the north-east of the town.

All roads from Maymyo and other places leading to Mandalay were closely guarded by military pickets and nobody could pass through them without being interrogated or closely examined.

On July 29, 1931, one of the police parties under the Cantonment Police Station stopped a bus on the Mandalay-Mandaya Road and they found in it three persons, two Shans and one Burman. They were arrested on suspicion and sent to the Criminal Investigation Department for thorough examination.

Acting on the information extorted from the persons in custody a rebel haunt suspected to be sheltering Saya San was raided on July 30, 1931, but no capture was possible because the other side of the high range (Yoma) afforded an easy escape for the party. But valuable war materials, stores and particularly a diary of the leader were recovered from the place.

On August 2, 1931, a *phongyi* was arrested in Hsumhsi State in an exhausted condition with five followers. Men competent to identify were sent for and it was established that the *phongyi* was no other than the much sought for rebel, Saya San himself.

He was apprehended at 3 o'clock in the afternoon at Hsipand in a layman's dress in an extremely bad condition of health suffering from the diseases of privations and unremitting worry.

Thus came to a close the meteoric career of a man for the capture of whom the Government of India had declared a reward of Rs. 10,000 and the Shan State another Rs. 500. He was kept in custody at Nawngkhio in Shan States till he was brought down to Tharrawaddy in a closed carriage which was attached to a train on August 14, 1931, heavily escorted by armed police.

On August 15, 1931, he was brought to the Court of the Special Tribunal and placed in a specially constructed dock. According to the prevailing practice he had to put on a red jacket which was worn by a person accused of murder.

The principal charges were his connection with the rebellion at Insein, Tharrawaddy and Henzada, founding a 'palace' on Alantaung Hill which was used as rebel stronghold, the forming of Galon Associations, of gathering a rebel army, issuing a 'Proclamation' signed by BUDDA RAJA under his signature. He was further charged with the murder of a Forest Engineer and a Deputy Superintendent of Police, of other headmen and villagers by his men, of attack on Inywa, a railway station, and several other villages.

The list was not exhaustive. Further charges were that he or his men attacked the Crown Forces including the Punjabi Regiment.

It was contended that his preaching was intended to affect Dedaye, as well as Moulmein, Henzada and Pegu areas. His guilt of conspiring and waging war against the King Emperor was advanced in the trial.

Regular hearing of the case began on August 20, and the accused refused to engage any lawyer for his defence. His only answer was that he was NOT GUILTY, a plea worthy of a revolutionary of the eminence of the Uncrowned King of Burma.

On August 30, 1931, after a short trial, Saya San, the great leader of a mass rebellion, was sentenced to death.

On November 28, 1931, the hero of hundred battles, was executed. Thus went out the beacon light that had kept the Burmese sky illumined for some years.

The Aftermath

Alantaung Rebellion Case

One comprehensive case for incidents occurring between December 22 and December 31, 1930, was started in Tharrawaddy before a Special Tribunal with thirty seven rebels as accused. The court sentenced eleven persons to death. An appeal was preferred before the High Court and it confirmed the death sentences of nine commuting the punishment of two to transportation for life.

Dedaye Rebellion Case

A miniature rebellion was started at Dedaye, a township in the Pyapon district on January 7, 1931, by a band of rebels apparently under the orders of Saya San, their leader. The fight lasted for nearly an hour and a half when about thirty to forty rebels were killed on the spot.

A large number of survivors and their supporters were arrested in due course and before the Special Tribunal seventy-two accused were placed on trial under the omnibus charge of waging war against the King, conspiracy, etc. of which eighteen were sentenced to death. The High Court confirmed the sentence of fifteen. Petitions for mercy were submitted to the Government, all of which were granted excepting four who were executed in due course.

Htihlaing Rebellion

For a none too-important uprising in Htihlaing twenty seven rebels were placed on trial of which two were sentenced to death. The High Court on the appeal before it remarked that the case against U. THATHALAWKA had been amply proved and his appeal was dismissed. The appeal of the other persons met with the same fate.

Kama Rebellion Case

On June 5, 1931, a band of insurrectionists attacked Thalegyi Padaung Police Station and effected considerable damage to Government properties. When confronted by the police they had to leave the place with one dead in the fight. On the charge

of mass rising, quite a large number of people were placed on trial before the Special Judge of Thayetmyo who condemned seventy-five accused to death. The High Court, on August 9, 1931, reduced the punishment of thirty-five and confirmed the sentence of the remaining forty accused to be executed.

Kinpadi Rebellion Case

The principal charge against 75 men out of 125 arrested was the murder of the headman of Kyibinala, attack on police party stationed at the Kinpadi Saw Mill and an encounter with the Punjabi soldiers in Magayi Reserve. On October 6, 1931, the Special Tribunal condemned three persons to death. On appeal the High Court confirmed the death sentences of two.

Mindon Rebellion

Insurrection at Mindon was one of the series of many such that occurred almost everywhere during the long series of turmoil that formed part of the Tharrawaddy Rebellion of the thirties. From the enormity of the sentence it can be guessed, details being absolutely lacking, that it was something more than that of any common occurrence. On September 27, 1932, the High Court disposed of the appeal of several accused charged with the offence of waging war against the King, conspiracy and some other crimes in its train and of the sentences on thirty passed by the Special Judge, it confirmed that of twenty-four and commuted to transportation of life of the rest.

Tharrawaddy Trials

(a)

A case started on the basis of a battle at Tandaw where a series of skirmishes took place between the police and the villagers for resisting realisation of Capitation Tax. The preparations were made at the house of one of the leaders, (Aung Hlaw), who in a separate case was awarded a punishment for transportation for life, where people got initiated into the revolutionary cult for which special ceremonies were held and oaths

were administered to the new recruits. A number of people were killed in the fight and no less than ninety-five persons were placed on trial for the offence of waging war against the King and a host of allied offences.

On May 9, 1931, judgment was delivered by the Special Tribunal convicting seventy persons of whom fifteen were sentenced to death. Amongst these fifteen were BA SEIN and HE ADMAN SANKHAN, sons of a very prominent leader undergoing a long term of imprisonment.

(b)

Before a Special Tribunal forty-nine persons were placed on trial on May 14, 1931, for starting an insurrection at the border of Insein and Tharrawaddy when groups of villagers collected and began marching towards Alantaung, attacking police pickets, looting guns and Government properties on the way. In the course of their march they met a group of military police and a battle ensued. No less than eight rebels lost their lives in the encounter.

(c)

In another trial before the Special Tribunal on May 21, 1931, forty-nine persons were produced as accused for organising a revolt, participating in a fight and causing injury to the police and military with the common object of rising in rebellion. Eight were discharged and the trial proceeded against forty-one. All of them were convicted and seven were condemned to death on August 8, 1931. A petition of mercy by

- (i) NGA PO THUN,
- (ii) NGA BO GAUK,
- (iii) NGA THAN MYAING,
- (iv) NGA PO THIT,
- (v) NGA PO SAUNG,
- (vi) NGA BA THAW, and
- (vii) NGA PO HTA

was rejected by the Governor-General and they lost their lives on the gallows.

(d)

In a supplementary trial of 153 accused of which 94 had been absconding, 51 were placed before the Special Tribunal. The case was started in connection with the incidents in the Tharrawaddy Rebellion. Twelve accused were sentenced to death and twenty-six to transportation for life.

Thayetmyo Rebellion Case

In the course of a rebellion in and around Thayetmyo several rebels together with four policemen and two Burmans lost their lives. In an omnibus case for waging war against the King and other grave offences a large number of accused were convicted, not a few receiving the highest penalty of the law. Fifteen men appealed to the High Court and judgment was delivered on January 13, 1932, in which all the appeals were dismissed the capital punishment of eight being confirmed. The rebel leader was killed in one of these series of encounters.

Tiger Army Rebellion Case

The accused, forty-six in number of which YE GYAN was the principal, were charged with the no-tax campaign in Paungde sub-division in 1927, resulting in a serious riot in Padinbin. In the encounter one Burman Sub-Inspector of Police was killed.

Ye Gyan with another was sentenced to death.

Some other leaders of the Tiger Army were killed in action in Thayetkon on October 24, 1931. Bo WE, the leader, lost his life and one gun and fifty cartridges were recovered from him.

Zigon Rebellion Case

Zigon in the Sinmizwe area of the Prome district was the theatre of a serious encounter between the rebel and the Govern-

ment forces on December 12, 1931, in which the leader of the Lion Army (as a section of the rebels was named) with five lieutenants was killed.

A Special Judge tried the Zigon Rebellion case inside the Tharrawaddy Jail and judgment was delivered on August 18, 1932, in which nine accused were sentenced to death.

Burma Executions

In connection with the Tharrawaddy Rebellion in Burma, the Home Member, Burma Government, stated on February 24, 1933, that 274 persons were sentenced to death of whom fifty-one had already been executed and the number of persons undergoing transportation for having taken part in the rebellion was 535.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CHITTAGONG SAGA

(1929-1942)

Topography

The most beautiful spot in the whole of undivided India where nature in her unstinted bounty has lavished her best treasures—the pleasing rich fields, evergreen forests on hills and hillocks running everlastingly, silently flowing streams coursing for the restless sea stretching in vast expanse nearby,—became the centre of the most heroic deed unparalleled in the history of revolutionary actions in India and elsewhere.

The political history of Chittagong from the time of resurgence of militant nationalism is a romantic one.

The name of SURYA SEN redounds to the glory of India and would become a by-word in every Indian home for everything that goes to the making up of an uncompromising, dauntless revolutionary fighter out for the emancipation of his country from foreign thralldom at the cost of bitterest suffering that leaves indelible landmarks on the difficult path leading to the goal.

The topography of the district needs a little elaboration for the proper understanding of the adventurous assault on the citadels of British power and the still more perilous task performed in the course of retreat. If the hills, forests, creeks and scattered human locations had made movement and escape difficult, they had also aided the insurgents in finding places for hiding even before the very nose of the police and the military.

The entire district consists of a long and narrow strip of coast backed by low ranges of hills, lying between the Bay of Bengal and the Chittagong and Arakan Hill Tracts. The level strip of land between the coast and the first of these ranges is

intersected by numerous large tidal creeks. The principal rivers of the district are the Karnafuli and the Sanga both of which are navigable throughout the year. The five principal hill ranges in the district are (i) the Sitakund; (ii) the Goliasi; (iii) the Satkania; (iv) the Mashkal; and (v) the Teknaf Range.

The Chittagong town is situated on the right bank of the Karnafuli, about 12 miles from its mouth.

"The town is interspersed with small hills which are very steep and with the exception of one or two no one can drive to the top of any other. Karnafuli looks like a garland of flowers from the neighbouring hill-tops. The undulating pathways look like huge snakes gliding along its own course at times disappearing at turns and wayside bushes and tall trees, and so erratic in their configuration as to render any description impossible. . . . From the summits of the main ranges the view of the apparently sea of forest is grand in the extreme. Viewed from these points, the lower jungle almost assumes the appearance of a level green plain, while in reality it is one of the most difficult countries to pass through that can be imagined."

The Background

Chittagong had all along been in the front rank of revolutionary political movement in India and it had been well represented in the deliberations relating to the political future of the country.

Along with the Congress views, revolutionary ideas were not slow to occupy the minds of a group of young men. During World War I, Chittagong did not escape incarceration of young men without trial along with hundreds of others arrested throughout Bengal. There was an attempt on the life of a spy on June 19, 1914, which killed his companion instead.

The same spirit persisted till Gandhiji came out with his weapon of non-violence for attainment of Swaraj within a year. It had got to be given a fair trial though most of the top-ranking revolutionary leaders never put any great faith in the avowal. They extended their support in the belief that revolutionary ideas and activities at most could be accepted and followed by a handful of men because of its attendant sufferings whereas for mass political consciousness Gandhiji's programme had a better chance of application.

The expected did not happen and the enthusiasts of Chittagong became impatient. A big conference was held in

Chittagong in 1922, to assess the results and to indicate a future course of action. When it was over, the supporters of violent methods decided amongst themselves to proceed along their own line and steps were adopted to secure funds for their purpose. The Paraikora dacoity was committed in 1923. A big sum of railway money was robbed on December 23 of the same year at Noapara. In the meantime efforts were made to join hands with the group that had been trying to organise a rising on an all-India basis.

The idea did not find much favour with the leaders. Moreover, they changed their mind as to the means of collecting funds through plundering of private and or public funds, as it entailed worries and expenses in defending workers with probable chances of conviction and losing an active fighter at least for a considerable period. It was decided to get the money, and if possible weapons, with the help of party men from their respective homes.

Then came another spurt in mass arrests on suspicion and detention in prison without trial in 1925. All the leaders were thrown into prison and had to wait till their release in 1928. During the period of forced idleness the prisoners had the opportunity of meeting others from different districts and to discuss about the timing of an armed rising in individual districts where the preparations had been fairly complete.

The volunteer corps in full military uniform organised in connection with the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1928, served as an inspiration to Chittagong leaders and it was not very long when they had one for themselves.

The incarceration of suspects in Chittagang during the period 1925-28 did not fail to take its toll by at least one.

When the release of prisoners had just started in 1928, an internee, ANURUP CHANDRA SEN died, a few weeks before his release was expected, in internment at Mainaganj on April 4, 1928.

In 1929 the district of Chittagong became restless for action, whereas they had to face a severe opposition from supporters of non-violence.

The District Youth Conference was held on 11, 12 and 13th May, 1929, where the difference between the two groups came on the surface. It was just a manifestation of a typical undercurrent that had been agitating the political workers in every other district.

By the end of the year matters came to a head when the unfortunate incident of a murderous assault gave a foretaste of coming events.

Violence of the Non-Violent

With the realisation of a sense of failure of the Non-violent Non-co-operation Movement the leaders of the Chittagong Congress Committee thought of preparing the district for a revolutionary showdown with the authorities. It became necessary as an auxiliary measure to have effective control over the Chittagong Congress Committee and prepare the district for the coming struggle.

SURYA SEN began to organise the party for the final stage and came fully prepared for the annual general election of the Executive Committee. The election took place on September 21, 1929, and it went against the votaries of non-violence, the supporters of the oncoming Civil Disobedience Movement then in the offing. It was a stormy meeting where temper was frayed and an ugly event climaxed the day-long uneasy atmosphere. SURYA SEN, NIRMAL SEN and a young boy of 15, SUKHENDU BIKASH DATTA, were attacked with daggers by some men known to be ruffians in the locality. The injuries of Surya and Nirmal were not very serious but young Sukhendu had a severe thrust on his spinal column from a tapered bar of iron.

Sukhendu did not improve under the treatment available in Chittagong and better medical aid was deemed absolutely necessary for him. He was taken to Calcutta and admitted to the Carmichael Medical College Hospitals on October 9, 1929.

All possible medical aid was given to him but by October 23, Sukhendu showed signs of sinking very fast, his lower limb being completely paralysed. He complained of constant severe pain in his stomach and septic poisoning of the kidney was detected.

Surrounded by the top-ranking leaders of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee including Subhas Chandra Bose, the unfortunate boy breathed his last on October 27, 1929, at 10-17 p.m. His body was cremated at the Nimtolla Burning Ghat in the presence of a large number of Congressmen and affectionate friends and admirers of the lad. Thus young Sukhendu was the first victim of a movement which claimed many more in its wake.

His *sradh* ceremony was performed on November 26, 1929 at Dewanbazar.

The Armoury Raid

Preliminaries

Undeterred, the youthful enthusiasts proceeded with their preparation for a big action that would demonstrate to the world the awakening of the sleeping lion. The group under *Master-da* and his few chosen lieutenants became very active. Several centres for physical exercises of a strenuous sort were undertaken. Route march, bending of iron rods, holding a running motor-car in check, lathi, sword and dagger play, and boxing in particular were regular feature of the new spurt of enthusiasm.

Their activities did not fail to attract notice of the police. Towards the middle of November 1929, an additional staff of twenty-four constables was brought to Chittagong to keep a strict watch over the suspects.

In February 1930, a *mela* was held at Sitakund where leaders were seen dressed in khaki breeches and coat, with helmet on head and shoulder-badges like military captains.

By the end of March 1930, there came a further additional force of twenty-two constables to keep vigilance under a new scheme. Activities of the ex-detenus and their associates increased very much about that time necessitating a constant special watch over them. They were seen, even at odd hours of night, going round in khaki dress and in military costume, collecting funds, learning motor-driving, purchasing big torchlights and water-bottles, etc.

The police was happy to the extent that these young men could keep the notorious goonda element in the town and suburbs under control and highway outrages, assault, robbery, kidnapping, molestation and the like were reduced to the minimum.

At the Satyagraha meeting held in the Jatra Mohan Hall on March 21, 1930, the speakers declared that they were going to break the Salt Law and the Law of Sedition shortly and appealed to the audience to help them in their noble mission in every possible way.

Leaflets were widely distributed in the town and at various other quarters supporting the views expressed in the meeting.

At 2-45 a.m. on March 29, 1930, TRIPURA SEN, one of the suspects, was seen clad in khaki shirt and coat with soft hat on head and a torchlight in hand coming on cycle from the north of the Municipal School. No sooner had he found a watcher on his way, in a moment he took a separate bylane and disappeared.

The usual meeting places were the Congress Office, Sadarghat Physical Culture Club, Sadarghat Jetty, Lotus Cinema, Cinema Palace and the house of one of the leaders.

The party, better known as the *Indian Republican Army*, Chittagong Branch, made arrangements for watching the District Intelligence Branch Office, through trusted and highly intelligent members of the Party. At a secret meeting of the principal leaders, 'the day' (*der tag*) was fixed and the followers were given an S O S call to get ready for something great that might lead either to glory or to grave.

Preparations were delayed by the explosion of a bomb in February 1930, in the house of RAM KRISHNA BISWAS when he and AMARENDRA NANDI got severely burnt all over. This was followed by another with ARDHENDU DASTIDAR. Ram Krishna and Amarendra were incapacitated due to their wounds to join the Party, while Ardhendu participated in 'the Raid' when he had not fully recovered.

The Assault

Everything was ready for the assault. A chart containing details of the point of attack was prepared. It also showed mobilisation and disposition of forces, arms and explosives.

The plan was to simultancously attack and capture the armoury, magazine, guard's room and the barrack of the Police Line;

to attack and to seize armoury, magazine and the guard's room of the British Auxiliary Force located in Pahartali Polo Ground;

to attack and to destroy the Telephone Office, the Telegraph Office and to snap wires of both systems of communication wherever seen;

to tamper with the railway lines at Dhoom to prevent succour coming to the authorities from Calcutta and Dacca;

to carry out massacre of Europeans to strike terror into their hearts so that instinctively their first attempt would be to leave Chittagong and not to come to the help of the Police.

The *Indian Republican Army*, Chittagong Branch, was composed of about sixty-two men of which the bulk was composed of teenagers, mostly from the schools and new entrants to the colleges. The arms consisted of fourteen pistols and a dozen of .12-bore breach-loader guns and a few bombs and nothing more.

Motor cars were essential for deployment of soldiers and maintaining contact with different points of attack and a powerful one necessary for storming the gate of the Armoury. Cars were secured by overpowering their drivers by physical force and with the help of chloroform. One car was purchased on the day of occurrence.

The time was fixed at 8-30 p.m. of April 18, 1930. For certain difficulties in securing the requisite number of cars which was done by killing Nazir Ahmad, a taxi driver, and the assault started at 10-30 p.m.

The two main attacking parties met at Nizam Paltan at the appointed hour. The army Generals and some of their lieutenants were fully dressed in military uniform with star and other decorations giving them a smart look worthy for the great event.

Leaders with the requisite and available number of men arrived at their respective points of attack and the storming was started punctually at 10-30 p.m. as scheduled.

The Police Line Armoury was located in one extremity of the town. The insurgents appeared in their car and on being challenged by the sentry shot him dead. The others made good their escape leaving the raiders to do as they pleased. Arms and ammunitions were looted, the Union Jack was pulled down and all vestiges of British authority were obliterated.

Similar attack was carried on in the Auxiliary Force Headquarters. The sentry was shot dead. Sergeant Major Farrel was also killed. The armoury room was forced open by tying rope to the lock of the door and fastening the other end of the rope to the back of the newly purchased motor car and setting the car in full motion.

The opposition to the ransacking of armouries was easily overcome and the two groups met together to rejoice over their success.

The cars that passed by the Pahartali Road were attacked by the raiders. The District Magistrate happening to come that way narrowly escaped by leaving his car behind. His *orderly* was killed by a bullet.

The rail line between Doom Dooma and Jararganj, fifty miles from Chittagong, was successfully tampered and a wagon was derailed to block the way.

The telegraph and telephone offices were raided and the two centres of communication were completely destroyed. There being nobody in the European Club due to Easter, the party came back in a depressed mood.

The insurgents were having their way for about four hours when they were attacked from the side of the Water Works with machine-gun fire. This was replied with almost continuous firing by the raiders which, ultimately, silenced their enemy.

The successful *Indian Republican Army*, Chittagong Branch, formed itself into a Provisional Revolutionary Government under the Presidentship of SURYA SEN on April 18, 1930. The immediate task was to uphold and defend the victory just achieved over the enemy, to intensify the struggle for emancipation of the entire country and to take all necessary steps towards their end.

There was again an attack with machine-gun which was promptly and effectively repelled.

Help to the Government came from the Double Moorings Jetty Armoury. But this was also successfully resisted.

Turning Point

During the attack on the Police Line Armoury, a boy, caught fire (p. 471) and had to be removed from the place of occurrence. In removing him four other soldiers had to leave the arena and they finally got detached from the main army, till they met again as accused in the dock.

The enemy, after the first stunning blow, came to gather strength from various sources but they could not do it before some time had elapsed. It was April 20, when Gurkha armed

policemen could be brought from outside and were seen moving about in search of the fugitives. The Gurkhas were strengthened by a contingent of Army to meet the revolutionary forces which had so much undermined British prestige.

The Retreat

By April 21, the police got on the trail of the insurgents who were not more than two miles away from the police scouting squad. The Government received heavy reinforcement by the arrival of the Surma Valley Light Horse and the Eastern Frontier Rifles composed of about 1500 Gurkha soldiers.

The fugitives passed April 19, on the Shulukbahar Hill. On the 20th, they shifted to Fatehabad Hill and with great difficulty secured scanty food, absolutely inadequate for the whole lot of hungry and thirsty warriors. With the best of efforts and at the face of great risk emissaries were sent to town to make an assessment of the situation and to try to establish contact with the other group. The efforts failed.

Jalalabad

It was necessary to get out of the labyrinth of the pathless hills and to find out a place of safety. The morning of April 22 found them near the Jalalabad Hill only three miles from Chittagong.

Here spies and informers were able to notice their presence in the localities. The message was immediately communicated to the headquarters. The heroes of Chittagong were now surrounded on three sides by the police and the military in their lair.

They came by train and other transport and took their position in the neighbouring hill with Lewis gun and rifles. The fight started at 5 p.m. There was a sharp exchange of shots. It was a real military encounter which the British forces had long forgotten to fight in India.

The first martyr was a young lad HARIGOPAL BAUL (TEGRA) who when pierced by the bullet asked his comrades to carry the fight on and not to surrender. Harigopal was clad in dhoti and shirt. He had three wounds, (i) on the right chest measuring 6 in. by 3 in., (ii) on the left thigh and knee, and (iii) a circular

wound in the right knee. He participated in the assault of the Police Line Armoury.

TRIPURA SEN was the next victim. He hailed from Dacca. He had one penetrating wound right through the middle of the chest; no exit wound was found. He was dressed in khaki coat, shirt, short and stockings. He was with Harigopal in the attack of the Armoury.

Now it was NIRMAL LALA, the youngest of the lot. He was not identified by his relations. His last words uttered to a comrade were, "I am going, brother, don't worry. I will receive you there." He was party with Harigopal in storming the Police Line Armoury.

BIDHU BHUSAN BHATTACHARYYA was the fourth man to die. He had one penetrating wound on the left thigh and a bullet wound on the left side of the head. He was clad in khaki short and shirt.

NARESH RAY next collapsed mortally wounded by machine-gun fire. He suffered from one penetrating wound right through the chest. He was clad in khaki short, shirt and stockings. He hailed from Mymensingh. He was deployed to attack the European Club.

Among those who lost their lives on the memorable day on the Jalalabad Hill were SASANKA DUTTA, MADHUSUDAN DATTA, PULIN BIKASH GHOSH (of Gosaldanga), JITEN DAS GUPTA (Goirala) and PRABHAS BAUL.

The battle stopped at 7-30 p.m. when before the heavy firing from the Chittagong heroes the military and the Police had to retire.

They came early on the next morning of April 23, to find ten dead bodies. Among the seriously wounded was MATILAL KANUNGO who when asked just gave out his name. With the last word, *Haribole*, he expired. He had a bullet wound on the left side of his stomach going out by back above the spine a few inches above the waist. He had another bullet wound on the left chest. He was clad in khaki short and shirt.

The dead bodies were collected at one place and cremated on the top of the Jalalabad Hill which became the most sanctified place in the whole of undivided India.

Disintegration

When the military force retired from the locality the *Indian Republican Army* became separated by force of circumstances and each group in its own way sought shelter in various parts of Chittagong. One group made their way for Calcutta, one absconded to Burma. There were further casualties at different places in encounter with the police and the military and each occasion deserves special mention.

Stray skirmishes with heavy loss in the ranks of the fighting units of the Chittagong Division of the *Indian Republican Army* followed the abortive attempt to hold the town under control. The Government forces gained the upperhand and the game for the revolutionaries was lost. It was an example of great ingenuity and courage on their part to keep up the fight as was possible with danger beset all round. Materials were collected to blow up police head-quarters and military barracks, to cause a breach in the prison walls and rescue the captive heroes. On May 11, 1931, an unclaimed and suspicious looking parcel, said to have come from Digara Lost Property Office, was sent to the District Magistrate by the Assam Bengal Railway administration. When it was opened before the Sub-Divisional Officer, it was found to contain 300 live and 20 ball cartridges.

In a vacant house at Jamalkhan rented by men under assumed names, the female members going to clean the room found some wires peeping out of the floor. Following the trail the police who arrived on information, found three canisters wrapped up in oilcloth meant to contain high explosive materials. They were just like the canisters found on the Cutchery Hill a few days before.

Revolutionary to the Marrow

ARDHENDU DASTIDAR belonged to the second group. In his early teens he left the roof of his father due to difference of opinion in political matters with him. He became an active member of the revolutionary party of Chitagong under the able leadership of *Master-da*. Just a few weeks before the storming of the Armoury, he got severely burnt due to an accident in manufacturing picric acid powder meant for high explosive bombs. He had not fully recovered from his injuries when he joined the party that carried out the raid on the Police Line on the 18th. With the main body of the raiders he retired to the Jalalabad Hill. He happened to be the sixth man to be wounded in the exchange of bullets with the British soldiers. He received a deadly wound in his abdomen from the enemy's bullet which rendered him unconscious and he was left on the field as dead.

He regained his consciousness and found another comrade, equally left behind, trying to move himself up and leave the place. The dying man requested him to come near him. Poor Ardhendu with supreme effort hobbled a few yards on the uneven surface of the Hill with a view to gradually muster sufficient strength for leaving the place with the aid of the comrade.

It was an impossible task for him and he surrendered to fate. Seeing his friend hesitant in leaving him behind, Ardhendu importuned him to drag himself out of harm's way as expeditiously as he could. The last request to his parting comrade was to tell his revered *Master-da*, if by chance they happened to meet together, that Ardhendu remembered till his last breath his leader's words, "Liberty or Death."

Ardhendu suffered one wound in the middle of his right arm. His right little finger was fractured and he had a fatal wound on the left side of his abdomen. There was a bandaged wound on the right thigh. This was apparently due to his burns caused by the explosion.

On the next day of the fight, i.e., on April 23, a small group climbed the top of the hill to find Ardhendu Dastidar in a precarious condition. He was removed from the place before it was

10 o'clock and taken in an armoured train to the Chittagong General Hospital where he was admitted at 1-40 p.m. on April 23.

He refused to give out anything except his own and his father's name and all efforts for getting the name of his native village failed to elicit any reply. He would not say how he received the wounds. He was as stern and unbending as the rock. Then the Sadar Sub-Divisional Officer, who had already earned notoriety for easily securing confessional statement from a dying, or may be dead persons, appeared on the scene at night. He asked everybody including the Surgeon who, considering the serious condition of the case, was in constant attendance, to leave the room on the score of avoiding 'golmal' that had been causing, according to the Magistrate, great discomfort to the patient. As directed, every one, the nurse not excluded, had to leave the room. What transpired nobody knew. The Magistrate produced a full confession of gasping Ardhendu during the trial implicating a number of accused in the case.

The Assistant Surgeon had to visit the patient a number of times during the short period of life that was fast ebbing out. The prosecution wanted the world to believe that Ardhendu had made a voluntary confession to him.

Ardhendu struggled with death a few hours more and expired at 1-50 a.m. on April 24, 1930 (the continuing night of April 23).

Penalty for Negligence

When the Auxiliary Force Armoury had been successfully raided, it was decided to set it on fire so that the arms left at the place would be rendered absolutely useless.

HIMANGSU BIMAL SEN took upon himself the task of spraying petrol inside the Armoury to facilitate the work of destruction through fire. He did it all right but in the process he must have sprinkled a quantity of petrol, however small, on his own (clothing) kit. No sooner he had lit the fire, both the Armoury and his body were ablaze.

He got severely burnt all over the body and was bodily lifted and carried to a place away from the place of occurrence by four

of his comrades of whom two were top-ranking 'Generals' in the assault as well as for carrying out the entire plan.

The injured man was taken to Chandanpura area in an abandoned house and left to the care of friends and admirers who might be available for the purpose.

On information the police came in search of the place on April 19, 1930. The officer saw the front door of the house locked and became doubtful about the presence of anybody in the house. Accidentally he heard the sounds of movement of a person on a bedstead inside the house.

He knocked at the door in the front, but another was opened. A man was seen lying on a cot with extensive burns over his face, hands and feet. A young boy was sitting by the patient's bed. Both were put under arrest and removed to Kotwali after the place had been thoroughly searched. From the Kotwali he was transferred to the Chittagong General Hospital where he was admitted at 7-30 p.m. His entire body was besmeared with mud and it caused him intense agony to wash it away. Himangsu made a statement to the police on April 20, when he had been suffering from terrible pain and had almost lost control over his nerves.

The patient developed fever on April 21, indicating the approach of a septic condition from which he died on April 28, 1930, inside the Jail Hospital at 9-10 p.m.

"Died of Wound Self-Inflicted"

Young AMARENDRA NANDI was with the party that had stormed the Police Line Armoury and had somehow managed to stray away from the main party. He was not safe, like all his comrades-in-arms, as the police had been keeping a watchful eye over every nook and corner of the town.

He was noticed on April 24, 1930, in the Graduate High School, which was at the moment lying vacant, with a revolver and a pistol in his hands. The police began a chase after him. He left the school building and running along the highway (Sadarghat Road) took shelter under a culvert in Alkaran Lane. The police instantly appeared on the scene. Amarendra, though

handicapped by his peculiar position, offered a stiff resistance by discharging his firearms with difficulty. He was repeatedly asked to surrender which he refused to do. When Amarendra was silent the police brought him out of his improvised shelter with bullet wounds on his person. He died within a short time after removal to hospital. His wounds were suicidal according to the report of the Civil Surgeon because one of the bullets shot at the chin passed through the head; secondly, because of the blackening of the skin.

There was another injury on the chest. As this did not cause his death, in the opinion of the Civil Surgeon, Amarendra took a second chance which was successful.

Kalarpole Fight

Detached from the main body of the insurgents the absconders in small groups planned for attacking individual centres of power of the Government. One such small party consisting of six young boys, viz., SWADESH RAY, RAJAT SEN, DEBAPRASAD GUPTA, MANORANJAN SEN and two others started from their place of hiding, took a *shampan* on May 6, 1930, to reach the European Club for an attack.

The news of suspicious movements of some men in a *shampan* on the Karnafuli reached the Kotwali P.S. and some officers with a number of armed men rushed in a boat and followed the *shampan* which landed the young men at Lamboor Hat.

When the police boat had reached the middle of the stream a torch was flashed on them. The pursued reached the other side of the river and the police could see five or six such men receding from the bank towards Kalarpole.

The villagers including the President of the Union Board, a Mahomedan, noticed some six men hurriedly passing along the village road. They were variously dressed and each seemed to have a pistol in his hand. The runaways were closely followed by the villagers and challenged at odd crossings. They fired a few shots to avoid arrest which accidentally killed two men at an interval of a few minutes.

Two persons, one of whom was Phanindra Nandy, were apprehended by the villagers. A constable, Prasanna Barua, in trying to arrest one of those men was shot, from the effects of which he died on May 9, just after midnight. The four others who now could be clearly seen proceeded towards east through the field as persons had then been streaming from the west. The race continued and in the meantime a large armed police contingent reached the place under a high police official. As the chase continued men came along the track in driblets and a fairly big crowd proceeded by the route covered by the fugitives. The police party reached a place called Julda, where they were shown a clump of bamboos or a bamboo grove where four persons were seen lying on the ground very close to each other.

A little before daybreak, at Samirpur village, there was sharp exchange of shots for a short while and firing from the bamboo grove completely stopped. At dawn when the police reached the place of shelter taken by the young men and found three of them Debaprasad, Rajat and Manoranjan already dead and the fourth man Swadesh in dying condition. He was arrested but could evade all further troubles as death came handy to him within a few hours of his arrest.

It was found that in addition to other injuries almost every one of them had some homicidal wounds indicating that they had preferred death with their own weapons to falling captives in the hands of the police. All these boys had participated in the Great Raid of April 18, 1930, that had made history in another field of battle. Swadesh and Manoranjan had share in the attack on the Police Line and Rajat, on the Auxiliary Force Armoury.

In the case that was instituted by the Government against the two persons arrested at Kalarpole together with ten others as conspirators, judgment was delivered on March 1, 1932, and all the twelve accused were sentenced to transportation for life.

Chandernagore Raid

Passing through hair-breadth escapes and untold sufferings a party of four insurgents reached Calcutta. They were warmly received as far the circumstances permitted and after several changes in secret shelters, particularly at 6, Raja Basanta Ray Road, Kalighat, they were ultimately lodged in a two-storeyed house in Chandernagore, a French possession in India.

The house was situated in an isolated position, 120 yards west of the river Hooghly,^{*} in a place called Gondalpara. It was reached by several narrow lanes off the Grand Trunk Road and was surrounded by a low wall.

On the roof of the second storey was a room used as look-out post. There was a tank inside the compound on the south surrounded by a low mud wall and another on the north of the house, lying beyond the boundary wall.

A party of police, fully armed, started from Calcutta at midnight under their chief and reached Chandernagore at 2-45 a.m. on September 2, 1930. Groping through darkness with the help of veiled torchlight the police got into the compound of the house jumping over the wall and surrounded the house preventing all possible chances of escape.

According to previous arrangement with the French Administration, the chief of the attacking party started to contact the police in Chandernagore and to ask them to be present during the raid and render help if there be any need for it.

He had not proceeded far when firing from both sides broke out and he returned to the place of occurrence.

The inmates of the house could see that strangers had been entering the compound at dead of night and there was no delay in realising the exact position without the least shadow of doubt. All the four of them tried to escape by the back door on the south bordering the tank while simultaneously firing at the police. There was a sharp exchange of shots for a minute or two when one of the besieged party was noticed in a bush on the bank of the tank and was arrested. Two others were arrested within a few minutes without fight. While the fourth man, JIBAN, *alias* MAKHAN GHOSHAL, in an attempt to escape was wounded on

the brink of the tank by the police. He fell into the water and was drowned. *

In the room occupied by the absconders were found implements of various sorts, such as, vices, files, saws, chisels, lead lumps, large quantity of aluminium alloy and yellow clay.

The persons arrested at the place were taken to Chittagong and were joined as accused in the main Armoury Raid Case, then proceeding before a Special Tribunal. '

Partial Fulfilment

With existence hanging in a slender thread, the heroes of the 'Raid' of the 18th April, could not think of giving up the fight that had begun. From their place of hiding they would try to keep in touch with the world of the police, secure news of their movement and follow them as often as would opportunity come in their way.

The news of a tour of inspection of the Inspector General of Police reached them and decision was taken in secret to attack him during his itinerary. RAMKRISHNA BISWAS and his associate were entrusted with the task. They came out of their shelter with all the attendant risks dogging their footsteps.

After finishing his tour of Chittagong the Police Chief started for Dacca *via* Laksham and Chandpur by the Calcutta bound mail. The train reached Laksham at 2 a.m. Tarini Mukherji, an Inspector attached to the Government Railway Police, boarded the train at Laksham to receive the Inspector General at Chandpur. Finding all the second class compartments occupied, Tarini got into a first class coupe adjoining that of his chief.

One of the assailants, was covered with a green and the other with a red wrapper. They came from the direction of the stall, passed by the Inspector General's compartment and entered a compartment ahead of the one occupied by the I.G. The train arrived at Chandpur at 4 a.m. on December 1, 1930. As soon as it stopped Tarini Mukherji, the Inspector, opened shutters of his coupe and asked the Sub-Inspector of the Chandpur Government Railway Police to open his door.

When this was done Tarini got down from his compartment with the face towards the guard-van and he was saluted by the officers present at the station. In a few seconds two youngmen appeared at the place from the side of the third class compartment and fired several shots at the Inspector from the back. The wounded man staggered and ran towards the overbridge to take shelter under its steps and fell down on the platform. The Sub-Inspector, guard of the Police Officer, disappeared and took shelter in the station room for safety. He was followed a few steps while retiring by the young assailants each with a revolver in hand.

The Inspector General on hearing the sound of firing opened the window of his compartment and saw the attack on the prostrate body of Tarini. He fired through the window but missed the mark and at the second attempt his automatic pistol got jammed and failed to function. His attendant also fired a few shots at the fugitives but missed.

The Inspector General with his armed *orderly* chased the assassins who ran towards the north of the station where a row of wagons obstructed the view of the pursuers and the fugitives disappeared in darkness.

Tarini expired on his way to the local hospital. The pursuit of the young men was continued by other police officers who had in the meantime been informed of the tragic incident. The Additional Superintendent of Police proceeded towards Chandpur in his motor car. When he had just passed the Meherkali Railway Station, about twenty-two miles from Chandpur and the same number of miles from Comilla, he noticed two young men with green and red wrappers on trying to evade him. They were overtaken and the replies they gave to the queries of the Police Officer failed to allay the suspicion that had already overtaken his mind.

A casual search of the body of Ramkrishna disclosed a hard substance seemed to be concealed in his waist-cloth. When the shirt of his comrade was raised a revolver fully loaded was noticed. When Ramkrishna was similarly treated another revolver was discovered on his person together with an aluminium bomb. They were put under arrest at 12-45 p.m.

Both the prisoners were placed before a Special Tribunal on

January 3, 1931. Judgment was delivered on January 24, 1931, sentencing RAMKRISHNA BISWAS to death and his accomplice to transportation for life.

The case was referred to the High Court for confirmation which sat on March 17, and delivered its verdict on March 27, 1931, confirming the sentence passed by the Special Tribunal.

RAMKRISHNA BISWAS was executed at about 1 a.m. on August 4, 1931, in the Alipore Central Jail.

Ramkrishna possessed a combination of great qualities in him. He was a brilliant student in school and stood first in the Matriculation Examination of 1928, in the district. He was a good sportsman and in every type of physical endurance he left his mark. About his revolutionary urge it may be mentioned that he got severely burnt before 'the Raid' in producing picric acid for use in the manufacture of bombs. He overcame it all right inasmuch as such a serious danger to life could not deter him from following the path he chose for his activities.

Simultaneous Release

Like so many younglings who had incurred the wrath of the authorities, SUBODH DE (17) of Chittagong was arrested in connection with the Armoury Raid of April 18, 1930. He was detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in Chittagong when he was transferred to the Presidency Jail in November 1930.

He fell ill and the case was diagnosed to be one of typhoid. There being no signs of improvement under medical treatment in the jail, he was removed to the Medical College Hospital in the first week of April. The case further deteriorated and the patient expired on April 15, 1931. Just a few days before his death, when the physicians had declared the case to be hopeless, the Government were pleased to release him as if to allow him to pass on to the other world without the fetters of the police round his feet.

He was taken to the Nimtolla Burning Ghat by his sorrowing relations and friends and cremated there under a pall of gloom.

Sharp Shooting

From his hiding place, with his life in the palm of his hands, Surya Sen conducted operations of warfare through his 'soldiers', young lads, ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause of the Motherland. He planned for the murder of Ashanulla, Inspector of Police, and selected a boy for the action. He taught his 'pupil' the technique of handling a revolver and shooting at a target.

There was a fixture on August 30, 1931, of a match between the Town Club in which Ashanulla was interested and the Kohinoor team. The game was over. Ashanulla was overjoyed at the victory of his team and annexing the Railway Cup, when all on a sudden a young lad, came close to him, whipped out a revolver and fired four shots, one piercing the victim's heart. Ashanulla fell on the ground with his face downwards and blood gushing out on his back. The man was selected for assassination because he was responsible for conducting the investigation and preparation of the brief of the Armoury Raid Case. He showed excessive zeal in collecting information relating to absconders.

After the incident the assailant did not try to escape. There were three persons standing very close to each other from one of whom Ashanulla had been receiving a warm congratulatory handshake. The boy stood there almost motionless to be sure that his sharp-shooting had secured a definite goal. By the time the victim kissed the ground, the playground had become so desolate that it was not possible for him to get mixed up and lost amongst the throng of spectators standing around the field.

He was arrested by a police officer who came to the place. He was beaten up in the most inhuman manner and removed to the thana in an unconscious state.

Now hell was let loose on Chittagong and the suburbs. Houses of a particular community were visited by the police in accompaniment with the most notorious ruffians known in the town and the countryside. Males between fourteen and forty-five were mercilessly belaboured and literally dragged through the streets to the police station.

The lock-up where these arrested men were put helter-

skelter, like heaps of bags one over the other, blood literally flowed on the floor towards the outlet.

Shops and other private properties were ransacked and looted and in several cases fire was set to them. It was given the name of a 'communal riot' which raged with unparalleled fury for three days and nights without any succour coming from the preserver of peace and order. Reports of stray assaults and dagger thrusts unceasingly reached the headquarters.

Charges of murder and of unlawfully possessing fire-arms were framed by the Sadar Sub-Divisional Officer against the accused on September 16, 1931, and he was committed to the Sessions.

The jury by a majority gave a verdict of 'not guilty' on October 14, 1931. The judge disagreed with the view. The case was referred to the High Court, which, due to the tender age, sentenced the accused to transportation for life on December 22, 1932.

Dire Calamity

Knowing fully well the risk involved in harbouring absconders, respectable ladies with family not unoften came forward to provide shelter to those whose heads carried heavy rewards. Shifting from place to place Surya Sen with his two valiant lieutenants, NIRMAL SEN and APURBA SEN and another young boy came to Dhalghat, a place about four miles north of Patiya Military Camp and ten miles from the Chittagong town.

About 9 p.m. *Master-da* and his comrades almost finished their dinner. A young girl of the house, and in such matters the youngsters of each family had shown considerable tact and discipline, signalled the arrival of a large number of unknown men in the locality.

The house, a two-storeyed mud-built one, was surrounded by the police, and Captain Cameron of the 2/8th Gurkhas and a Havildar, the leader of the party, being almost certain about the presence of the suspects in the second storey went up by outer stairs.

Surya Sen and his young comrade got on the top of the corrugated roofing of the cook-shed by a bamboo ladder and jumped on the ground and disappeared.

The Havildar was ahead of the Captain and while passing through a narrow door was pushed off the stairs and fell to the ground below. A young man, Apurba Sen, armed with revolvers confronted Cameron at a range of a yard and shot him through.

The armed man then dashed down the stairs and was challenged by a rifleman in the compound. As he attempted to escape, the rifleman fired at him killing him outright.

Meanwhile another man, Nirmal, in the upper storey was seen trying to escape by climbing through a window. He was fired at and wounded. He at once got inside the room for protection.

It was late at night when the Havildar thought of bringing in reinforcement from the Patiya Military Camp. He came back with fifteen additional riflemen and a Lewis gun. He increased the guard around the house and started his operations against the room that sheltered the fugitive. He aimed his Lewis gun at a window of the room. Three revolver shots were fired from the window but they failed to hit anybody.

The firing from the Lewis gun continued for some time more and all signs of movement in the room ceased.

The guards remained at their posts for the rest of the night. In the morning in the hedge by the side of the house was found the body of a man who had attacked Cameron. There were two revolvers with him, one in his hand and the other in waist belt.

In the upper storey Nirmal Sen lay dead with several wounds on his body.

The widow, her son and two other inmates of the house, who had given shelter to the absconders were tried and each was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment on October 24, 1932. (*Vide* p. 494)

In Apprenticeship

A mere lad came in contact with the veterans some of whom had been directing operations from secret haunts. SUKUMAR KANUNGO expressed his intense desire to become a member of the revolutionary party with all its attendant dangers.

He was allowed to handle a revolver and given lessons in target shooting. On the fateful day he had finished his practice and retired to a tank for taking his bath with two comrades. Sukumar was under the impression that he had discharged all the bullets from his revolver and was toying with it aiming at his throat demonstrating to his friends the manner which he would follow in case of emergency to shoot himself before he was taken a prisoner. He touched the trigger which released the last unspent bullet and it penetrated through his throat killing him outright.

Out of Remorse

Working amongst his comrades SAILESWAR CHAKRABORTI gradually came to be recognised as one capable of being entrusted with responsible duty.

It was arranged that the Pahartali European Club should be raided on a particular date in September 1932. Saileswar was charged with keeping himself hid in a convenient place very close to the Club premises and to appear with bomb and other weapons at a fixed time.

The time arrived, also the men selected for the attack, but not Saileswar. It was a tense situation for those who had assembled there with only one purpose. Taking stock of the weapons ready at hand and after analysing the whole situation it was decided to disperse.

Saileswar was ready at the place and time but for some reasons or other he missed the right moment.

He joined some of the retiring band who instead of going to their houses took shelter in an abandoned hut. They apparently went to sleep which was reluctant to come after the excitement of preparation and frustration for inaction.

One of the comrades before falling asleep saw Saileswar lying on the mat on his chest with a pen in hand and scribbling on a piece of paper. When it was about 2 a.m. Saileswar was seen in the same position with a drooping head, the face touching the ground. On examination, he was found dead, a small quantity of scattered white powder indicated that he had committed suicide by taking potassium cyanide.

Naturally after retirement he was asked about the cause of his failure to turn up in time but nobody accused him on that score. The cause guessed after the event was that for the first time he was put in charge of the attack on the day of "The Raid". As it was Easter holiday the Club remained closed and the party had to retire without any action.

Now it was a second occasion when the raid failed and it was attributed principally to his remissness. He told his friends in joke that he must have been an 'inauspicious' person and unworthy of doing any responsible work. The idea must have weighed heavily on his mind and goaded him to end his life with his own hands.

A Lady's Turn

The turmoil following the Armoury Raid had abated considerably and the Europeans and Anglo-Indians breathed more freely. Between thirty and forty people assembled at the Assam Bengal European Club, called Pahartali Institute, three miles from Chittagong on September 24, 1932, at 10 p.m. and some of them sat down to a whist drive. Suddenly at 11-30 p.m. a bomb thrown through an open window descended on the floor of the hall creating utmost panic in the assemblage.

The first bomb was immediately followed by others and a succession of shots from muskets and revolvers. About ten or twelve persons were injured as a result of explosion and revolver and musket firings. An old European lady died due to a bullet penetrating her body.

The raid was carried out with lightning rapidity by about fifteen people differently dressed and mostly in masks. The raiders retired quickly before anybody was able to realise the

situation and take any action against the raiders. The hall was now loud with groans of the injured.

All the raiders escaped except a lady in male attire found lying dead about 100 yards from the place of occurrence. It appeared that she died of poisoning self-administered.

The lady was subsequently identified as PRITILATA WADDEDAR, a graduate of the Calcutta University and the Head Mistress of the local Nandankanan Girls' School. She was found missing since the Dhalghat incident on June 14, 1932, where she was definitely present during the raid but was able to effect her escape.

A search around the place showed strewn about three live police musket cartridges, several rounds of revolver ammunition, an empty automatic pistol magazine and several used musket and revolver cartridge cases. One unexploded bomb on the verandah and another in the billiards room were discovered.

A further intensive search of the locality resulted in the seizure of several leaflets, in red ink, issued by the *Indian Revolutionary Army* calling upon youths to join the party and kill Europeans and Anglo-Indians. These were widely distributed in the evening of the day of occurrence.

One of the leaflets began with *Chittagong and Hijli Wrongs*, and referred to the terrible Monday, the 31st August (meaning thereby the Chittagong disturbances following the murder of Ashanulla), while another ended with "Whoever may send Europeans or Anglo-Indians, dead or alive, to the head-quarters of the *Indian Republican Army*, will be rewarded."

A collective fine was imposed on the area on the plea that the local people had not adequately helped the authorities in the arrest of the raiders.

The Reckless Band

If the absconders had been alert the police also became very active. On information supplied by informers and spies the police all on a sudden surrounded a dilapidated house at Jangal-khain near Patiya on November 27, 1932, for some Armoury Raid absconders. Everything seemed to be quiet. The police warned the inmates to keep the peace and surrender without any resistance.

A young man, SHYAM KUMAR NANDI, tried to break through the cordon and was shot dead while another escaped.

The house was searched and a youth with burning wounds, and a doctor were found inside a room. They were put under arrest and brought to the town.

Some acids indicating bombs in the process of manufacture were seized in the house.

Novice's Fate

With the arrest, trial, imprisonment and execution of some of the leaders, the plan for further action was being pursued by the remaining leaders in hiding and for the purpose fresh recruit was always needed.

BIREN DE, quite a young boy came into touch with the absconders and expressed his earnest desire to be of any the least help to those who had been suffering untold privations. He was being trained in target shooting. He did not know that his revolver had still one live cartridge undischarged. Accidentally it went off and penetrated his left groin. Medical or surgical aid was difficult to have. Firstly, from unchecked haemorrhage and secondly, from poisoning of the wound the boy breathed his last leaving his work unfinished to the chagrin of everybody concerned.

'Master-da'—The Master Mind

The celebrity that Chittagong acquired in regard to military preparations and exploits was mainly due to the brain of SURYA SEN that had worked out the plan with a few comrades and made it possible of execution by a band of youngsters mostly in their teens. After the first set-back the Government forces gathered strength and began to ravage the city and the countryside in search of the insurgents.

The frail man, a teacher in a village school, had to take shelter under different roofs when open encounter became inexpedient and out of all possibility. The police was running after Surya Sen with the entire machinery at their command and the story of his evasion from arrest became almost legendary in the neighbourhood. To suit different emergencies he would pass as a Mahomedan hawker, a common cultivator, a woman and what not.

He appeared to have almost a charmed existence as on more than one occasion he was within an ace of being captured, particularly on June 13, 1932, at Dhalghat where he lost two of his most trusted and able lieutenants.

After the Ashanulla outrage on August 30, 1931, the police squeezed out a confession from the assailant that his *Master-da* had chalked out the plan of action for him as also provided him with the weapon itself. The police relentlessly followed up the slightest clue which proved abortive. On the other hand those who could supply the information refused to do so because of danger to their lives or more because of their admiration and reverence for him.

Surya Sen with three other comrades took shelter in Goirala, a village about five miles from Patiya P.S.

A party of 2/9th Gurkha Rifles was drawn to the spot on February 16, 1933, by a traitor who had passed information to the police of the presence of some absconders near about his house. While the military had been cordoning the shelter a torchlight was flashed upon them and three persons were seen firing on the troops with their revolvers from the northern side of the house. The fire was returned and the cordon hurriedly completed. After a little pause on both sides two persons fired again and tried to

force their way through the cordon. The troops had to desist lest they should hit one of their own party.

It was 11 a.m. when *Master-da* succeeded in negotiating the fencing that surrounded the house on the north but landed himself in the front of a waiting Havildar and was captured forthwith.

The besieged party also fired shots from the southern side of the house which was replied by the Military. A shriek and a splash in a tank were heard by the attacking party but nobody could be secured; in the morning trail of blood could be traced for some distance when it disappeared. A blood-stained sari, a woman's garments, a pair of sandals and incriminating documents were also seized. The jungles in the vicinity of the house were cleared and a ditch was baled out resulting in the recovery of certain papers. Other inmates of the house were arrested at dawn and removed to the town.

Surya Sen was removed to a train some distance away from the place of the incident and taken down at Sholasahar, a suburban Station and thence escorted in a motor-car to the town.

While in jail the ingenuity of the master mind could manage to establish contact with his comrades outside and it was possible for him to smuggle out instructions and other papers including manuscripts which were discovered in the course of a search and seized at Dhalghat. From the papers it was definitely proved that *Master-da* and Pritilata Waddadar were present when the police and military raided the house.

A most daring attempt was made to dynamite a portion of the jail and rescue *Master-da* which was discovered when preparations were nearly complete.

Surya Sen and TARAKESWAR DASTIDAR, arrested on May 19, 1933, and accused of shooting an Inspector of Police on March 16, 1931, were placed on trial before a Special Tribunal on June 15, 1933, in the heavily-guarded old Collectorate building of Chittagong. *

At the trial the history of the whole incident from the Armoury Raid up till the Pahartali Outrage was recounted and *Master-da* was declared unquestionably to be the leader of the revolutionary party and the *Indian Republican Army*, Chittagong Branch.

The principal accused took upon himself the entire responsi-

bility for waging unrelenting war against the Government by every possible means. In his composition *Biraha*, seized by the police and produced as evidence, he referred to the organisation as one with which "I am inseparably mixed and to which I have been attached with all my heart from the beginning" and "I have seen Bijoya (in his writing *Bijoya*) of many intimate friends and affectionate brothers and sisters and have taken full responsibility for the same."

Against the other accused, Tarakeswar, it was said that he had connection with conspiracy from its inception. He was in charge of the Party at Gohra and at that time actively assisted in carrying out the conspiracy for waging war after Surya Sen's arrest. The trial ended on August 14, 1933, and both the accused, and nothing else was expected, were sentenced to death.

When *Master-da* was asked at mid-night of January 12, 1934, to get ready he was deeply absorbed in meditation and had to be brought to the hard realities of the situation. He got up and on his way gave a full-throated shout of *Bande Mataram* which reached all the corners of the small Chittagong Jail and echoed and re-echoed in each cell that held a prisoner connected with the Raid and its aftermath. The inmates realised at once that the final hour had struck and they warmly and enthusiastically responded.

The jail authorities were not prepared for this contingency. The warders freely used batons and lathis on the frail body of the prisoner every time he shouted *Bande Mataram* and this continued till he became unconscious due to merciless beating. The jail resounded with the shouts of other prisoners who had been held like so many caged lions.

The accredited General of the revolutionary war of Chittagong where many battles were fought, and one whose name would be associated with the most successful exploits against a mighty force, was beaten senseless or done to death. There was nobody to ascertain the truth but it was a fact which could not be concealed that the prostrate body of one whose name had sent shiver to the marrow and spine of the most valiant in the British forces stationed in India and made the administrators in the stronghold of administration in far off Calcutta tremble in their shoes, was helped to the gallows and the noose was put on the neck of Surya

Sen the condemned prisoner who had tried to free his country from foreign domination.

A lifelong comrade of his, Tarakeswar Dastidar followed his leader in the same night, January 12, 1934, in the Chittagong Jail. There was suppressed sigh of relief in the hearts of the upholders of law and order in India. But even then dead mortal remains of the two posed a serious problem to the authorities. If consigned to fire, from his ashes might rise Phoenix-like hundreds of heroes who would fight the sworn enemy of the Motherland.

Surya Sen and his comrade's dead bodies were placed before dawn on a battle cruiser, of the East India fleet, *H.M.S. Eppingham*, which was rushed to the high seas where, fully tied to heavy weights, were lowered to the bottom of the seas to serve as food to the monsters of the deep.

Patiya Outrage

When Chittagong had been honeycombed with police and military forces and almost every young man was being closely watched the informant relating to the hiding place of Surya Sen and his associate could not be allowed to go unavenged.

The Officer-in-Charge of the Patiya Thana, Makhanlal Dikshit, was the man held responsible for the arrest of *Master-da* and Tarakeswar Dastidar. On his communication to the headquarters a military detachment comprising thirty-five sepoy, three Assistant Sub-Inspectors and three constables under a European high military officer started for Goirala for action against the suspects.

The remnants of the Chittagong fighters in due course came to know of the part played by Makhan in the arrest of *Master-da* and on March 26, 1933, just after dusk, at 7 p.m. they shot Makhan dead in his quarter and left the place without being noticed by anybody.

Surprise Attack

At great personal risk family men had sheltered absconders on whose head heavy rewards had been announced.

Sometime after midnight the police surrounded Purna Talukdar's house in Gohira village, Anwara P.S. near Parki Lighthouse on the Bay of Bengal, about 13 miles from Chittagong.

The police gathered information that there were six 'wanted men' in hiding in that house including TARAKESWAR DASTIDAR and MANORANJAN DAS and surrounded it on May 19, 1933. Becoming cognisant of the arrival of police the absconders opened fire which the police promptly replied. In the confusion two of the suspects were able to escape. About 4 a.m. the police called upon the besieged men to surrender. The firing stopped and four persons were arrested from the house.

Two men, PURNA CHANDRA TALUKDAR, the owner of the house and an absconder MANORANJAN DAS, were killed by police bullets. The body of Purna was given to his relations for cremation. The body of Manoranjan Das at the time was not identified by anybody not even by his kith and kin.

TARAKESWAR DASTIDAR was later placed on trial for his complicity in the Armoury Raid and was sentenced to death on January 12, 1934.

In the Desert Air

The Detention Camp in Deoli, Rajputana, claimed many victims during its short existence.

A prisoner in the Hijli Detention Camp, SAILESH CHANDRA CHATTERJI, suffered from occasional attacks of Malaria and continued loss of weight. He was transferred to Deoli on September 12, 1932. Objections to this transfer were voiced by Sailesh as well as by his relations which went unheeded. Sailesh, according to the police and the confidential camp report, was an important member of the revolutionary party and his presence in Bengal was deemed unsafe for security of the State.

The unfortunate father of Sailesh Chatterji then at Comilla, was telegraphically informed by the District Magistrate that his son had expired in the jail hospital on October 17, 1933. It transpired that the patient had an attack of malignant type of tertian malaria and was administered intravenous injection of a heavy dose of quinine by the doctor against the advice of an experienced compounder and the patient expired within an incredibly short time.

Cricket Ground Outrage

A cricket match held on January 7, 1934, in the European Club Ground (Paltan) attracted a large gathering of Europeans including women and children. The match had just ended and the spectators were divided in small groups unmindful of what was going to happen to them.

After witnessing the match the Superintendent of Police, a European, retired to the Club. While driving back to his bungalow about 5-30 p.m. he noticed two young men dressed as labourers by the side of the Club. It aroused his suspicion and he stopped his car to search them when one of them threw a bomb at him. It exploded but it did not hit him. Two other bombs thrown by him did not explode.

The police officer at once came down upon his assailant NITYA RANJAN SEN and grappled with him and his chauffeur shot Nitya killing him outright and causing a slight injury to the officer in his hand.

There was a great sensation over the incident and in the confusion that followed between the car and the slope of a hillock, another fellow, HIMANGSU BIMAL CHAKRABARTI was able to extricate himself and dashed out of the group that had gathered around him. He was shot twice of which the second proved fatal.

Two other youths, KRISHNA CHANDRA CHOWDHURY and HARENDRA NATH CHAKRABARTI, jointly attacked the pavilion situated on the other side of the field by throwing bombs between the tent and the Town Inspector's bungalow which failed to explode. Harendra advanced a little and fired a shot with his

revolver which went wide and nobody was hit. He was captured with the revolver in his hand.

His colleague who was found escaping was given a hot chase and secured. On a thorough search a bomb and some articles were found in his left pocket, and a capsule in the right. It was finally discovered that the assailants were equipped with one revolver, four bombs, several rounds of capsules and ammunition.

The two arrested men, Krishna Chandra Chowdhury, an absconder in the main Armoury Raid Case, aged 21 and Harendra Nath Chakrabarti, 18, were placed on trial before a Special Tribunal and the case against them was opened on January 23, 1934, in the Durbar Hall of the Government House which was well guarded.

KRISHNA GHANDRA CHOWDHURY and HARENDRA NATH CHAKRABARTI were jointly charged, on January 26, 1934, under section 307/34 I.P.C. being liable to enhanced punishment under Sec. 6(1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1932, for offences committed in furtherance of a common intention by throwing bombs and firing revolver on Europeans, including women and children on January 7, 1934, for which they would have been guilty of murder if any death was caused thereby;

Secondly, under Sec. 4-A and 4-B of the Explosive Substances Act for throwing bombs likely to endanger life and being liable to enhanced punishment under Sec. 5-A of Bengal Act XXI of 1932;

Thirdly, against Harendra Chakrabarti alone under Sec. 19-F of the Arms Act for the unlicensed possession of a revolver and live cartridges, also being liable to enhanced punishment under Section 13-A of the Arms Act and Bengal Act XXI of 1932.

The Special Tribunal delivered its judgment on January 31, 1934, and both the accused were condemned to death.

The accused preferred an appeal to the High Court which was heard on April 9 and on April 18, 1934. The High Court dismissed the appeal, upheld the judgment of the Tribunal and confirmed the sentence of death.

The two young men proved to be the first victims under the Enhancement of Punishment Act who were awarded capital punishment for attempted murder. Execution of Krishna Chandra and Harendra took place on June 5, 1934, in the Midnapore Jail.

In His Den

While on the run, now only a few left after Surya Sen's arrest, and roaming without guidance, the absconders would not fail to deal with the traitors and informers in the manner they deserved.

It was widely talked about that Netra Ranjan Sen, a landlord of Goirala with some stake, was responsible for the arrest of *Master-da* on February 16, 1933.

It was a great shock from which the absconders could hardly recover. Yet on January 8, 1934, while Netra Ranjan was enjoying his dinner at about 9 p.m. inside his house, one or two unknown young men suddenly appeared and hacked Netra to death. They disappeared from the scene with the same alacrity as they had shown in their arrival.

Release Self-Sought

Arrested in Chittagong, BRAJENDRA LAL CHOWDHURY of Kanungopara, was sent to Berhampore Detention Camp in January 1934.

When the checking of the detenus for the night had been taking place at about 9-45 p.m. on August 27, 1934, Brajendra was found missing from his room. A search was forthwith conducted and the boy was found hanging by a twisted *dhoti* from an iron bar in the roof of the common-room with an overturned chair at his feet.

Brajendra, and a host of them cannot speak and nobody except the spectre of detention for an indefinite period, can throw any light on the reasons for ending life with his own hands.

Diabolical Act

The vendetta of the police did not stop even after everything had turned normal. A mother was arranging for dinner of her son PAYAJ KANTI CHOWDHURY of Chakrasala, Paliya, when a C.I.D. constable came to his house and asked him to come to the Police Station without assigning any reason.

The distracted mother intervened and asked the constable to wait for a short time so that her son may finish his meal and go. The policeman naively told that the matter was very simple and it would not take much time to come back and take his dinner.

Payaj did not return within a reasonable time. Enquiries at the thana proved fruitless. Early next morning when the mother, who had not slept for the whole night opened the door found her son in an unconscious state from which Payaj did never recover.

Freedom the Paramount Need

A sturdy young boy of village Dhorola, Chittagong, full of promise and burning with the fire of patriotism could not fail to escape the evil attention of the police. NIRENDRA LAL BHATTACHARYA was arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and was thrown into the local prison. Subsequently he was transferred to the Hijli Detention Camp and it was as if his future had been sealed.

An indefinite detention influenced his mind to escape and serve the Motherland as a free man. He sought the easiest way, as release coming from the Government was absolutely uncertain, and on February 27, 1936, he was found hanging from a grating of the fan-light placed in the wall of the main staircase.

Epilogue

RAM KRISHNA CHAKRABARTI at the time of his arrest (p. 481) had been suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis and was in a very weak state of health. His spirit dominated over his frail mortal frame and he was absolutely unconcerned over his future suffering.

Detention in the dark dingy room of the most infamous jail of the time, Midnapore, for a good part in bar fetters, further hastened deterioration in his health. The benign Government lodged his mother, Sabitri Devi, a co-accused in the harbouring of absconder case, in the same jail, in the female yard, the only

consolation to her being the nearness of his son resting on death-bed. She was not allowed any interview with the son in spite of repeated representations for the purpose. The lacerated heart of the mother smothered under the depressing news about the deteriorating physical condition of her son.

Ram Krishna showed signs of growing exhaustion which could not be checked and no serious effort was ever made in that direction. But his spirit maintained a high pitch of honour and it was impossible for the jail authorities to make him submit to humiliating conditions. In 1936, before his death, he had been undergoing punishment for breach of jail discipline. He developed digestive disorders, the last symptoms of tuberculosis, and one day he was found lying dead on the floor still in chains.

The mother was allowed as an act of supreme grace to have a last look of the dear son who was no more; the strong iron bars of the cell of Ram Krishna preventing her from shedding maternal tears on the corpse of her heroic son. Only a loving mother would be able to assess the poignancy of the grief of Savitri Devi, the present punishment of whom was many times more galling than what was awarded by the Court.

Inflating the List

In the fight at Kalarpole on May 7, 1930 (p. 473), four heroes lost their lives and two were arrested by the police. PHANI BHUSAN NANDI, a cousin of Amarendra Nath Nandi (p. 472) happened to be one of these two.

In the trial that ensued Phani was convicted and sentenced to transportation for life. He developed tuberculosis of the lungs in prison and expired in 1937, in the Alipore Central Jail.

'Method in Madness'

A detenu in the Hijli Detention Camp, ASWINI KUMAR GUHA, developed symptoms of insanity and was removed to the Midnapore Jail. Instead of showing any signs of improvement

his case worsened and as a last resort he was put in the Ranchi Lunatic Asylum under surveillance of police guard—the worst thing for treatment of insanity.

It seemed that Aswini could not get over the mania of suicide even in his madness. To get rid of the condition of a prisoner he managed to evade the close watch and committed suicide in Ranchi Asylum by hanging.

In Distant Land

A participant in the Armoury Raid, HARIPADA MAHAJAN, a proclaimed offender with a decent reward for his arrest, was able to cross the border of India and reach Akyab after eight months of his stay in the police-ridden Chittagong.

Haripada's destination was Burma. Suffering untold hardships with police hounds tracking his trail, Haripada was able to reach Akyab after three days from the start of his journey.

The life in Burma was full of troubles and privations for him. He struggled manfully till he succumbed to his fate, dying in 1942, away from the Motherland for the political emancipation of which he had sacrificed everything that a man longs for.

CHAPTER NINE

UNABATED FURY

(1931-1942)

While the country was getting ready for a mass movement under Mahatmaji the revolutionary activity had been reaching a new peak. Fighters, particularly in the north, became very active and successful attacks on targets continued unabated.

There was a serious loss of life in both the camps. Repressive Ordinances and legislations failed to produce any appreciable result. The murder of three successive European Magistrates in Midnapore and the Raid on the Armoury and other essential installations of the Government in Chittagong climaxed the efforts of the brave sons of India during this period.

Suppressed Grudge

(1931)

The Punjab incidents had weighed heavily on his mind and SUJJAN SINGH of Valtaha, Lahore district, joined the training battalion of the Punjab Regiment in 1930, with the express object of murdering a British Officer. He waited for a suitable opportunity for three months which refused to appear.

On January 20, 1931, before the trying Magistrate Sujjan said that he started from his village to kill the Colonel of the Lahore Cantonment. He was told that the bungalow of Capt. Curtis at Moghalpura was the residence of the wanted Military Officer and he at once made up his mind to go straight into the bungalow and kill him.

He found out the house and entered it in the afternoon of January 13, 1931, and inflicted several blows with a Kirpan on Mrs. Curtis and her two young daughters. Then he made a frantic search for the Colonel who was not at home.

Mrs. Curtis died in the hospital and the two children were somehow saved.

Sujjan was charged with the murder of Mrs. Curtis in cold blood and inflicting severe injuries on her children. He was sentenced to death on February 7, 1931, which he received with utmost nonchalance. In reply to a question, Sujjan said that he struck the children because Indian children had been mercilessly murdered in Jallianwala Bagh and Peshawar.

Sujjan paid the highest penalty in the Lahore Central Jail on April 8, 1931. He mounted the scaffold all the time shouting *Bhagat Singh Zindabad*.

Hero of Hundred Fights

(1931)

CHANDRA SEKHAR AZAD was a terror to the two Governments of the United Provinces and Punjab and his name became a by-word with the police for successful attacks on targets by him. He was also credited with incredible power of elusiveness from arrest at occasions when according to the police there was absolutely no chance of escape.

In his younger days he was 'Chandra Sekhar' but added 'Azad' to his name when he left his studies in the Central Hindu High School in the wake of the Non-co-operation Movement.

Chandra Sekhar belonged primarily to Benares, Bhelupura, but he made extensive areas of U.P. and part of Punjab his field of activity in his youth. He served as a connecting link, a guiding star amongst his comrades working in distant parts of the Province.

For his participation in the non-violent Non-co-operation Movement he was sentenced to whipping but he subsequently laid more stress on militant tactics and used the period when the Civil Disobedience Movement swayed the country as an opportunity for preparation of an armed rising at a convenient moment.

He was the leader of the U.P. forces of the *Hindusthan Socialistic Republican Party* and was the Commander-in-Chief of its Army. He was always in the front rank of attack and participated in almost every action of importance always leading his men. In the Kakori, Delhi and Lahore incidents he took an active part; the police investigation disclosed his complicity in each of

these affairs. He escaped the vigilance of police for several years and used to work as a motor-driver or a boatman.

A heavy reward was announced on October 19, 1930, "for the arrest or for information leading to the arrest of persons wanted in connection with the Lahore Conspiracy Case and others who were wanted for an alleged widespread conspiracy which is now under investigation in Punjab."

"Chandra Sekhar Azad *alias* Panditji, *alias* Sitaram, Caste Brahmin, formerly of Baijnathola, P.S. Bhelupura, Benaras" was the description of the "wanted man" announced by the Government.

On the fateful day of February 27, 1931, he was sitting in the Alfred Park in Allahabad with a comrade at about 9-30 in the morning. The watchers there took him to be the suspect and word to the effect was sent to the Kotwali. The policemen who had been guarding the park slowly proceeded towards the prey. When they reached within twenty yards Azad took out his revolver and aimed at the man nearest to him. He was a bit too late. The police who had noticed him long before Azad became cognisant of their presence were thoroughly ready for such a contingency and fired a shot just a fraction of a second before Azad could discharge his pistol. He was hit somewhere in the leg as could be guessed from the difficulty he showed in getting up.

Then began an exchange of shots and Azad seemed to have been struck by a second bullet on the left arm. His companion ran a few paces away and took cover behind a tree. Azad crawled to another shelter provided by a thick tree.

Two policemen crawled near a ditch very close to Azad, who was now almost exposed to their firing. The unequal fight went on for nearly fifteen minutes when a shot severely injured Azad and he was seen falling on his back. At least three policemen were injured, one of whom rather seriously.

Azad's companion, waiting a few yards away from him, tried to leave the shelter and attack the European officer who had been leading the party. Azad shouted out to him, "I am about to die; for God's sake, fly away: Do not wait for me." Most reluctantly he had to accept the command and left the place on a cycle snatched away from a student who had been standing nearby.

The wounded man was seen to raise his pistol to his temple and fire. He met with an instantaneous death. In this condition he was shot by another constable the bullet piercing him in the thigh.

There were two wounds on the lower part of the right leg, one of which fractured the tibia. Another bullet was extracted from the right thigh. The fatal wound appeared to be on the right side of the head and another in the chest.

The body was sent to Rasulabad Ghat for cremation which was performed under a strict police guard.

Thus a blazing meteor illumined the dark firmament of political subjection with its own brilliance during the short duration of its course moving towards total extinction in the limitless womb of eternity leaving a name that would adorn the pages of history.

On February 28, 1931, from the post mortem report it was known that four bullets and a fragment of the fifth had been extracted from the body. ,

First in the Series

(1931)

Accepting an invitation of the Head Master of the local School, James Peddie, the District Magistrate, Midnapore, visited on April 7, 1931, the educational exhibition that had been organised in the Midnapore Collegiate School by the institution authorities.

The District Magistrate had gone on a shooting excursion and returned to town the same evening. When he entered the first room nothing happened and he quietly passed on to the second showing a keen interest in the exhibits.

Just a few seconds after, at 7-30 p.m., two assailants who had been waiting there fired shots from a very close range, not more than three feet from him, from inside the threshold of the northern door. One of the attacking party was a boy in his teens wearing a striped grey shirt.

Altogether seven or eight shots were fired in that small room and a stampede was the result. Nobody was in a mood to

enquire about the august visitor and failed to take notice of his place of final retirement.

When the situation had improved a little, Peddie was seen in an adjacent room standing against the wall. He must have managed to go there through the communicating door after receiving the shots.

It was strange that though three bullets had penetrated his back and two others, one in each arm, Peddie did not lose his consciousness. He was immediately removed to the Midnapore Hospital in a horse-drawn carriage bleeding profusely. Surgeon and nurses were rushed by special train from Calcutta which reached Midnapore at 2-30 a.m. Immediate operation was undertaken and a bullet was extracted from his body. At 10 a.m. on the next day Peddie was operated upon for the second time. The patient gradually sank without showing any marks of improvement and expired at 5-10 in the afternoon.

Death in a Chain

(1931)

Two suspects, one of whom was an absconder from the Delhi Conspiracy Case, came from Lucknow to Patna City and the local police kept watch over them as they answered the description given by the Lucknow police and arrangements were made for their arrest.

For two successive evenings they were seen in the Lower Road, Patna City, and on June 28, 1931, at 9 p.m. they were seen coming on their cycles at Nayatola, P.S. Pirbohore. They were challenged by the police. Ignoring the police party the two men tried desperately to make good their escape. In the confusion one of the suspects threw a bomb injuring Sub-Inspector Ram Narayan Sing who died in the General Hospital. Another constable was seriously injured and was removed to the hospital in a precarious condition.

In the course of the case that was started against the two accused it came to light that a man named Ram Lalit, suspected to be a spy, was murdered at Kankarbagh by the party and a

worker accidentally killed himself while filling a grenade. No details were available.

One of the arrested men was sentenced to transportation for life and the other to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.

Lahore Garden Fight

(1931)

The police had long been in pursuit of two revolutionaries, JAGADISH and his comrade, in connection with the Lahore Conspiracy Cases. After continued watch spread over wide area they were seen on May 3, 1931, going towards the Shalimar Garden, Lahore. The news was hurriedly communicated to different centres and before the suspects had actually entered the park it was almost surrounded by a large number of policemen.

Jagadish and his friend unsuspectingly got into the garden and Jagadish took his seat by the side of an artificial stream and his friend relaxed nearby. The police sent a person in the garb of a lady in *burkha* with a view to keep their prey engaged. The arrival of a 'lady' aroused their suspicion and they got ready for an open encounter. There was a sharp exchange of shots in the course of which, Jagadish was hit in the neck and fell reeling into the stream and died almost immediately. His friend was seriously injured and arrested.

Accident's Toll

(1931)

Two friends CHANNAN SINGH and another had been travelling dangerously in a train from Hoshiarpur with high explosive bombs in their luggage.

They got down at village Adamwahan on May 13, 1931, the purpose of which is not very clear. While sitting by the roadside one of them gave some incautious push to their luggage and a bomb exploded with a loud report resulting in Channan Singh's death within a couple of hours.

His companion tried to escape but was arrested. Explosive materials were found in their respective houses in the course of a search by the police.

Lure of Arms

(1931)

The revolutionary urge finding its outlets in Delhi and Punjab and the trials that followed with mass executions did not fail to make deep impression in the minds of impressionable youths elsewhere in India.

Bombay had its touch and outrages were not slow in making their appearance. A few young men, as one of them stated after the incidents, had been reading literature about Bhagat Singh and his exploits and decided to emulate them, for the purpose of which they required bombs and revolvers.

They were in search of a proper opportunity to translate their idea into action. On the night of July 23, 1931, three friends, YESHWANT SINGH, DEO NARAYAN TEWARI and another noticed at Khandwa that a European gentleman with his luggage and a rifle was alone in a compartment and made up their minds to rob him, and dispose of his articles except the rifle for the purchase of weapons with the sale proceeds.

They boarded the train, the Punjab Mail, and attacked Lt. G. R. Hext, who had been proceeding to Signal School at Poona via Bombay.

It was 4 a.m. when the Mail had been running between Dongergaon and Mandwa, about 300 miles from Bombay. Hext had a dog in his compartment which fiercely barked and awakened Hext from his sleep. He saw two persons, absolute strangers, in his compartment with daggers in hand. As he tried to move he was instantly attacked and rendered unconscious.

Hext had a fellow passenger, a Lieutenant of the 28th Field Brigade, who had been travelling from Lahore to Poona. He found three men in the compartment and grappled with one of the intruders. He held with his hand the blade of the knife ~~with~~ which he was attacked, and it broke leaving the major portion in his hand. He put up a heroic fight with the part of the ~~blade~~

when he was attacked by another man. He switched on the light and shouted to Hext to pull the communication chain. He found Hext in a serious condition almost on the point of death. Then he pulled the chain himself and the train began to slow down when the assailants jumped off from the running vehicle. The train ultimately stopped at a little distance from the place.

Hext was removed to hospital in a precarious condition where he died on July 24, 1931, in the afternoon.

A precipitate chase followed the escape of the assailants from the train. The news was flashed to all police stations and police officers were ordered to take up the hunt.

One of the pursuers, a Sub-Inspector of Police who was the earliest to receive the message in a nearby police Station at once advanced towards Bhusaval without any clear idea as to the course he should follow but issued instructions to all he met to arrest anybody whose movement might seem suspicious.

At mile 331 the Police Officer came across some gangmen and learnt from them that a man dressed in a black coat and shorts with canvas shoes had been noticed going towards Mandwa about an hour before.

The Sub-Inspector, as he was talking with the informants saw a motor trolley coming towards him carrying the Deputy Chief Engineer, Bombay, and Divisional Engineer, Bhusaval, and another officer out on an inspection tour. He stopped the trolley and got into it. The trolley proceeded to Mandwa and the Police Officer made enquiries of porters and gangmen on the way.

At mile 326 they noticed a man answering the description given by the gangmen walking along the track. Just as the party was about to overtake him, the man suddenly jumped from the line and rushed to the adjoining jungle to the left. All the occupants of the trolley got down and ran in the direction taken by the fugitive but soon lost sight of him.

The pursuing Police Officer approached the nearest police station and could secure services of about fifty men to comb out the forest. The party was divided in batches of five to six and were asked to go into the jungle.

In this tense situation a man was found crossing the line from east to west. Traversing an open space the man was seen

entering a shed, where he was found lying on the ground. At the approach of the people the man tried to run away. He had scarcely gone over a little distance when he was seized by a labourer in the field and handed over to the policemen.

The dress of the arrested man, DEO NARAYAN, was similar to the description given by the Military Officer, Hext's co-passenger, and he had injuries on the left hand as also bruises and cuts on his legs.

Deo Narayan's friend, accomplice YESHWANT SINGH was arrested in Mandwa the day after the outrage. He was taken to the house of an unknown man promising food and shelter. Confidence was betrayed and the police appeared at the door on receipt of secret communication from the host.

Yeshwant and the third accused served as cabin candidates in the Railway and applied for sick leave for some days. They produced the requisite medical certificate and were absent from duty since July 21.

Some correspondence fell into the hands of the police one of which was written by Yeshwant Singh from Damoh on July 3, to Deo Narayan :

"The sun may rise in the west instead of the east, but like a true and sincere Rajput, I must carry out my determination."

The writer also referred to the vow taken by him at Bhusaval, and said, "I do not want to write any more now, otherwise you may lose control over your mind while I am absent."

Deo Narayan in a confessional mood said that it was a revolutionary crime as it was their intention to die the death that Bhagat Singh had faced.

A letter dated July 28, clandestinely sent from Khandwa Jail meant for his father but intercepted by the police, disclosed Yeshwant's mind very clearly and gave an idea of how he looked at death.

Wrote he :

"None can undo what is written in fate. I am suffering in jail for my deeds regarding the Punjab Mail quarrel wherein two military officers were wounded. I hear one is dead. Now think that only five out of your six sons are living. I have not done a coward's deed. If I am hanged I will willingly accept. It should be a matter of pride to you. All have to die one day. I bravely face it; I am not a coward."

Yeshwant Singh, Deo Narayan Tewari and another were placed on trial on August 10, 1931, at Khandwa.

On September 21, 1931, Yeshwant Singh and Deo Narayan were sentenced to death and the third accused to transportation for life.

Additional Judicial Commissioner heard the appeal on October 28, 1931, and judgment was passed on November 16, 1931, confirming the sentences of all the three accused.

The condemned persons were executed on December 12, 1931, in the Jubbulpore Central Jail. The whole city observed a complete hartal following the execution.

Justice to the Judge

(1931)

A Bengali young man of about 20 years slipped unnoticed to the southern verandah adjoining the Court of the District and Sessions Judge, Alipore, 24-Parganas. He was a lean, thin, respectable looking young man dressed in *dhoti*, shirt and coat.

The District Judge, R. R. Garlick, who was President of the Tribunal which sentenced Dinesh Gupta and Ram Krishna Biswas to death, was engaged in hearing a case at 2 p.m. on July 27, 1931. The young man entered the room through a door leading from the verandah, quietly stepped into the witness box and fired two shots in quick succession at the Judge. The first shot went wide but the second struck Garlick right through his forehead. He was removed to the Presidency General Hospital profusely bleeding, where he died shortly after.

The assailant, was attacked by a plain-clothed C.I.D. Constable with his revolver. He fired a shot which missed and in return he was wounded by a bullet discharged by Garlick's assassin on the shoulder. A Sergeant on duty fired which hit the intruder in the abdomen and the leg. He died instantaneously.

The Judge was dead; so was his assailant. In his pocket was found a small scroll of paper in which was inscribed, "Perish! here is your reward for hanging Dinesh Gupta unjustly. Bimal Gupta." (*"dhanso hao. dinesh guptake abichare phansi deoar puraskar lao; iti bimal gupta."*)

There was frantic effort on the part of the police for establishing the identity of the young man which completely failed. The photograph of the dead man was published in the Police Gazette and displayed in all Police Stations in the District and a heavy reward was announced for information that might lead to the identification.

Long after the event the police came to know through a mere accident from a man who was arrested on suspicion and though he could easily avoid informed the police from a sense of bravado that the boy's name was KANAILAL BHATTACHARYA who hailed from Majilpore, P.S. Jaynagar, 24-Parganas. All attempts to establish connection with any particular revolutionary party did produce no encouraging result but helped the police to throw a large number of young men to prison without trial.

Close to the Lion's Den

(1931)

It was just after dusk when a terrific sound was heard in the vicinity of the Patna City Police Station on July 31, 1931. It transpired that RAM (BABU) had been handling a bomb in Dharamsala Gate Ghat which exploded injuring the man very seriously. The room was also badly damaged.

He was removed to the hospital where he died on August 7, 1931.

Ram Babu was a close associate of Suraj Nath Chaube, sentenced to death on April 18, 1932, both of whom conspired and carried out the murder of S.I. Ram Narayan (Lalit) Singh at Kankarbagh Road (Patna).

According to Plan

(1931)

For some time there had been going on frictions between the Hijli Detention Camp authorities and the prisoners and from the growing sullen attitude of the immediate petty officers it was apprehended that a storm was about to burst.

In the evening there was some altercations and mutual threats exchanged between a sentry and a detenu. There was also an allegation that a detenu had attempted to snatch away the bayonet of a sepoy on duty in the afternoon. At 9 p.m. on September 16, 1931, fifty policemen and two dozen sepoy with lathis and batons, overran the detenu barracks and opened fire inside the rooms without any warning whatsoever. The detenues were taken unawares and began to run helter skelter for a safe place for saving themselves from baton, bayonets and bullets.

Within a short time about 100 shots were fired in the camp as well as in that part of the hospital where some of the sick detenues had been admitted as indoor patients.

Sentries from eight boxes and those posted near about the bathrooms together with those on patrol duty in and outside the compound of the camp opened fire simultaneously. Some of the detenues were in the dining hall taking their meals at the time. At least one prisoner was hit by a bullet at the place.

The convict attendants in confusion and fear put out the lights in the dining hall whereupon firing ceased as none inside could be seen from the sentry posts.

At least twenty detenues were injured, four seriously. Two detenues, SANTOSH KUMAR MITRA of Calcutta and TARAKESWAR SEN of Goila, Barisal, were killed.

Tarakeswar Sen was looking from the first-floor verandah what had been happening to the fellow prisoners. He was shot on his forehead which killed him instantaneously on the spot.

Santosh Kumar Mitra was standing on the threshold of a room on the ground floor. He fell down dead, two bullets having passed through his abdomen.

Some of the sepoy ran upstairs and assaulted everybody whom they met. It was pandemonium let loose, the poignancy

of the situation being heightened by the gleeful mood of the sepoys who had been shouting: *Hukum mil gaya ! Ramji ki joy ! Shala lok ko maro.*

There was no responsible officer nearby to restrain the sepoys from their orgy of violence on unarmed prisoners living at the mercy of the Government and its myrmidons. The Commandant though living within two minutes' distance from the Camp, actually turned up after nearly an hour of the outrage. His conduct deepened the suspicion in the minds of the public that he had been in the know of things from the very inception of the plan.

The Report of the Committee appointed by the Government to go into the cause of the unhappy incident was published on October 19, 1931. The facts as stated by the Committee were that a sentry on provocation gave the alarm and there was a rush of armed men "through the inner gate" and "under the orders of a Havildar charged and drove some detenus who might be roving about."

The Report continues:

"Shots were fired by the sentries after which there was a half-hearted retaliation by some of the detenus followed by a regular fusillade by the sepoys—indiscriminately firing without any justification—on the main building resulting in the death of two detenus and in infliction of injuries on several others.

"The Committee adds that some of the sepoys with no justification went into the building and assaulted some of the detenus with lathis and bayonets and also fired a few shots there after which they left."

It needs no comment.

Ladies too !

(1931)

Even in the history of the Indian revolutionary movement the murder of C. G. B. Stevens, Magistrate and Collector, Comilla, Tippera, and Political Agent of Tripura State, presents a remarkable departure in the line of outrages committed on Government servants and on their agents. This was the first occasion when two Bengali girls took hands in matters that had so far remained reserved for the rough arms of the males.

Two girls of respectable families, reading in Class VIII of

the Faisunessa Government High School, came at about 10 in the morning in a hackney carriage to the quarters of the District Magistrate on December 14, 1931. They left the vehicle at the gate of the compound and went up to the building to see the Officer. A visiting card containing two names, Ila Sen and Mira Devi, in English, in the hand-writing of one of these girls was sent to Stevens seeking for an interview.

Stevens was at the time in office and talking to the S.D.O. Both the officers came to the door of the office room and met the girls. After a short talk with the visitors relating to the object of their visit, a petition was placed at the hand of the Magistrate which related to swimming by Bengali girls.

With the petition Stevens went back to his seat in the room and made an endorsement on the petition to the effect, "Head Mistress, for favour of suggestion." He came to the girls and verbally asked them to come through the Head Mistress when an arrangement could be made for holding the suggested competition.

One of the girls was on the point of receiving the petition back from the outstretched hand of Stevens when the other girl whipped out a revolver and fired point black at the chest of the Magistrate from a distance of two cubits only.

On being hit in this manner Stevens began to retreat with the object of escaping to the pantry through the dining room. While on the move, a second shot was fired at the Magistrate which went wide. Later, Stevens was found lying prostrate in the pantry life being extinct.

The girls were arrested on the spot by the S.D.O. with the help of the attendants and handed over to the police.

The revolvers that were used by the girls were unlicensed. They were of Belgian make with .320 bore.

Post mortem examination of the deceased revealed one mortal wound by a bullet below the heart and other shots delivered by nervous hands failed to hit the target.

It was ascertained later on in the course of investigation that two or three young men hired the hackney carriage used by the girls and escorted them up to the Criminal Court buildings in the expectation of finding Stevens there.

The young men then left the *gharry* with the girls directing the coachman to proceed to the quarters of the District Magistrate.

The girls were placed on their trial on January 18, 1932, on charges of murder and conspiracy to murder.

On January 27, 1932, judgment was delivered. The accused were not more than sixteen years of age and having regard to the principles which were applied to young or adolescent criminals, the girls, instead of being sent to the gallows, were sentenced to transportation for life.

From the Opposite Pole

(1932)

From the service in the Police Department as a probationary constable, 24-Parganas, SITAL PRASAD PANDEY joined the political undesirables and at once became somebody for whom the Government started a frantic search for arrest.

Sub-Inspector Mazhar Hussain of the Railway Police entrained Sealdah-Delhi Express at Jasidih on information that a man was travelling with an unlicensed revolver. When the train stopped at Jhajha on April 3, 1932, at 6 a.m., a man was pointed out to him as Sital Prasad, the 'wanted' person. The dutiful police officer accompanied by the informer entered the compartment occupied by Sital Prasad and asked him forthwith about his identity and whether he possessed an unlicensed revolver with him.

The answer was in the affirmative. But on the pretext of producing the license he took out a loaded revolver from his pocket and fired four shots in quick succession at the Sub-Inspector and one at the informer. Mazhar Hussain met with an instantaneous death. The informer was seriously injured.

He did not allow much time to elapse to help others in his arrest. He shot himself dead in the presence of the dumb-founded passengers in a crowded train.

Cruel Fate

(1932)

Living in a quiet quarter of Ekrampur village in Dacca, on a particular day KSHITISH CHANDRA MUKHERJEE was found in a precarious condition in a solitary room occupied by him. He had extensive burns all over the body, particularly the nose, caused by the explosion of a bomb in the course of preparation.

Kshitish was admitted in the Mitford Hospital on April 15, 1932, where his left palm and two fingers of the right hand were amputated. The patient did not regain consciousness and succumbed to his injuries on April 17, 1932.

Ill-Conceived Plan

(1931-1932)

Five young men full of revolutionary ardour came near the Charmuguria Post Office on March 14, 1932, and rushed inside the room where the Post Master and the assistant were busy with their work on a table. Two of the intruders were armed with revolvers and another had a dagger in his hand.

Promptly they demanded all the money that the Post Office had at the time and without delay one of them picked up the cash and insured covers that were lying on the table. The raiders came out of the room and followed the person who had already gone outside with a revolver in his hand. Then all of them left the precincts of the Post Office and came out on the road.

When the first shock was over, the postal employees started a chase of the culprits, and were gradually joined by a number of villagers. One man, MANORANJAN BHATTACHARYA, was on the point of being captured when he first stabbed the pursuer and a postman next.

The villagers did not give up the chase and were ultimately able to overpower all the raiders and take them into custody.

The whole of the looted property was recovered from their possession.

Five accused were placed on trial before a Special Tribunal which convicted Manoranjan under Sections 302, 326, 396 I.P.C. and Section 19-F of the Arms Act and sentenced him to death and each of the rest to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.

Manoranjan's appeal was heard by a Special Bench of the High Court on July 4, 1932. It was rejected and the sentence of the lower court was confirmed.

Manoranjan of Idilpur, Faridpur, was executed on August 22, 1932, in the Barisal Jail.

Desperate Bid for Freedom

(1932)

One Head Constable with nine others had been escorting twenty five life convicts repatriated from the Andamans. They were under orders of transfer to the Punjab jails and were travelling by 61 Up train to Lahore on April 22, 1932.

When the train was running between Narwana and Jind, Delhi, the escorts were suddenly attacked by the convicts at about 1 a.m. on April 23, who were overpowered. The convicts stopped the train by pulling the vacuum brake chain and ten of them escaped with four police muskets and a quantity of ammunition belonging to the constables.

The fugitives were confronted by the armed patrol of the Punjab Government Railway Police travelling by the same train but with no effect. There was a sharp exchange of shots between the two parties in which the Head Constable, Amarnath, received a fatal wound and another constable was seriously injured. None could be arrested.

Second in the Series

(1932-1933)

Robert Douglas, who succeeded J. Peddie as the District Magistrate of Midnapore, started his journey with a premonition of danger that came to be literally true. He wrote a letter to his brother, the Principal of the Rajahmundry College, on August 5, 1931: "The relevant fact is that my life is in real and serious danger."

It was not without reasons. He received in the mean time a threatening letter.

He was apprehensive of the assassins' bullet and took special precaution for his safety. But as Magistrate of the District he had to go about on official business besides his duty as the *ex-officio* Chairman of the District Board.

Douglas was presiding over the meeting of the District Board held on April 30, 1932, in the presence of a large number of Members and the business had been proceeding on smoothly till about 5-30 p.m. When the ninth item on the agenda was reached, Douglas was sitting at the top of the table signing papers of the District Board.

Two youths came along the corridor by the western gate. They took their stand one on the right and the other on left side of Douglas at a distance of four yards only. Without losing any time they fired six shots in quick succession of which three hit the Magistrate one each in the arm, chest and abdomen. He was removed to the hospital. The Civil Surgeon and nurses were rushed from Kharagpur and he expired at 9-45 at night. Douglas suffered four entrance and three exit wounds and his death was due to shock and haemorrhage caused by bullets.

The two assailants, one of whom was PRODYOT KUMAR BHATTACHARYA, dashed out through the north door of the meeting towards the main gate and ran across the gardens with the Sub-Divisional Officer of Tamluk chasing him with a revolver in his hand.

Before the murderous assault actually took place, the *British Uchhed Samity* of Midnapore had been issuing successive posters

from time to time. In February 1932, one such was pasted at the thana. It was captioned *Wanted Life for Life*. On the back of such a poster sent to Douglas was written :

"Douglas, we want to know whether by your order or whether you are at all aware of the repressive policy, and of the excessive police measures which have been applied to the volunteers belonging to the Congress within Surulia and other police stations. Before starting our work we feel it necessary to make it clear whether all this is being done by your orders or within your knowledge. After this we shall wait, watch and see whether any such orders are passed by you to put a satisfactory stop to the excessive measures of the police. If not, it will force us in the way to take action against your police and note the severe consequences would befall you sooner or later."

(Initialled) I. B. P.

After leaving the District Board Office the two assailants ran together over a short distance and at the junction of two roads near 'Amar Lodge', they separated, one running towards the north-east and the other towards the south.

Prodyot got inside the southernmost room in a cluster of huts. Two police *orderlies* and two others guarded the exists. The armed police *orderly* of Douglas fired through the doorway frame of the hut which had no leaves. Prodyot found it to be no longer safe and rushed out of the hut and ran northward. Two shots were fired at the fugitive who dashed into a bush of thorns and met with a nasty fall. He was pinned to the ground with consequences that followed.

He was searched in the usual way commensurate with circumstances. In the right side pocket was found a slip of paper containing the words :

"Only a feeble protest against Hijli atrocities. Let Britain take note by the death of these people and let India awake by our sacrifice."

It might be mentioned that Douglas held an enquiry from September 7 to 21, 1931, into the Hijli shooting affairs in which two detenus lost their lives. Another piece showed the cryptic line, "Our elementary arithmetic", which was interpreted by the Government as meaning the first act in the line of retaliation.

A six-chambered revolver was seized from him of which five were loaded with live cartridges, only one chamber being found empty. It subsequently transpired that the bullet that killed

Douglas was not fired from the revolver found with the accused Prodyot.

Moreover, a bullet was recovered the next day on the way to 'Amar Lodge' the direction which the other assailant adopted for his escape. It conclusively showed that he had a .380 bore revolver and Douglas must have come by his death from a bullet fired by the person who had been successful in evading arrest.

Prodyot's colleague could not be traced. He was found running up to a distance of 250 yards after which he disappeared from the view of his pursuers. A reward of Rs. 5,000 was announced on May 21, for the arrest of or information leading to his arrest but nothing could be heard of him any longer at least for the purpose of the prosecution. Inhuman torture could extract the name of his associate from Prodyot on May 4, as Sitangsu Bose, which, on enquiry, was found to be fictitious.

Prodyot was placed on trial before a Special Tribunal which commenced its sitting on June 8, 1932. On June 10, the accused was charged under Sec. 302 read with Sec. 120-B, and Sec. 302 read with Sec. 34 I.P.C. for conspiracy to murder and acting in furtherance of common intention to murder. The case was closed on June 22.

The Tribunal delivered its judgment on June 25, 1932, at Midnapore and sentenced the accused to death on the ground that "the murder was deliberate and cold-blooded, the accused had aimed his revolver at Douglas with the intent of murdering him, but his revolver misfired, and there could be no difference in the sentence between the actual assassin and his associate who had also pointed a revolver which misfired."

An appeal was preferred to the High Court which started hearing the case on August 16, 1932. Judgment was delivered on August 22, confirming the sentence of the Tribunal.

Prodyot was found very cheerful during the first interview with his mother on October 7, and he said that there was nothing to complain about. The last interview took place on January 11, 1933, with his permitted relatives.

Inside the Midnapore Central Jail Prodyot was executed on January 12, 1933, at 5 a.m. He gained considerable weight between the beginning of the trial and the day of execution.

Misadventure

(1932)

A mail peon was waylaid on the District Board Road leading to the Steamer Station on May 17, 1932, at Agaria, and was robbed of the bag by a band of young men.

The raiders while crossing the wayside *khal* were noticed by the cultivators on the field. The fugitives were hotly chased in their attempt to escape. One pursuer was armed with a *teta* (a spear-like weapon), and he hurled it at JYOTIRMOY MITRA, one of the raiders.

The *teta* caused a penetrating wound in the abdomen of the victim and he fell to the ground. During the scuffle that followed Jyotirmoy suffered further laceration in his wound and was removed to the Madaripur Charitable Dispensary in a precarious condition. He expired on May 18, 1932. A valuable life was lost in a misadventure.

In the Desert Air

(1932)

A message emanating from Darjeeling, the summer seat of the Bengal Government, and circulated by a News Agency, stated in a cryptic manner, on June 6, 1932, that,

MRINAL KANTI RAY CHOWDHURY, a detenu in Deoli Detention Camp, committed suicide.

There were others also who followed Mrinal Kanti to save themselves from an unknown fate.

Mystery Abounding

(1932)

A bright young Bengali, an M.Sc. of the Calcutta University, got involved in revolutionary politics and was on the run for nearly two years till he was arrested at Taltala Ghat on board the Barisal steamer while going from Talti (Taltola) Ghat, in the Munshigunge Sub-Division on June 6, 1932.

The arrested man, ANIL CHANDRA DAS, was brought to Dacca the same day at 4 p.m. and removed to Kotwali lock-up.

On June 7, 1932, he was placed before the Sadar S.D.O., who remanded him to police custody till June 11, 1932. The mother was allowed to see her son on June 7, and Anil was found both physically and mentally perfectly sound.

Grave apprehension overtook the minds of relations when suddenly the detainee was removed to an unknown destination. There was no definite information about the whereabouts of Anil but news leaked out that he was being kept in the Lalbagh Police Station and everything was not going on well with him.

Anil was brought before the S.D.O. on June 13, where complaints about bad food, maltreatment, even of physical violence on the part of the police were made to the Court. He wore a harried look. The police on the other hand reported that Anil had in the mean time developed signs of insanity of which there was not the least trace in him before his arrest and even thereafter for a few days.

The distracted mother made a prayer for examination and treatment of her son by an independent medical practitioner so long as her son was detained in jail. This request was rejected.

On June 17, the Medical Officer of the Jail reported his condition as 'good'.

At about 3 p.m. on June 17, 1932, the Additional District Magistrate informed the mother that Anil had expired in the jail lock-up. The Magistrate at the request of the bereaved family, granted permission for the presence of an independent medical man at the post mortem examination of the deceased.

The order was forthwith communicated to the jail authorities and the Surgeon of the mother's choice was allowed to proceed on

his mission all right. He reached in time only to be told by the Civil Surgeon that the *post mortem* examination had already been finished and there was nothing further to be done in the matter. The *post mortem* report, though repeatedly asked for, was never given to the family or made known to the public for reasons of the State.

The whole affair was shrouded in mystery and the Civil Surgeon's, or for the matter, the Government's, conduct confirmed the worst doubts that lurked in the mind of Anil's mother which were shared by a large number of his wondering countrymen.

Indiscretion's Toll

(1932-1933)

At the height of the Civil Disobedience Movement, the ladies and even children of Munshigunge had a great share in public demonstrations and violations of sedition laws. It was too much for the Government to tolerate and it appointed Kamakshya Prosad Sen from January 1932, as Special Magistrate to teach a good lesson to the law-breakers, composed predominantly of women.

Kamakshya established his head-quarters in the Tangibari Thana. His duties included, as he thought, dispersing of unlawful assemblies and such assemblies as showed signs of becoming unlawful.

In performing his duties he had on a number of occasions to use force through his lieutenants, the up-holders of law and order, on ladies, irrespective of age, as well as on others. It so happened that Ichhapura, in Serajdighi Thana, became a storm centre of the movement and Kamakshya had to use every means, more often than not, extremely humiliating to the ladies.

The Special Magistrate received recognition for his signal services from the Government. But at the same time he could realise within himself that he had incurred the wrath of young men and it was safe for him to be away from the station, at least for the time being.

He availed himself of three months' leave and left the station.

He came to Dacca to receive his salary and put up with the Sadar Sub-Divisional Officer at Wari for a few days. Kamakshya was occupying a room on the ground floor of the building when the owner was on its first floor.

The room that Sen occupied had two windows; one that was on the east had no gratings. As it was summer, Sen slept with both the windows open.

KALIPADA MUKHERJEE of Vikrampur took upon himself the task of teaching a grim lesson to the Special Magistrate for his misdeeds. He came on June 24, 1932, to Wari and took shelter in a tailor's shop at Patuatoli. Next day, as he reported to the shop assistant, he went to Mitford Hospital to see a patient operated upon for hernia.

He was seen at the shop up to 8 p.m. on June 26, the day previous to the outrage.

He went to the S.D.O.'s quarters on June 27, 1932, and waited till 4 a.m. in the morning. He entered the room occupied by Kamakshya through the window without grating, lifted up the mosquito curtain and shot sleeping Kamakshya at four places and left the place unnoticed. He came back to the shop in the morning took his bath and went again to the Hospital as if to see his friend. On his return he again rested in the said shop.

On hearing repeated sound of gun shots the host, the S.D.O., came running downstairs to find the guest lying dead on the cot.

Kamakshya had one bullet wound on the chin, two wounds on the right chest and one in the stomach. Four empty cartridges were found on the bed and one in the surrounding drain running by the building.

There was a frantic search of the neighbouring places, without any success and no clue of the assassin could be traced. The District Magistrate while exploring every other avenue under the instruction of the police, directed the Post Office to keep an eye over every telegram of a suspicious nature and to inform the police about it at once.

Near about 2 p.m. a man came with a telegram for despatch containing the message, "Kamakshya's operation successful; no anxious" addressed to a medical man of Sarada Medical Hall, Ichhapura. "Sender, Surendra Mohan Chakrabarti, 7 Patuatoli, Dacca."

The police was at once informed and appeared at the post office immediately. The carrier of the telegram was detained and the police on arrival put him under arrest.

Accompanied by the police the man went back to the shop and showed Kalipada waiting there. The suspect was taken into custody and removed to the Kotwali.

It transpired that Kalipada had despatched a telegram earlier to the same man at Ichhapura to the effect: "Mukherjee fractured seriously; operation failure; sending him Calcutta—Mintoo Mukherjee."

During his detention in police custody the accused was alleged to have made the following statement:

"I have murdered Kamakshya Sen for the cause of Motherland by shooting him at Rankin Street in the house of the Sadar Sub-Divisional Officer.

"By scaling the wall I entered into the room through the window where Sen was asleep between 3 and 4 a.m. I am alone responsible for the murder. I am guilty if it is objectionable to love one's Motherland

"I sent the telegram to Suresh Ganguli on 27th as he was the only educated person in the bazar and he would understand its meaning when the fact of the murder will be published in newspapers.

"None showed me the S.D.O.'s house.

"I will not disclose as to who gave me the automatic pistol which I threw into the river.

"I murdered Kamakshya Sen as he oppressed much at Vikrampur in connection with the C. D. Movement, especially on the females. I thought it advisable to remove him for the good of the country. I have neither been tutored to say this, nor do I tell out of fear.

"I make this confession to save innocent persons being harassed by the police for nothing."

Kalipada was placed before a special Judge in Dacca on November 1, 1932. The accused retracted the confession in which he implicated none but himself. On November 4, he was charged with murder, and a sentence of death was passed on November 8. The sentence was confirmed by the High Court on December 9, 1932.

The young man paid the price of his indiscretion on February 16, 1933, when he was hanged in the Dacca Central Jail in the early morning.

His body was delivered to the East Bengal Brahmin Sabha for cremation.

At Long Last

(1932)

A Babbar Akali convict RATAN SINGH, escaped from custody on April 23, 1932, with ten others by attacking their escort in the train near Bhatinda. The Head Constable in charge of the police party was killed on the spot.

The Government declared a reward of Rs. 3,000 for the arrest of Ratan Singh, the leader of the gang. He was found, on July 15, 1932, in the village Roorkee, Hoshiarpur District, in a hut. The police assisted by the villagers surrounded the house in the evening and a regular fight ensued.

Ratan Singh met the police onslaught for more than three hours in the course of which he killed three police constables and one villager.

In the end Ratan Singh was mortally wounded by a police bullet and he escaped arrest in life. Death to him was more honourable than surrender.

Racial Hatred

(1932)

A young Mahomedan of 22 was serving as an *orderly* in the Lady Reading Hospital, Peshawar, with a record of conviction for a short term for picketing in 1932.

While W. J. Coldstream, the Civil Surgeon of the hospital, was coming out of the office on his way to the operation room, on July 22, 1932, the assailant, ABDUL RASHID, attacked him with a dagger causing a deep wound on the right side of his neck.

The victim grappled with Abdul and caught him by the hand, who was able to extricate himself and run towards the gate of the hospital to make good his escape.

Coldstream followed his assailant a few paces, staggered and fell on the ground. He expired shortly afterwards as a result of severe haemorrhage.

During the course of investigation it transpired that before

the incident the assailant was in touch with two members of the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha* who were arrested by the police. For want of sufficient proof of complicity they were discharged.

Abdul faced a sessions trial on July 26, and was sentenced to death on July 28, 1932.

He was executed on September 1, 1932, in the Peshawar Jail.

Plucky Act

(1932)

While returning to his bungalow from the office in the afternoon of July 29, 1932, on a bicycle, E. B. Ellison, the Additional Superintendent of Police, Comilla, heard the sound of a cracker that burst close to his cycle. As soon as he turned to see what had happened, he was shot at in his arm, back and abdomen by a youth from behind. Ellison got down from his cycle, though severely hit, returned the fire at the assailant who, however, escaped.

The injured man struggled hard with life for a week. He was removed to Dacca for treatment but all attempts to save his life failed and he expired at 6-40 p.m. on August 5, 1932.

Terrible Calamity

(1932)

With the rising tempo of revolutionary actions in Bengal, the European Association, the loyalists, both Indian and non-Indian, the Royalists, all began to clamour for Black and Tan and 'third degree' methods for suppression of the armed manifestation of nationalist sentiment. The authorities in turn showed extreme proneness to yield to the pressure of these people which they accepted as the expression of genuine 'public opinion' in Bengal.

The Statesman with its immense circulation and unbounded influence on the Government of the day (and up till today) served as the mouthpiece of the combined anti-revolutionary organisations in Bengal and elsewhere.

It was thought necessary to counteract the propaganda by attacking Watson, the Editor, and holding him as an example to

other newspapers carrying on agitation for strong action on the part of the Government.

Alfred Watson was returning to office after lunch at about 3 p.m. on August 5, 1932, when a Bengali youth, ATUL KUMAR SEN, as it was known later on, taking advantage of the slow motion of the car at the gate suddenly rushed forward, thrust his hand into the car through the front window and fired one shot. The bullet grazed the victim's temple and smashed the glass at the back of the car.

The weapon slipped from the hand of the assailant inside the car as he was overcome by a sense of failure in his attempt. He was pounced upon and secured by the durwan at the gate assisted by a constable who had reached the place at the nick of the moment drawn by the sound of firing.

Watson alighted from the car and directed the arrested boy to be taken inside the compound. Atul struggled hard to extricate his hand from the firm grip of his captors and with great difficulty managed somehow to snatch a moment's opportunity to put something into his mouth.

Before Atul could be carried inside *The Statesman* office he reeled and still firmly held by his captors lost consciousness. On his way to the hospital the young man expired. He hailed from Senhati, Khulna, and was staying at 10, Narkelbagan Lane, Calcutta, at the time. The party to which Atul belonged seemed to be a determined lot and the attempt was repeated on September 28, 1932.

After day's hard work Watson left office at about 6-30 p.m. with his Lady Secretary in his car. Watson's car proceeded along Ochterlony Road, Eden Garden Road and Strand Road and then came on Napier Road.

An open tourer with hood down and three men sitting in the back and one man driving it came up from behind at the point of Clyde Road, near Hastings on the maidan, fired three shots in quick succession into Watson's car from the right side of the window hitting Watson twice on his shoulder.

The driver was asked by Watson to drive quickly but a hackney carriage obstructed its easy passage.

As soon as the road became clear Watson's car turned round to the corner of Clyde Row and advanced about twenty yards

when the assailants came up at a great speed and banged against Watson's car.

Both the cars were interlocked and there was a shower of shots at Watson's car from two assailants who actually leaned towards Watson to be more sure of their target.

A Police Sergeant who had been on duty nearby hearing the sound of firing dashed to the rescue of Watson and fired his revolver at the assailants.

They now discovered that the game was up, disentangled the tourer and moved towards the south at a terrific speed, passing along the St. George's Gate Road and Lower Circular Road. Then it took a turn across the Zecrut Bridge finally reaching Sahapur.

The car had no front lights and sounded the electric horn without break. It ignored the signal of a traffic constable to stop and almost knocked him down. It was chased by the Sergeant for some distance in Watson's car when it disappeared in darkness.

Both Watson and his Secretary were taken to the Presidency General Hospital where his wound was found to be of a minor nature.

The assailants' car was next seen at Majerhat at about 7 p.m. When the car reached Bura Shibtola, there was a serious congestion of two carts and hackney carriage. In the hurry to get away with the least delay, the car dashed against a lamp-post and got seriously damaged. In the abandoned car was found a six-chambered revolver, five live and four empty cartridges. The revolver was fully loaded with four live cartridges.

The four men ran towards the Rai Bahadur Road in the east. One of them escaped towards the south and the remaining three ran on till they reached a local big rice mill where they were seized. Two of the assailants, subsequently identified as MANI LAHIRI and ANIL BHADURY, dropped down dead on the road and the third man escaped in a taxi.

Several arrests were made in connection with the case and in the trial some were sentenced to transportation for life and a few others to long terms of imprisonment.

A Lightning Flash

(1932)

He was one of those who had sacrificed their lives in handling dangerous materials without proper knowledge and experience.

SUDHANGSU SEKHAR NANDI died of wounds caused by explosion of a bomb on October 24, 1932, at Jeypur Hat, Bogra.

Three other young men were seriously injured as a result of the explosion.

Futile Protection

(1932-1934)

The Government had provided full protection furnishing him with a constant guard and a revolver in recognition of signal services as an approver in political cases against his own friends and accomplices, sending some to the gallows, some to the Cellular Jail for life and a host of others to prison for long long years.

Phani Ghose had proved very handy as a prosecution witness in the Lahore Conspiracy Case against Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, in the Motihari Conspiracy Case, Maulnia Dacoity Case and the Patna Conspiracy Case. He was a member of the *Hindusthan Republican Army* and was aware of secrets of the organisation which were fully utilised by the prosecution.

Phani was also helped with funds to start his own business and he opened a shop in Bettiah where the guard would keep a constant watch for his safety. On the day of occurrence, November 9, 1932, at about 7 p.m. he was sitting in front of a neighbouring shop and talking to his friend Ganesh Prasad Gupta, when he was struck from behind by an assailant with a *bhojali* on the head. Ganesh tried to catch him, when another man similarly armed, struck Ganesh on the head. In spite of it Ganesh did not desist and got two more blows, but he pursued the two men southwards for some distance. A few other shopkeepers joined in the chase.

There were two cycles kept leaning against an electric lamp-post on the municipal road apparently by the assailants before the incident. They ran towards the cycles but found the followers close behind. One of the fugitives said something to his companion ahead who was about to mount one of the two cycles, whereupon both of them turned from the direction of the cycles, ran southwards and disappeared in darkness.

The injured persons were immediately taken to the hospital where Phani died on November 17, and Ganesh on November 20, 1932.

Phani was threatened of dire consequences for his action from time to time. A letter smuggled out of the Hazaribagh Jail by a long-term political convict stated that his life was in imminent danger.

After about five days of the incident, two posters in Hindi, written in red ink, were found pasted on the Municipal Office buildings at Samastipur on November 14, 1932. These were variously worded, viz.: *Long live Revolution. Revenge for the hanging of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev. I have punished the traitor, with the permission of the party, the All-India Republican Association. Revolution is the true way to freedom; with a cool heart welcome it. Destruction is a dangerous objective on the way. Go ahead with soul force.*

On the luggage-carrier of one of the cycles that were left behind was a bundle of clothes which was handed over to the police.

The bundle contained a dagger, some toilet articles and a *dhoti* bearing a particular *dhobi*-mark in it. A close investigation by the police disclosed that the *dhoti* belonged to a resident of the Darbhanga Medical School Hostel where Baikuntha and his associate stayed on November 4 and 5, 1932.

The names of the accused persons, BAIKUNTHA SUKUL and another were secured by the police from the medical student. Police had previous information that Baikuntha worked in the Hajipur Gandhi Ashram and received his training in the *Hindusthan Seva Dal* at Muzaffarpore. He like Phani was also a member of the *Hindusthan Republican Army*.

On October 19, 1932, about three weeks before his attack on the approver, Baikuntha visited his own house at Jalalpur,

P.S. Lalganj, Muzaffarpore. He usually carried a bundle with him and when he went to take his bath in a nearby tank, it was searched by a Sub-Inspector of Police, who had come there on suspicion and an unlicensed revolver was found concealed in it. Baikuntha from that time onwards had to go underground and as his whereabouts were unknown he was declared a proclaimed offender. His property was seized but without any effect.

After the outrage there was a regular hunt for him. He was able to evade arrest until July 6, 1933, when he was found passing over the Gandak Bridge, Sonapur, with a live cocoanut bomb in the left breast pocket of his *kurta*. There was a stiff scuffle and Baikuntha fell down on his right side which was seriously hurt. When taken into custody he shouted, *Zindabad ! Bhagat Singh ki jay*. Baikuntha was removed to Chapra Jail and detained there till his trial.

Baikuntha seemed to the police to be a dangerous criminal and his trial in the open court of the Sessions was deemed inadequate for his safe custody. An *Extraordinary Issue* of the Bihar and Orissa Gazette announced on November 24, that the sittings of the court would be held inside the Motihari Jail. The trial before the Sessions Court was opened on December 4, 1933. Judgment was delivered on February 23, 1934, and the accused was sentenced to death for the murder of approver Phani Ghose for avenging the death of Bhagat Singh and others.

An appeal was preferred in the Patna High Court on March 6, which was rejected on April 18, 1934, and the valiant fighter in the cause of freedom was executed on May 14, 1934, in the Gaya Central Jail in the early hours of the morning.

Short-lived Independence

(1932)

A group of Sonthals of Dinajpur conceived the idea of establishing an independent state of their own free from British control.

Headed by two stalwarts, JITU CHOTKA and SAMU, one of whom was styled as 'Gandhi', a few hundred sturdy Sonthals

occupied the Adina Mosque, defied authorities and declared a 'raj' of their own in December 1932.

On receipt of information the District Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police and a large contingent of armed constables rushed to the place to meet the challenge with force on December 14, 1932.

A stiff 'battle' raged for some time. The Sonthals using their traditional weapon, the bow and the arrow, killed one and injured a number of constables. Free firing was resorted to by the police and four Sonthals were killed on the spot. On December 18, a Sonthal hero died in the hospital suffering from perforation of the lungs by a bullet. One other Sonthal similarly hurt and whose haemorrhage could not be stopped, was apprehended to die any moment.

Game with Death

(1933)

Death followed the footsteps of JAGGU RAM, an absconder in Nankana Bomb Outrage Case and a comrade-in-arms of Sajjan Singh, responsible for the death of Muhammad Sadique, S.I. of Hyderabad.

Jaggu Ram came to Lahore on January 28, 1933, and put up at Ranjit Singh Samadh. On February 1, 1933, at about 10 a.m. a terrific explosion rocked the locality. The priest of the institution hastened to the place to explore the reason.

Jaggu came out of the room with unsteady steps, blood streaking down his whole body. He sat on a bench and the kind priest asked him to stand up so that he might examine the nature of the injuries.

Jaggu obeyed and the next moment he fell down and expired.

Change of Venue

(1933)

Chandernagore, which claimed the life of an absconder on September 2, 1930, sacrificed one, its Commissioner of Police, from the bullet of a runaway from the Midnapore Jail.

About half a dozen young men came to Chandernagore at the end of February 1933, and rented an old dilapidated house in Kendu Ghat Gali near the bazar. The inmates seldom moved out of the house during the day and whatever they would do, was kept reserved for such part of night when people would be scarce on the street.

The story reached the police headquarters in due course. At about 5 p.m. on March 9, 1933, M. Quinn, the Commissioner of Police, accompanied by a police force went to the place to search the house. When Quinn had just approached a man seated in front of the house, he rushed indoors apparently to give warning to his comrades inside. Within a minute three young men dressed in *dhoti* and coat dashed out in an attempt to escape. One of them stumbled on a wayside bush and was arrested immediately. The other two ran away at top speed and soon got out of sight.

A young Bengali who was coming from the opposite direction tried to arrest one of the fugitives. He was shot and he fell down profusely bleeding.

Quinn took his cycle on which he came riding to the place and followed the direction to which the young men were most likely to proceed. He noticed two pedestrians trudging their way towards the Grand Trunk Road when he passed by them. When he had advanced about ten yards ahead of the two travellers he dismounted from his cycle to question the men for ascertaining their identity. As soon as he came very close, one of the pedestrians drew out a revolver and fired at from point blank range wounding the Commissioner in his chest, temple and face. A constable that came to his aid was hit by bullets. Quinn was removed to the hospital where he expired next day. His body was flown to France for burial.

The arrested man was identified as an assailant of Watson.

It transpired that of the other two fellows one was DINESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR who had escaped from the Midnapore Jail on February 7/8, 1932. Dinesh managed to get out of Chander-nagore and took shelter in 136/3-B, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, with a friend of his.

Acting on information supplied by watchers a large *posse* of constables and officers armed to the teeth reached 136/4-A, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta at 4 a.m. on May 22, 1933. All the neighbouring houses, viz., 136/3-A, 136/3-B and 136/4-B, were cordoned by thick police pickets and a batch reached the top of 136/3-B and another of 136/4-A. On arriving at the top of the former they knocked at the door of the room occupied by the suspects. One Inspector of Police approached a window next to the door. Almost instantly the window was thrust open and a shot was fired from inside the room, the bullet entering the shoulder of the Inspector.

Then followed an exchange of shots, the position being such that the police could fire into the room only at an angle, themselves remaining close to the wall in order to avoid the firing from inside.

In the confusion that prevailed one of the party tried to escape by scaling a thin wooden pillar supporting the verandah and got on the roof of an adjoining house with great dexterity. He was arrested then and there.

The men locked up inside the room was repeatedly asked to surrender. There was no response except occasional firing with bullets that whizzed past the heads of the raiding party.

With the first streak of dawn, the besieged men shouted their willingness to surrender and as a guarantee they were seen placing their revolvers at the foot of the window through which they had been firing. Then they opened the door and quietly surrendered for arrest. The trial of Dinesh Majumdar and his four associates was opened at Alipore on October 5, 1933.

On October 10, 1933, Dinesh Chandra Majumdar was sentenced to death on a charge of attempting to murder a police officer by an escaped convict undergoing sentence of transportation for life. The Judge found no extenuating circumstances to mitigate the severity of the sentence.

An appeal was preferred to the High Court which was rejected on January 15, 1934. Dinesh was executed in the mid-night of June 9, 1934, in the Alipore Central Jail.

Indiscreet Act

(1933-1934)

A mail runner attached to the Itakhola Post Office, Habiganj, was carrying the mail bag to the Railway Station on March 13, 1933, at about 5-30 p.m.

When he had proceeded some distance from the Local Board Office, a man appeared with a bottle in his hand. About a minute after another came from the north, went behind the mail runner and attacked him. The peon fell on the ground when he was beaten up with iron rods. Four men, who had been waiting at a distance, came from the east, picked up the bag and ran away. They had not gone far when drawn by the hue and cry of the eye-witnesses to the occurrence, people collected at the place and gave a hot chase to the raiders. When nearly overcome, a man fired a shot which killed a railway workman.

The chase was continued with greater vigour and ultimately all the six men were secured by the villagers near the distant railway signal. One of the arrested men belonged to Sylhet and all others to Tippera.

They were placed on trial commencing on July 22, 1933, in which ASHIT BHATTACHARYA was condemned to death and three others were awarded transportation for life.

The High Court confirmed the sentence of May 24, 1934, and the plea for a lesser punishment on the score of the tender age of the accused, being 19 years only, went unheeded.

A mercy petition by the mother was rejected by the Governor of Assam on June 26, 1934, and the mere lad in teens was executed on July 2, 1934, in the Sylhet Jail in the midst of elaborate police arrangements against public demonstrations. The prayer for the cremation of the dead body of Ashit by his relatives was rejected.

A Battalion on the March

(1933)

For extorting a treatment in jails and convict settlements different from the common prisoners a regular war had had to be waged by a group of determined political under-trial and convicted prisoners from time to time and not unoften with disastrous results.

There had been a grim fight in the Andamans on various occasions beginning with the first arrival of political convicts, and for small concession prisoners had had to undergo untold sufferings sometimes ending in death.

In the thirties of this century there was a large number of political prisoners drawn from all parts of India particularly Punjab and Bengal. A struggle ensued with the authorities over some small privileges which the prisoners demanded as essential for long stay in the cells and uncongenial surroundings, personal element not excluded.

The only weapon in this fight was denial of food, infliction of tremendous torture on the self. On May 12, 1933, a number of prisoners refused taking their normal food or any form of nutrition until their grievances had been redressed.

One of such prisoners was MAHABIR SINGH who was convicted in one of the several Lahore Conspiracy Cases. Starting on May 12, he was apparently well up to May 16, though feeling somewhat weak. The senior Medical Officer visited him on May 17, and recommended artificial feeding as essential for his life. At 11 a.m. the same day milk and sugar diet was given through nose with the help of a rubber tube.

The patient resisted the entire process with all his might. In about two hours, Mahabir showed distinct signs of shock. Gradually his life ebbed out at about 1 a.m. of May 18, 1933, (a little after midnight of May 17) giving him eternal rest.

It was given out that there was nothing wrong in feeding him against his will but that the patient's resistance to the operation in a weak state of health caused severe strain leading to his collapse and death.

Mahabir was not alone in his journey. His friend MANKRISHNA NAMADAS in the Cellular Jail, a convict from Bengal, followed his example.

He started hunger-strike on May 16. On May 17, artificial feeding was resorted to. On May 19, he was admitted to hospital for lobar pneumonia and expired on May 26, 1933.

There was a third case in the line.

MOHIT MOHAN MAITRA was arrested under the Emergency Powers Ordinance on February 2, 1932, from a house in the Upper Circular Road, in possession of a five-chambered revolver and eleven cartridges without licence.

He was sentenced to five years' transportation under the Indian Arms Act and was sent to the Andamans. Along with his comrades he resorted to hunger-strike on May 12, 1933. He developed signs of lobar pneumonia, an effect of the rubber tube discharging milk to the windpipe instead of to the stomach.

It is evident that this was the case with Mankrishna as well.

Mohit died on May 28, 1933 in the hospital.

A Short Shrift

(1933)

Cases of calculated murder by the police of political suspects were not rare. And in such cases the aggrieved party seldom received any justice at the hands of the authorities.

DHIREN DE of Jamalpur, was found missing from his house for two days and a very diligent search proved to be of no avail. His dead body, riddled with bullets, was discovered on the playground of the Government School early in the morning of August 23, 1933.

From the petition of the distracted father to the authorities an idea can be formed of the heinousness of the crime. It ran thus:

"Apparently the place of occurrence is a lonely corner on the roadside in the outskirts of the town (of Jamalpur) and death seems to have been caused by bullet wounds.

"On a closer examination, however, it will be evident that the horrible

scene could not have been enacted at the spot where the dead body was found, nor was the death caused by revolver shots.

"Besides bullet wounds, marks of injury of a different type were noticed in the abdomen and other parts of the body which might have caused the death. In this connection it would appear remarkable that the clothing of the victim was stainless. These facts give rise to a presumption that perhaps the occurrence took place elsewhere and the assailants shifted the dead body with an intent to evade apprehension and to give the occurrence a colouring of a terrorist outrage."

The father accused the I.B. Sub-Inspector, his armed guard and another bad character of the locality and prayed that "enquiry should be started on proper line and without delay."

The mystery remained unsolved because no attempt was or could be made to unravel it.

One among a Legion

(1933)

Long detention in climate to which an average man was not used undermined the health of a large number of detenus in the Deoli Detention Camp. HARIPADA BAGCHI of Rajshahi was one of the many.

He had been in the Buxa Detention Camp suffering from a number of diseases. For a period his case was diagnosed to be tuberculosis of the lungs.

Instead of releasing the Government transferred him to the Rajputana desert as if to pass the remaining days of his life. He was operated upon for appendicitis in the Victoria Hospital a few days before he developed pneumonia which carried him away on August 22, 1933, relieving the Government of a great headache. His body was handed over to local Congressmen for cremation.

Third in the Series

(1933-1934)

It seemed that the Midnapore young revolutionaries had taken a fancy for the life of European Magistrates of the District.

B. E. J. Burge succeeded R. Douglas as the District Magistrate in May 1932 after the former's assassination. He took charge of the Hijli Camp as Commandant in November 1931. The severe governmental measures adopted for the protection of life and limb of its high-placed Officers and the assurances declared by the Governor of Bengal of the time were expected to put a stop to the depredations of the revolutionaries.

Burge did not move much out of his bungalow. But he was a football enthusiast and would participate in the games himself and organise matches in Midnapore with reputed teams of Calcutta and of other stations. On the other hand it was rumoured that on November 6, 1932, it was he who ordered severe measures to be taken against a no-tax campaign under which the people groaned. Some young boys mostly in their teens were out to avenge the atrocities committed by the Government and also to advance the cause of Independence of India. They, not many, used to meet from time to time and discuss the ways and means at diverse places, very cautiously because of strict police vigilance for two previous murderous attacks on Magistrates, and they decided to bring weapons from Calcutta. MRIGENDRA KUMAR DUTTA, ANATH BANDHU PANJA and another went to Calcutta to learn the use of revolvers from the parent organisation. Mrigen, Anath, NIRMAL JIBAN GHOSH, BROJA KISHORE CHAKRABARTI, RAM-KRISHNA RAY brought revolvers from Calcutta to Kharagpur by train and kept them in a boarding house and thence removed to Midnapore on cycles. Weapons were kept with the ladies of cultured families. In the course of a few months they were able to collect five revolvers and a few daggers.

Secret meetings were held in a dilapidated house in Gope Hill surrounded on all sides by jungles, where the conspirators used to have target practice at short intervals.

On two previous occasions, once when Burge presided over

a meeting in connection with flood relief and another when he attended a football match on August 31, strong police guard frustrated all attempts for attack on him.

On September 2, 1933, there was going to be a match between the Town Club of which Burge happened to be the President, and the Mahomedan Sporting Club in the play-ground near the Central Jail. Nirmal Jiban succeeded in securing the information from the Secretary, Town Club, that Burge was due to take part in the game. Nirmal Jiban Ghosh, Braja Kishore Chakrabarti, Anath Bandhu Panja, Mrigen Dutta and another met at the bank of the Panchet tank on September 1, and decided to kill Burge the next day at the commencement of the match.

It was accordingly arranged that at the signal given by Braja Kishore, Anath and Mrigen would shoot Burge with revolvers. One was to stand guard at the Tantigheria Railway Station and Nirmal near the Mission Girl School. Others to occupy strategic points to cover the escape of the assailants.

Nirmal, Anath, Mrigen and another started for the police ground where the match was to be played. Another party went by the way of the Collectorate building to the same destination.

The stage was now set for the football match as well as for the act of violence. High police officials were there to participate in and to witness the game. The Assistant Superintendent of Police was to play and a European Reserve Inspector was to referee the game.

Mrigen and Anath were in the field with the players of the opposite side, the Mahomedan Sporting Club, which had been practising with the ball before the match actually started. There were several players who wore *dhoti* and it was difficult for anybody to discriminate them from the rest.

The police officials had come a little earlier and Burge drove up in his car accompanied by two of his personal body-guards. Leaving his car on the eastern side of the field and body-guards at the touch line, he proceeded towards the centre of the field. Anath and Mrigen, who were kicking the ball from before near the southern goal, closed in on Burge and opened fire at him with a revolver and an automatic pistol from a distance of about two to three yards.

One fired five rounds from the revolver into Burge's back and

the other fired three from his automatic from the front. Burge fell down with six wounds and expired within a few moments.

The A.S.P. who had been standing at a distance of about ten yards, turned round on hearing the shots and immediately darted at Mrigen, one of the assailants. Whereupon the latter pointed his revolver at him, but he succeeded in knocking it downwards and the bullet passed between his legs. In the struggle that ensued, both fell to the ground and at this point, two of the personal guards of the Magistrate rushed up and wounded the assailant who was secured.

Anath, the second assailant, was tackled by the Reserve Inspector and shot dead on the spot.

Mrigen was removed to the Sadar Hospital where he died the next morning, September 3, at 8-30 a.m.

The entire field was cordoned off and some four arrests were made on the spot on suspicion. Hell was let loose and house searches and arrests with extreme ferocity followed the incident at different parts of the town.

After the usual investigation, interrogations and unusual torture for extorting confession, thirteen young boys were placed on trial on January 3, 1934, before a Special Tribunal constituted for the purpose.

The principal accused were Nirmal Jiban Ghosh, a student of the 1st year I.A. Class of the Midnapore College;

Braja Kishore Chakrabarti, who gave up studies in 1932, having read up to 2nd year Class of the Midnapore College; and

Ram Krishna Ray, who read up to the Matric standard of the Hindu School.

The accused were charged with the offence of being parties to a criminal conspiracy, the object of which was to commit the murder of the District Magistrate and other high Government Officials of the District of Midnapore.

Judgment was delivered on February 10, 1934, and Nirmal, Braja and Ram Krishna were sentenced to death. Four others were punished with transportation for life.

The accused appealed before the High Court of which hearing was closed on August 13, 1934.

The High Court rejected the appeal and confirmed the sentence passed by the Tribunal on August 30, 1934.

Braja and Ram Krishna were executed on October 25, and Nirmal on October 26, 1934, in the Midnapore Central Jail in the early hours of dawn.

It is a remarkable feat of the Midnapore young militant nationalists to kill three District Magistrates viz., Peddie on April 7, 1931, Douglas on April 30, 1932, and Burge on September 2, 1933, and send a thrill of terror into the hearts of redoubtable British Officials whose kith and kin here and in England rent the skies with shrieks for revenge, demanded stern and sterner measures to turn the whole Presidency into a big prison house for the people of Berhgal.

Within the Prison Walls

(1933)

Convicted in one of the Babbar Akali Cases BHAIR GURDIT SINGH was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, and was finally confined in the Old Central Jail, Multan. The outside world came to know of his death through one of the released prisoners on October 17, 1933, that Bhai Gurdit Singh had succumbed only a few days before inside the prison walls.

Struggle with Death

(1933)

Belonging to a revolutionary party of Jamalpur, Mymensingh, BIREN DEY, a young man, was selected for dacoity at Sangalipara, Tangail Sub-Division, in December 1933.

While he was trying to force his entrance into the selected house, he was pierced on the back with a spear (*ballam*) with many points thrown at him by one of the villagers assembled there. He turned back, held the spear-head with his hand and left the place running followed by a small crowd who could notice him escaping. He covered a fairly long distance almost to reach the river-bank where the boat meant for retreat had been waiting.

The wound was deep, and loss of blood considerable. He fell to the ground thoroughly exhausted and was captured by his pursuers.

The police was informed who removed Biren to the hospital. The missile was extracted and Biren had to suffer additional torture due to an attempt on the part of the police to extract a confession.

In three days death relieved him both from the pangs of his injury and the clutches of his tormentors.

Released without Surety

(1934)

Once the police had cast his evil eye on a person, the curse would follow his footsteps to the grave.

JATINDRA NATH DUTTA of Village Bagbaid, Jamalpur Sub-Division, District Mymensingh, was arrested and detained in Mymensingh Central Jail for violation of provisions of the Arms Act. It was difficult for the police to establish a case against Jatin. He was released only to be rearrested under Section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

On April 4, 1934, Jatin's relations were informed about the serious illness of the prisoner. Bail petition was moved on the next day. The Additional District Magistrate directed release of Jatin on bail on two sureties of Rs. 500 each.

These were duly offered and the police was ordered to test the fitness of the sureties.

Jatin's condition sharply deteriorated and he expired in the early hours of April 9, 1934.

Late in the day the police submitted report declaring the sureties to be unacceptable.

This could not prevent the poor man to be released from the prison. The dead body was handed over to the relatives on the express condition that no demonstration should be held relating to his funeral.

Mockery of Law

(1934)

Some Mahomedan villagers of Deobhog, adjoining Narayan-ganj town were sitting on the verandah of a roadside hut at 2 a.m. on April 10, 1934, when they saw three Hindu youths passing along the road. The unusual hour, their bare feet with rather decent dress aroused the suspicion of the Mahomedans who challenged them and enquired who and what they were.

One of the youths stopped, who happened to be accused MATILAL MALLIK, an inhabitant of Deobhog, the others continued their walk very slowly. Mati told his querist that the other youths were his companions who were returning after dining at his house. One of the Mahomedans went near them with Matilal and looked at their faces with the help of his torch. In doing so he noticed a bundle under Mati's arm which he pulled away from Mati and three balaclava caps fell out of it on the ground.

This event aroused his suspicion further and he caught hold of one of the young men, and two other Mahomedans seized the person of the remaining two youths.

The first young man took out a revolver with his left hand and fired at his captor, Muzaffar, the third youth shot Ramzan in his neck. Mati tried to take out dagger from his waist.

Mati and his two companions were able to extricate themselves from the clutches of the Mahomedans and were able to run away from the scene. The wounded men tried to chase the fugitives for a little distance while shouting at the top of their voice for help and apprehension of the desperadoes.

Villagers came out of their huts and gave a hot chase to the young men. Mati was arrested and was mercilessly belaboured on the spot. It was subsequently found that Muzaffar had been profusely bleeding from his wound while Ramzan was dead.

Mati was handed over to the police who subjected him to inhuman torture for confession. The prisoner suffered everything in silence with lips hermetically sealed.

A case was started against Mati Mallik and another on July 30, 1934. On August 4, charges were framed against Mati

under Sections 19-E of the Arms Act (XI of 1878 for having gone armed with a dagger) and 20-A of the same Act as amended by Bengal Act VII of 1934, read with Section 34 I.P.C., because in the furtherance of the common intention of his and two others, the latter two persons went armed with pistols and revolvers in contravention of the provision 13 of the Indian Arms Act (XI of 1878) under circumstances indicating that all of them intended that such firearms should be used for commission of the offence of murder;

Sec. 19-A of the Indian Arms Act as amended by Sec. 3 of the Bengal Act XXI of 1932 read with Sec. 34 I.P.C.;

Sec. 302 I.P.C. read with Sec. 34 I.P.C.;

Sec. 120-B I.P.C. read with Sec. 19-A of the Indian Arms Act XI of 1932; and

Sec. 120-B I.P.C. read with Sec. 20-A of the Indian Arms Act VII of 1934.

The Special Tribunal on August 9, 1934, found Mati guilty of all the charges and condemned him to death.

An appeal was heard in the High Court on Sept. 27, 1934, and in the course of the hearing the Deputy Legal Remembrancer dilated on the point of death penalty in a case under the Arms Act. In his opinion in a case of this description they were not concerned whether the person possessing the firearm intended to kill a particular person or whether merely they were carrying the weapon to escape by violence or show of violence, provided that when they embarked upon the adventure, they intended to commit murder, if necessary, to accomplish their purpose, whatever it was and that would be sufficient to inflict death penalty under Sec. 20-A of the Arms Act.

The High Court confirmed the judgment of the Special Tribunal on October 1, 1934, on a charge of "constructive murder" holding that the act of Mati was as if the latter himself fired the shot with his own hand. This was how the amended laws could send men to the gallows on offences that entailed maximum punishment of two to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

Execution took place in the Dacca Central Jail on December 15, 1934, at 6 in the morning.

Premature Release

(1934)

Arrested on suspicion along with hundreds of others that came under the sweep of the net thrown far and wide over Bengal by the Police, NANDA DULAL GHOSE was put to indefinite imprisonment in the Hijli Detention Camp with others who numbered a few hundred.

Dulal fell ill on April 15, 1934, with fever which in the succeeding days did show no sign of abatement. It was declared to be a case of small-pox and he was removed to the camp hospital on April 27. His father on information came running with a physician enjoying complete confidence of the family to see his ailing son and to make necessary arrangements for treatment with the help of his own doctor. Permission was refused. The boy expired on April 29, 1934, in the jail hospital. His co-prisoners took charge of the body and cremated a dear comrade in the local burning ghat.

In the Himalayan Heights

(1934-1935)

The measures of ruthless repression for changing the course of revolution had been tried in Ireland, with the result that only history can testify, and Sir John Anderson was credited with the worst features of the 'Black and Tan' operations that had disgraced the British administration in Ireland and England's other Dependencies.

The British Government must have been happy with the result. It was at least obsessed with the idea that the cowardly Bengalees would meekly submit before the onslaughts of a mighty ruler with experience of maintenance of law and order with strong hands.

To a troubled Bengal, the British Government sent Anderson as the Chief of the administration and if revolution could not be

suppressed, he at least fulfilled the expectations of the Government in introducing methods of repression that had no precedent anywhere in India. Along with the rule by ordinances, amendments of the prevailing criminal law, direction for abandoning civilized methods in handling political suspects, in tracking and arresting them, enhancement of punishment for contravention of the provisions of the Arms Act, the Explosive Substances Act, certain provisions of the Indian Penal Code, etc., became a by-word with his rule in Bengal.

Those who had staked everything and were prepared to sacrifice everything, life not excepted, became active in removing Anderson from the world. The matter was taken up very seriously by some young men of Joydebpur, Dacca, who became busy in finding out opportunity to give their idea a shape.

There being no other opportunity for getting very close to Anderson because of the heavy guard that always kept a vigil around him, decision was taken for confronting him at the race course in Lebong, Darjeeling.

At a secret meeting held on April 22, 1934, at Dacca, BHABANI PRASAD BHATTACHARYA and his partner were furnished with arms. They started for Calcutta on April 30, for fresh instructions. They went back to Joydebpur and at a further meeting held on May 2, the plan of action was completed and the two actors of the great drama left for Darjeeling. They reached destination on May 4, and put up at the Lewis Jubilee Sanatorium.

A party of two other conspirators went to Darjeeling straight from Calcutta and put up at another hotel. Bhabani Prasad received his weapon at the Snow View Hotel on May 5, 1934. It was decided that a chance would be taken at the Flower Show which Anderson was expected to visit. The opportunity could not be availed of because of difficulty in securing admission into it.

Two tickets were purchased for the race fixed on May 8, 1934, and Bhabani Prasad and his comrade in European costume took positions in the public stand to the right and left just a few yards away from Anderson's seat which was situated near the Steward's box almost at the bottom of the Grand Stand.

The race for the Governor's Cup had just ended and Anderson stood up. At the very moment Bhabani advanced a few steps and put his right hand on the concrete partition dividing

the public from the Governor. The assailant brought out his revolver and fired at his target standing only eight or nine feet away. The bullet missed its mark. Bhabani in his turn received four bullet wounds inflicted by some of those present. Moreover, a man jumped on him and fixed him to the ground.

The other man seeing Bhabani shoot advanced from his position in the front of the Grand Stand, went up the steps and fired at the Governor. He was only 5 ft. away. A by-stander jumped over the assailant and he was overpowered. He was also hit with a bullet from the revolver of a sergeant.

On search of the person of Bhabani ten .32 bore revolver cartridges and nine cartridges of the same bore were recovered from his *confre*. The revolver snatched away from Bhabani had five cartridges, one spent, one misfired and three live, and in the revolver of the second man were six live cartridges; the capacity of the revolver was seven.

Bhabani in a statement to the police said that he came to assassinate the Governor and "according to my knowledge and faith, I committed no wrong. I am very sorry that he is living unhurt. I would have been very glad if I could kill him."

A case was started before a Special Tribunal on August 14, 1934, at Darjeeling against a number of accused.

They were charged with conspiracy to murder and to possess firearms, attempted murder and possessing arms under Section 20-A of the Arms Act which enhanced the penalty to death under these circumstances.

This principle of awarding capital punishment was introduced by Anderson himself and it was a fit case for application as the safety of the originator was involved. It may be mentioned that the Criminal Law Amendment Act as amended in 1932 by Sec. 6 made attempt at murder punishable with death.

In a judgment delivered on September 12, 1934, Bhabani and his two friends were sentenced to death.

The High Court on December 3, 1934, confirmed the death sentences of Bhabani and another; the punishment of the third man was reduced to one of transportation for life.

The Governor in the exercise of his power of clemency changed capital punishment to the next lower sentence on December 24, 1934, of the second accused who expressed his deep

regret for what he had done under the influence of others, particularly in trying to kill one whom he looked upon as his father.

Of the three accused facing capital punishment on the strength of the judgment of the Tribunal, Bhabani Prasad alone was executed on February 3, 1935, in the Rajshahi Jail.

Relations Beware !

(1934)

The police officer, a Superintendent of Police in charge of the Kakori Conspiracy Case for helping the prosecution, happened to be the maternal uncle of Manindra Nath Banerjee.

The severe sentences passed on the accused in the Kakori Case gave a rude shock to the mind of the impressionable youth, MANINDRA NATH BANERJI, who attacked the uncle on January 12, 1928, with a revolver killing him outright.

At the trial he was awarded ten years' rigorous imprisonment for culpable homicide not amounting to murder.

Manindra escaped the gallows. But while serving out his sentence he was attacked with pneumonia and on June 20, 1934, died in the Fategarh Central Jail.

Notable Amalgam

(1934)

A young man with remarkable literary flare, SANTWANA GUHA, combined his talent with dangerous political activities. While quite a young boy in his teens he contributed articles of great merit on politics, economics, biography, etc., which were published in the foremost dailies and periodicals of his time. He produced a large number of books of considerable merit most of which were proscribed by the Government for expression of extreme political views in them.

Such a man could not live outside the jail for long. He was at the age of twenty, arrested in 1931, in Calcutta and was sent

to the Rajshahi Jail as a detenu under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. His restless spirit frequently clashed with the hidebound regulations of the jail code and he suffered repeated punishments for their violation. During one of these additional incarcerations he fell ill, as a result of which he expired on December 19, 1934, from an undefined bowel complaints leaving the mission of his life not even partially fulfilled.

Last Abode

(1935)

Ignoring the chances of arrest by the police and consequent troubles SAMBHU NARAYAN was travelling from Delhi to Ajmer on November 13, 1934, with a revolver and five cartridges. He was arrested in the course of the journey. A search discovered one country-made pistol and some revolutionary literature in his house.

He was put up for trial and was lodged in Ajmer Jail as an undertrial under the Arms Act and Sec. 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

The mounting troubles put him off his head and he sought his release by hanging himself to death in the Jail on January 5, 1935.

At the End of the Tether

(1935)

A young boy of eighteen, ROHINI BARUA, was arrested under suspicion in February 1933, and interned in an unhealthy place under Goalunda Thana, Faridpur, at the mercy of a most unsympathetic Sub-Inspector of Police, Syed Ershad Ali.

Ershad enjoyed the annoyance that he could cause to Rohini and he had an unlimited fund of creating new and newer disadvantages, 'pin-pricks' as they were termed, to the helpless internee living away from parents and other relations without any

knowledge of the duration for which he would have to pass his days in a most uncongenial and irritating surroundings.

In the meantime news of his mother's demise in January followed by his brother's wife's affected his mind to a very large extent.

The Sub-Inspector had perhaps no idea that a person has a limit of endurance. Rohini would try to utilize his time in studies, and in fact passed his Matriculation Examination while in detention, but he was not allowed to live in peace. Several times he felt inclined to commit suicide "but decided to die not by committing suicide but by killing the man who treated me with such incivility."

There might have been a fresh dose of humiliation as the young man entered the office room of Ershad Ali at 8 p.m. on June 15, 1935, with a *dao* while his victim was at work, and dealt three blows on his neck in quick succession almost decapitating his head. Death was instantaneous.

Rohini was placed on trial before a Special Tribunal which commenced sitting on July 16, 1935. On July 18, judgment sentencing the boy to death was delivered. An appeal was moved in the High Court which passed its judgment on November 25, 1935, dismissing the appeal and confirming the sentence of the Tribunal.

On December 18, 1935, Rohini was executed in the Faridpur Jail. His dead body was disposed of by the jail authorities denying him the privilege of the last rites being performed by his relations.

Playing with Death

(1935)

Quite unsuspectingly a young lad ASHRAFI was engaged in preparing bombs with imperfect knowledge of the art, in *mausa* Gauhar, twelve miles off Darbhanga, under P.S. Madhubani.

At night of July 6, 1935, nobody knew when Ashrafi met with an accident inasmuch as he was found lying dead in the morning in an abandoned room with severe marks of injury from an explosion and burns on his face and chest.

In the course of a subsequent search police found a copy of a booklet entitled, *Punjaber hatyakanda*, "Massacre in the Punjab" and a manuscript copy of *angrejko khun karname*, 'for killing the English.'

He was just a young lad preparing for the forthcoming Matriculation Examination from the Pandaul High School.

Without Succour

(1935)

A young boy, UPENDRA NATH DATTA of Munshiganj, Dacca, was arrested in November 1931, like hundreds of other Bengali lads on suspicion and detained in the Buxa Detention Camp for about three years.

He was next ordered to be interned in Lalgola, Murshidabad, an extremely unhealthy place in 1935. Upen was attacked with malignant malaria and before Government permission for his treatment reached the Police Station, the internee died there in the same year almost unattended and without any medical aid worth the name.

A Dark Deed

(1936)

From an extremely harassed family a veritable target of police vindictiveness, a young man, NABA JIBAN GHOSH, brother of Nirmal Jiban Ghosh, was externed from Midnapore, his home district in November, 1933.

While in Calcutta he was arrested in February 1934, under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and sent to the Berhampore Detention Camp. He was transferred as an internee to P.S. Gopalganj in the Faridpur district in June or July, 1936.

It was alleged that Naba Jiban committed suicide on September 22, 1936. His body was found hanging from a rafter of his room. The local people stated that there were occasions

when the helpless internee clashed with the Thana Officer and not unoften was mercilessly belaboured. It was palpable that on an occasion where the assault had exceeded human endurance, Naba Jiban lost his life. To be brief, it was a case of diabolical murder.

The Officer-in-Charge stated that Naba Jiban left two letters, one addressed to the Government, and another to his father. Repeated requests could not move the S.D.O., to allow the letter even to be read by the aggrieved father.

The fog intended to be raised against the suspicious nature of death of the internee was too thin to prevent the light of truth being seen from a distance. [Ref. Ghosh, B. J.: *Murder of British Magistrates*, 1962, p. 69 *et seq.*].

Death in the Desert

(1936)

How intolerable had been the living conditions in the Deoli Detention Camp, Rajputana, could be gauged by the number of cases where young boys attributed with the nerves of steel committed suicide one after another and that at not very long intervals.

SANTOSH CHANDRA GANGULI formed one of the legion. He took away his life with his own hand on October 17, 1936, followed by the usual Government communique dilating on the cause of his death which no sane man believed to be true.

Typical Revolutionary

(1937)

Very seldom coming out to the open for participating in public functions, supporting Congress views and mass movements but scarcely taking part in any of them, never holding any office in the public bodies that might bring name, fame and lucre, a quiet leader among men, SATCARI BANERJEE of Mahinagar,

24-Parganas, was a mighty figure in the revolutionary organisation of Bengal from his early years till death.

His heart was full to overflowing with milk of human kindness, weeping over sufferings of fellow human beings irrespective of caste, creed, sex, social or economic position. He possessed a peculiar charm that would influence his co-villagers and young friends to undergo any trouble, to face any risk. His words were law.

He would take a little time to take a decision over grave matters even involving the dearest of human possession, life itself. But once taken, it was sure to happen. Amongst his compeers and co-workers he would not tolerate any weakness, vascillation or turning back. In respect of revolutionary activities he would sternly suppress any mental attitude that went counter to courageous thought and bold action. "Don't come in if you have not the courage. If you are in, you must go the whole length", was his motto in practice.

Throughout his life, Satcari, dear 'Satu' of his elders and 'Satda' of his juniors, spent a life of discipline, of asceticism, bereft of all unnecessary comforts, using only so little as was essential for healthy robust living.

As a revolutionary Satcari would seek no favour from the enemy on his own account, howevermuch his inconvenience or suffering might have been inside the jail or outside it during internments in the most unhealthy living conditions.

He would never write for an interview with parents, appeal for family allowances, abatement of rigours of vindictive regulations, relaxation of internment rules, requisitions for medical aid, or anything of the sort. His file with the police covering a period of more than three decades of his revolutionary activities contained only the orders for arrest, transfer, detention and release, and not a scrap of paper written with his own hand.

A giant amongst the Bengal revolutionary fighters, a life dedicated to the cause of Indian Independence, Satcari breathed his last in the far-away Deoli Jail, where many a blossom had faded betimes due to uncongenial climate for Bengal prisoners, on February 6, 1937, from haemorrhagic piles for the treatment of which there was no proper arrangement in that sandy waste.

Act of a Novice

(1938)

From a very early life HARENDRA NATH MUNSHI got himself enlisted in revolutionary organisation and before long was arrested in connection with the Inter-Provincial Conspiracy Case in 1934. He was sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment for conspiracy and transferred to Diamond Harbour Sub-Jail and then to Dacca Central Jail to serve out his sentence.

He resorted to hunger strike on January 21, 1938. The usual practice of nasal feeding went wrong with him, the tube having been misdirected to the windpipe instead to the food. It was the act of a novice who perhaps had not seen it done before. The result was that poor Haren lost his life as a victim of pneumonia on January 30, 1938.

Historic Revenge

(1940)

Examples are rare where a sense of national humiliation and distress over mass massacre of the innocents had been remembered for well-nigh a quarter of a century by a son of the Province where the diabolical crime was enacted, and dire revenge was taken in a country where the perpetrator had retired enjoying life without the least suspicion that retribution might visit him from the land of his devilry.

Michael O'Dwyer was directly responsible for the Punjab atrocities committed in 1919. He handed over his charge of Governorship on May 26, and left the shores of India on May 30, 1919. To add insult to injury inflicted on Indian sentiment, O'Dwyer was presented with a purse of £20,000 by his grateful countrymen on his reaching home. He did not abate his animus against India and poured his bile in the book, *India as I knew It*, where he complained of the punishment of many civil and military officers who worked during the disturbances.

But nemesis had been persistently tracking his foot-steps.

On March 13, 1940, he started from his Kensington home with the words: "Good-bye, I shall be back in time for tea at 5 o'clock." He went straight to the meeting organised jointly by the Royal Central Asian Society and the East India Association held in the Tudor Room of the Caxton Hall for the purpose of attending a lecture on Afghanistan.

Just before Lord Zetland, the Chairman, opened the meeting the accused pushed his way through a number of people in a gangway and stood with his back to the wall facing the platform opposite the fourth or fifth row of the seats from the front.

The meeting ended at 4-30 p.m. The vote of thanks had just been given and the visitors were on the point of parting and speaking farewell to one another, the assailant, hurriedly advanced towards the platform and fired five or six shots in quick succession. Naturally, there was a stampede for the gate. A dark thick-set man, UDHAM SINGH, the assailant, was seen dashing towards the door shouting all the time "Make way" at the top of his voice and rushed down the crowded aisle towards the door.

He was at once held by two men who bore him to the ground. There was a struggle and many men sat on him completely preventing his movement.

O'Dwyer was hit by two bullets at his back, one below the other, running parallel courses through the body. One bullet emerged on the left side leaving an open wound and the other finished its course in the abdominal wall. The first bullet was effective and O'Dwyer was killed instantaneously.

The assailant, Muhammad Singh Azad, an Engineer, after interrogation by the police was placed before a Magistrate on March 14, 1940, when he was remanded to police custody for a week.

Azad was seen smiling and chatting to two officers who accompanied him as he entered the court premises and with one of whom he was handcuffed.

The accused refused to ask any question and the proceedings of the day were finished in two minutes.

It subsequently transpired that the name of the assailant was Udhham Singh, hailing from Punjab. He used to call himself in India as Muhammad Singh Azad. A Sikh by birth, he was a

socialist worker and served a short term of imprisonment for delivering a seditious speech in India.

The accused was placed before the Court on April 2, 1940. The long pique that he bore against O'Dwyer was clear from the fact that Udham Singh noted down the name and address of his victim "Sir M. O'Dwyer, Sunnybank, Thurlston, South Devon", on the page, 'Cash A/c'. His diary for 1939 and 1940 showed the same entry on the identical page for both the years.

Udham Singh in a statement declared:

I did it because I had a grudge against him. He deserved it. I do not care, I do not mind dying. What is the use of waiting until you get old. You want to die when you are young. That is good. That's what I'm doing. I am dying for my country. Is Lord Zetland dead? He ought to be. I put two into him, right there (indicating his stomach).

He was arrested with a six-chambered .445 weapon of American make, produced for the British Government 25 years before, twenty-five rounds of ammunition and a linoleum knife. The ammunition itself was about thirty years old and as a result of which some cartridges were seen fitting loosely in the revolver.

When the Magistrate called out his name, he said 'My name is not Udham Singh, Sir!' He was known to his friends, as Ram Muhammad Singh Azad.

On April 21, the accused was charged at Bow Street Police Court with wilful murder of Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

To a police officer, who had told him that he would be detained, he said it was no use doing that; it was all over. He continued:

I have seen people starving in India under British Imperialism. I am not sorry for protesting. It was my duty to do so just for the sake of my country. I do not mind what sentence—10, 20 or 50 years, or be hanged.

He was committed to the Old Bailey Central Criminal Court which passed a sentence of death. Udham Singh, a noble son of Mother India was executed on June 12, 1940 (Source: *Department of Public Relations and Tourism, Punjab*) in London leaving an indelible name in the list of heroes who had given away their lives for the simple joy of serving the Motherland without any hope of recompense.

Disease or Torture?

(1941)

For his political activities from early active life it was difficult for him to avoid attention of the police. JITENDRA NATH MALLIK became a much harassed man, now evading arrest and in the next few weeks thrown into prison.

He suffered detention in jail, camps and was interned in unhealthy village surroundings for a number of times. He was hardly given any respite. Between the life of an absconder and a prisoner, he reached Lucknow in December 1941. He was attacked with enteric fever and was confined to bed. In such a helpless condition he was arrested by the police on December 13, 1941, and removed to the Central Jail on the same date.

The condition of the patient was to all conscience serious but there was no relaxations of the rigours of prison life. The patient died in two days, i.e. on December 15, 1941, inside the jail. It was rumoured at the time that Jiten was subjected to third degree methods as a result of which he expired.

The dead body was not delivered to his relations but to the Arya Samaj of the locality for cremation.

Fate Unknown

(1945)

Amongst those about whom very little is known KUSUM RANJAN PAL was one. While a student in the college he participated in the Non-co-operation Movement and suffered imprisonment for a short term. He went over to England to eke out a career and turned to business dealing in Indian minerals. During the World War II he came in close touch with Netaji, joined his party and used to broadcast on the Azad Hind Radio in Berlin in furtherance of the cause of Indian freedom.

Kusum was removed to Russia as a prisoner and nothing has been heard about him since then. In this respect Kusum has his predecessor in Veerendra Nath Chattopadhyaya. Instead of taking any unnecessary trouble of keeping them alive uselessly, the Russians might have made a short shrift of the two Indians, who passed unto eternity through uncertain gateway.

CHAPTER NINE-A

OUT OF TURN

Ripples of the Main

There is no question for putting in this section names of a number of martyrs as they could not find any other place for reasons of their discovery rather late.

The cases about which details are lacking have been mentioned in the expectation that some of these martyrs may find some friends and relations who would be able to supply some flesh of information to the skeleton of names enabling better identification.

The greatest difficulty lies with those about whom 'hearsay' is the only source of information, confirmed from no other. The risk is great. News about a political prisoner's death in the Andamans was furnished by a friend of undoubted integrity and was written out for the Press in all its details. Another friend gleaning through the pages of the manuscript urged an enquiry about the 'martyr' at a particular place. It was both dismay and joy to find the 'dead man', though very old, still in good health. It is not unlikely that the same unwitting error has been committed about some other. If he is alive, may he live long!

The risk of omitting a name worthy of enumeration from all conscience had also to be reckoned with. Weighing every aspect of such cases in a delicate balance, and tossed between the two horns of the dilemma, the only prudent course of leaving it to the judgment of the reader has been adopted with the fullest knowledge of the trouble involved.

Uttam Singh

A member of the *Ghadr* Party, UTTAM SINGH returned home from U.S.A. and directed his activity towards tampering with the army units. He was arrested on September 15, 1915, while resting in a village. He was sentenced to death and executed. (Ref. *Swami Keshabanand abhinandan granth*, pp. 191-192).

Prabodh Bhattacharya

A young student of the Rajshahi College, PRABODH was killed at Tippera in 1916 in connection with the Laliteswar Dacoity. (Ref. Pakrasi, S.: *Agni diner katha*, 1947, p. 57).

Hari Das Das

A resident of Setalampur under P.S. Diamond Harbour, HARI DAS DAS, happened, as the police alleged, to be a member of the Bhawanipore revolutionary group. He was arrested like many other suspects and interned at Baroipara, P.S. Putia, Rajshahi, in 1916.

The place was notoriously unhealthy and the allowance granted to him was extremely meagre and very irregular. He was at his wit's end to meet his daily wants not to speak of medical expenses if any. Sometimes he would go without food and all representations for removing his difficulties went unheeded. Finding him in such a plight his casual police guard volunteered to prepare the meal from his own resources provided the *daroga saheb* would guarantee payment. The proposal was rejected.

In July, Hari Das visited the Putia Guest House on some business with the knowledge of the police and came back on the 9th with high fever which had relapsed after a few days' interval. The police saw him on the 17th and also on the next day to whom he related his grievances. All his efforts for a change having proved unavailing the distracted man committed suicide by hanging on July 18, 1917, much to the relief of the Government.

The Government communicated the news to the father of the victim together with abundance of sympathy "for the bereavement suffered by yourself, by the wife of Hari Das and by all his family." The intimation did not fail to mention that "there was no suspicion of foul play".

Sisir Kumar Guha

A most heroic deed was done by SISIR KUMAR GUHA at noon on December 23, 1907, when at Goalundo he shot at the back, though not fatally, of Mr. Allen, a former District Magistrate of Dacca in the midst of a concourse of men. He was successful in evading arrest.

After the incident Sisir turned a recluse and led a quiet life for nearly seven years. In 1914, he was arrested and sentenced to a term of rigorous imprisonment for one year. He served out the sentence and on release was re-arrested and interned in a village. It was given out to the world that Sisir had died in his domicile. (Ref. Chakrabarti, T. S.: *Biplabi Bangla*, 1757-1912, p. 159). No further information is available.

Rebati Charan Nag

It was not uncommon that the death of many a political suspect had been shrouded in mystery but the case of Rebati pales all other incidents of the same nature into insignificance.

Rebati passed his Matriculation Examination in the First Division in 1915, from the Comilla Zilla School. His father, a man in straitened circumstances, desired him to take a job with a view to earning and helping the family. Rebati left home, in June 1915, and it came to be known after his departure that he had expressed his desire to prosecute his studies till he obtained his M.A. degree and then start a decent life.

He was known to have gone over to Bhagalpur where he had taken his admission in the local college in the Intermediate Class living on a small stipend from the Cossimbazar Estate and by putting up in the family of a respectable gentleman as the guardian tutor of two minor children. For some reason or other he left Bhagalpur on October 18, 1916, and shortly after the police came there with a warrant for his arrest. The room occupied by him was thoroughly searched and all his belongings were taken away. It was presumed that he was wanted in connection with the murder at the time of his leaving the school of the Head Master at Comilla who was suspected of acting as an informer to the police.

Nothing was heard of Rebati till a police officer invited one of the distant relations of Rebati to meet him at Bhingra railway station, quite at a distance from the village Upalata, Tippera, the native place of Rebati and handed over to him 89 items of articles found in Rebati's room at Bhagalpur with the message that he had been murdered there by his comrades in January 1917.

The mystery deepened when the *Report of the Sedition Committee*, 1918, (p. 89), came out with the information that

Rebati "was murdered by his comrades at Serajganj,....on a charge of immorality". The father of the victim was never informed nor any of his other relations as has been already told till February, 1920, i.e., after a lapse of three years after his demise. The same *Report* states (pp. 128-130) that Rebati was a very prominent and active member of the revolutionary party in Bihar, in fact he was one who was known to have influenced a number of youngmen with the cult of violence. The charge of 'immorality' suits ill with what is known of him from various sources, i.e., the person who gave him shelter, a teacher who knew him quite well and his other close friends, that he had no such blemishes that may bring about his violent death from his party men.

Moreover, a letter received by the father in Mandalay, the place where he had been working for his livelihood, under post mark East Rangoon, March 19, 1920, that Rebati was arrested by the police and was tortured to death for extracting a confession.

The version is quite in keeping with what is known about Rebati's character, the suspicious nature of communicating the cause and date of his death and the discrepancy with regard to the place of occurrence, viz., Bhagalpur and Serajganj. A sifting enquiry at Serajganj could not bring out from the local public anything about any murder in the area in January 1917.

There had been records of such suspicious deaths both before and after Rebati's, where the police had been the sole cause but attributed it to suicide after becoming insane over-night or from violence by comrades. It is clear that it took the Government nearly three years to coach a suitable scapegoat to own the crime, with a promise not be prosecuted or punished.

Surendra (Sourendra) Kusari

In 1917, a shop in the Armenian Street was raided by a revolutionary group on May 7. Two persons were killed and two others were seriously injured. SURENDRA (SOURENDRA) KUSARI, a raider, was hit by a bullet discharged by one of his party. He was bodily carried by his comrades to a safe place but had ultimately to succumb to his wounds. (Ref. Guha, N. K.: *Bangalaaya biplab-bad*, p. 201).

A Galaxy

In reply to a question in the *Bengal Legislative Council*, the Home Member gave the following reply:

SURENDRA NATH KAR committed suicide in jail.

KESHAB LAL DEY died of typhoid fever.

JATINDRA NATH RAY died of cholera.

DIHIRENDRA MOHAN MUKHERJEE died of cholera.

(*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, July 5, 1918).

Bhag Singh

BHAG SINGH was mentioned as an accused in one of the Lahore Conspiracy Cases. It was stated that in the course of the trial the accused met with his death in a scuffle with an informer. (Ref. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 8, 1917).

Santi Chakrabarti

An active member of the revolutionary party, SANTI was arrested on suspicion in 1923, in connection with an explosion of a bomb thrown from outside in a shop in Mirzapore Street, Calcutta. He was placed before a Magistrate for trial and was discharged for want of evidence. On a particular day he started from his residence, according to the secret message he left, to visit a friend who had promised to return some arms deposited with him for safe custody before Santi's apprehended arrest.

Santi did not return during the night. The friends who had knowledge about his mission became nervous about his fate and started a frantic search for him. Before long, Santi's dead body was found near the railway line not far from the Dum Dum Station with several gaping wounds on his person. (Ref. Chanda, G. N.: *Abismaraniya*, p. 69).

Udham Singh 'Kasel'

While in U.S.A., UDHAM SINGH joined the *Ghadr* Party and returned to India by *Tosa Maru* in 1914. He was arrested on landing in Calcutta and was removed to Punjab. Subsequently he was made an accused in one of the Lahore Conspiracy Cases and on conviction transported to the Andaman Cellular Jail on December 10, 1915.

Imprisonment and hard labour in the Cellular Jail could not subdue his fiery spirit. When a co-prisoner was vilely abused for failing to produce his quota of coir, Udham Singh severely assaulted the Jailer in his office for his conduct and in turn suffered his share of violence.

Under the changed policy of the Government the prisoner was repatriated to India and lodged in the Bellary Jail. He managed to escape from his captivity, and after encountering untold hardships somehow reached Punjab. As it became more and more difficult to stay any further in his secret haunt, Udham Singh crossed the frontier in 1922, and reached Kabul (Lalpura) where he remained in hiding for some time. Three other comrades joined him in the course of a few months and they jointly, under assumed names, started a journal, *Kirti*, for preaching Marxism for the masses. (Ref. *Deshbhakt Yada*, November 1963, p. 16). The rest of his career is shrouded in mystery.

Nripendra Nath Datta

and

Birendra Nath Chakrabarti

While proceeding along the railway track in Jalpaiguri to reach a scheduled place for cutting telegraph wires for interrupting communications in 1930, two youngmen NRIPENDRA and BIRENDRA were run over and killed by a speeding railway engine that came upon them unawares. (Ref. Chanda, G. N.: *Abismaraniya*, p. 159).

Pritam Khan

In connection with a train dacoity case PRITAM KHAN was sentenced to death and he lost his life on the gallows. (Ref. All-India Revolutionary Martyrs Committee, *Album*, p. 59).

Ganeshilal Khasta

An accused in the Benares Conspiracy Case, GANESHILAL was awarded a long term of imprisonment. While serving out his sentence he died behind the prison bars. (Ref. *Ibid*, p. 12).

Kehar Singh

Nothing in particular is known about KEHAR SINGH save that he died inside a jail. (Ref. *Ibid*, p. 59).

Rabindra Mohan Kar

While undergoing imprisonment in a political case, RABINDRA died of a disease. (Ref. Gupta, M. N.: *Kakori sarajantrcr smriti*, p. 65).

Pathake

The mutiny of troops at Singapore was to a large extent due to the efforts of PATHAKE, a member of the *Ghadr* Party. He was arrested and placed before a Court Martial and lost his life by execution. (Ref. Sharma, S. L., and Kumar, S. R.: *Indian Freedom Struggle Centenary*, p. 226).

Venkataraman

VENKATARAMAN died in Madras as the effect of an explosion (Ref. Das Gupta, P.: *Biplaber pathe*, p. 174).

Bhupen Majumdar

BHUPEN while an absconder, died of cholera in the Pala *ashram*. He was 'wanted' by the police in connection with the Inter-State Conspiracy Case. (Ref. *Ibid*, p. 176).

Hem Chandra Bhattacharya

An Inter-State conspiracy prisoner HEM CHANDRA died in the Rajshahi Jail. (Ref. *Ibid*, p. 253).

Mohit Adhikari

Convicted in connection with the Bihar Arms Act Case, ADHIKARI died in jail. (Ref. *Ibid*, p. 253).

Dhanesh Bhattacharya

While suffering from serious ailments DHANESH died in the Midnapore Jail in 1937. (Ref. Mahajati Sadan: *Saheed Smriti*, Serial No. 93).

Dhirendra Nath Dey

Arrested on suspicion, DHIRENDRA was confined in Jamalpur Town Police Station, Mymensingh. He was tortured to death in the lock-up. (Ref. *Ibid*, Serial No. 75).

Manindra Ukil

Arrested on suspicion in 1930, and passing through several jails in Bengal, MANINDRA at long last reached the Deoli Jail in Rajputana. He developed tuberculosis of the lungs and was released at the last stage to die outside the prison house. .

Jashoda Pal

An accused in the Dakhineswar Bomb Case, JASHODA when sentenced to long term of imprisonment was in an extremely bad state of health. He was prematurely released from custody and met with his death before recovery.

Birendra Nath Dey

BIRENDRA NATH DEY joined a party for 'action' in December 1933, at Sangaliapara, Tangail Sub-Division. A *ballam* thrown by a villager pierced his body. He ran away holding it with his hands, just to fall dead at the bank of the river near the boat which was meant for their escape.

'Hearsay'

SACHINDRA NATH RAY, to avoid police surveillance, went underground in 1915, and was not heard thereafter.

GOPES CHANDRA RAY died in internment in Patharpratima.

MAHESH BARUA, convicted in connection with the Bathua Dacoity Case, died in jail while serving out his sentence.

SUNIL CHAKRABARTI of Barisal died in Rajshahi Jail.

JITEN SAMADDAR of Barisal died in internment.

HARAN CHAKRABARTI while proceeding along the railway track to reach Basudebpur for the purpose of participating in an 'action' was run over by a running train and killed. .

DHIRENDRA NATH BARUA was severely assaulted by police in Chittagong for shouting slogan of a revolutionary character as the effect of which he died.

RAMJEE KALAHATKAR was arrested in 1910, in connection with the Nasik Conspiracy Case when he had been suffering from tuberculosis. The new surroundings hastened his death in prison.

SUSHIL DATTA was killed in 1916, in North Bengal in an encounter with the police.

MANINDRA BOSE was shot dead by the police in 1915, in Mymensingh.

CHAPTER TEN
THE FINAL THRUST
MOBILIZATION

A Lion too Big for any Cage
(1911-1945)

There was not a single soul in the front rank of the Indian revolutionary fight whom the most efficient police force of the British Empire, in India and abroad, was unable to put into prison or detain in the lock-up even for a single day. Indeed, RASH BEHARI BOSE had the unique distinction in this respect. There were a good many who smilingly embraced death to escape arrest, but amongst the living there was seldom any who could.

From the time that Rash Behari entered the arena till death intervened, he was not only thinking but dangerously acting for freedom of the Motherland. The motto of his life was summed up in the following few words:

"Independence India must have, because her Independence is essential for the regeneration of the whole world. It is not the end in itself, but it is a means to an end and that end is destruction of Imperialism and Militarism and the creation of a better world for all to live in."

From 1911 onwards he had worked for revolution in India and had established contact from the north-west to north-east of India, and selected his headquarters at Lahore serving as a living link between the revolutionaries of Delhi, Punjab and Bengal.

Rash Behari was held responsible for the introduction of terrorist movement from Bengal to Northern India. The object of the movement as stated by Rash Behari himself was

"to awaken the masses by the commission of outrages to the fact that they are living under a foreign rule. Then a strong desire will burst among them for open revolution."

He always acted upto his declared policy and organised a

series of outrages sometimes exposing himself to the risk of arrest and its logical consequence.

His complicity in the outrage on December 23, 1912, on Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, was accepted by the police as certain. He was declared an accused in the Delhi, Lahore and Benares Conspiracy Cases and heavy rewards were announced for his apprehension, alive or dead.

Though attached to the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, as its Head Clerk, it was amazing that he could find so much time to devote to secret political work.

Rash Behari gathered round him a group of devoted workers like Amir Chand, Abadh Behari, Balmokand, Pingley, Basanta Kumar and a host of others who latterly either sacrificed their lives on the gallows or narrowly escaped it with transportation for life or long terms of imprisonment.

With the Bengal revolutionaries his contact was most intimate. He almost exclusively depended upon them for the supply of ready-made bombs. On his advice a few young men from Punjab and Delhi went to Bengal to learn the technique of manufacturing of bombs from the revolutionaries. While preparing men of his Party for violent actions he would not neglect propaganda through literature, leaflets, books, booklets, secret newspapers and the like. With enormous confidence in himself, he undertook the responsibility of supplying bombs and bomb-making materials when there were occasions for their need.

It was a remarkable fact that though a reward was offered for his arrest and his photograph had been widely circulated, the 'wanted man' succeeded in living in Benares during nearly the whole of 1914, without the police being aware of his presence. He took the precaution of going out chiefly at night, but in the early part of his stay, interviews were held in the daytime out of doors either in the Victoria Park or in some other garden.

A house was taken for Bose in Misri Pokhra behind the Jogeswar Press and there he lived from February to November, 1914. He was frequently visited by different members of the conspiracy including those coming from Punjab and Bengal. While engaged in examining two bomb-caps on the night of November 18, 1914, he was severely injured by explosion of one of them. He at once shifted his residence to a house in Bengali-

tola. A momentous meeting between two giants, Jatin Mukherji and Rash Behari, was held at this time. Jatin had been losing enthusiasm with the type of workers that had been coming to him for enlistment in the party. Sometimes he would feel depressed with the thought that the time for a mass action was yet to come. He had been conversing with Rash Behari when Vishnu Ganesh Pingley was allowed to enter into the room and have a share in the discussion. What Pingley said impressed Jatin so deeply that he told Rash Behari about his changed mind because there were young men like Pingley still who could be fully trusted and depended upon for serious action.

Rash Behari showed supreme courage in face of danger and his presence of mind to get out of a scrape seldom left him in times of need. In Calcutta, instead of seeking a by-lane or an obscure quarter for living in concealment, he selected a room above the Dhurrumtola Post Office, located in one of the busiest parts of the city.

He was capable of assuming a disguise in the most successful way. At Lahore, he donned in Punjabi dress and looked absolutely like a person born and brought up in Punjab. He looked like a native of any particular Province according to his choice of the dress. He had a number of *aliases* but was commonly known as "Satinder Chunder" or "Fat Babu" amongst his associates. There were very few who knew him by his correct name.

Though he had neglected his studies in school, he made up the deficiency in subsequent years by sincere application to acquisition of knowledge. Besides Bengali, his mother tongue, he could speak fluently in Hindi, Punjabi, Gujrati and English and the mastery of this art had been of a great help to him to carry on with his mission evading arrest.

The plan for a general rising fixed for February 21, 1915, had to be advanced to the 19th due to leakage of secret through spies working within the ranks. It was not possible to communicate all the centres about the change of date and the Government now forearmed, took all precautionary measures to thwart the revolt and the whole plan fizzled out. A large number of his trusted lieutenants connected with the plan were arrested at the time.

In the preliminary enquiry of the Delhi Sedition Case started on March 17, 1914, Rash Behari was charged under Secs. 120-B

and 302 I.P.C. The warrant for arrest returned unserved, as he was on leave from his office, the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun. The petition for declaring him as a 'proclaimed offender' was granted by the Court against him with a fresh *alias*, Benode Behari Bose. A circular containing the description of Bose was published on March 27, 1914, stating that "the man is about thirty years of age, fair complexioned and tall, has large eyes; and the third finger of one hand is stiff and scarred due to some accident."

The entire police force of India looked so small before one single man who had made them the laughing stock of the whole world. There must have been severe strictures on their inefficiency and pressure from the Indian and Home Governments to try every means to arrest the arch revolutionary. There began an all-out search to find out the enigmatic figure. The entire machinery of the Government became frantic over its failure but the net was being drawn closer around the fugitive.

It was now not safe to stay in India any longer. Rash Behari came to Chandernagore at the insistence of his friends to leave the country. A passport was secured in the assumed name of P. N. Tagore. The disguise was perfect and Rash Behari bade adieu to his native land on May 12, on board the *Shanuki Maru* sailing from the Man-of-War Jetty in Calcutta. He reached Singapore on May 22, 1915.

The activities of Rash Behari Bose in India would have been sufficient to eke out a prominent place for him in the annals of the Freedom Movement in India. But his soul could not rest in peace unless either his mission was fulfilled or the cruel hand of death had removed him from his field of activity—no matter whether it was India or a foreign land.

From Singapore he reached Tokyo in the early part of June 1915. He was impatient to help India and went to Shanghai in the middle of June 1915, with a definite plan in this regard. He had knowledge of the effort that was made to smuggle arms into India with the help of Germany and working on the trail met the Germans in Shanghai with the same objective. It was an abortive attempt, nothing coming out of the venture.

It was now necessary to acquaint the people of Japan about India's needs and to make the Japanese posted with what had been going on inside the vast sub-continent. A meeting organised

by him was held on November 27, 1915, in which he delivered a speech violently denouncing the British rule in India.

The false cloak of P. N. Tagore fell off and there was now no doubt about his identity any longer. Under pressure from the British Government Rash Behari and another Bengali were summoned to appear before the police, but they preferred to go underground. A hunt by the police was of no avail. Rash Behari was given shelter by the family of Aizo Soma with the full knowledge and help of a highly placed Japanese gentleman named Toyama who occupied an exalted place in Japanese social and political life.

An Extradition Order was passed directing him to leave Japan within five days. It became infructuous; the person affected by the Order could not be traced anywhere. A highly efficient police official was sent by the Government of India on a special mission in 1915, to ascertain the extent of seditious sentiment prevailing in the minds of the Indians in the Far East in general and of the whereabouts of Bose in particular.

The Officer submitted (*Report on the Indian Sedition in the Far East* in 1917) that Rash Behari Bose:

"has been living in concealment and that his condition of life must militate greatly against his efficiency as conspirator. Towards the latter part of July, Rash Behari disappeared completely from Tokyo, where his place of refuge had become known to the British authorities. After an exhaustive and skilfully conducted enquiry he was discovered at Okitsu, a village in the vicinity of Kastura, a town in the East Coast.

"Bose after his discovery almost immediately left for Tokyo, where he is believed to be concealed in the compound of the Lord High Chamberlain to the Emperor although it is possible that it is merely some retainer of the high official who is harbouring Bose without his master's knowledge.

"Intercepted letters to Bose show conclusively that he is still in close touch with the heads of conspiracy in America such as Naren Bhattacharya, etc. and that he is still devoting himself to revolutionary work, so far the disabilities imposed by his position will permit.

"His importance has in no way depreciated, the limitation of his activity being merely an accident arising out of the popularity of his position.

"Tarak Das while in Japan, is known to have been in touch with Bose, and appears to have looked up to him as some one greater than himself. The two are said to have evolved a scheme for the sinking of ships by means of explosives to be placed on board, although so far as is known, the matter never advanced beyond the stage of pure discussion.

"During the period of his disappearance Rash Behari Bose passed under the Japanese name of Hayachi Ichiro, which, it is believed, was known to Tarak Nath Das."

Fortunately for India and India's cause of Independence, a Japanese schooner was attacked by a British ship which completely changed the attitude of Japan towards England and when the deportation order was withdrawn, Rash Behari came out of hiding in April 1916.

In two years he was married in July 1918, to Toshiko, the daughter of Aizo and Kokko Soma who had lent their protecting wings and covered him against all dangers. Bose lived in Japan just like a Japanese learning the difficult language in about four months.

The foreigner was naturalised on July 2, 1923, and became a full-fledged citizen of the Land of the Rising Sun. He lost his wife Toshiko, a friend in weal and woe, on March 3, 1925.

The loss of Toshiko was a severe shock to him but his love for the Motherland sustained him, giving him strength to go on with his mission. Rash Behari was present in person at Nagasaki Conference of the Asiatics held on August 1, 1926, where 142 people from China, India, Afghanistan, Philippines, Vietnam and Japan met (Bose, B. B.: *Karma Veer Rash Behari*, p. 199) to discuss the problems concerning Asia.

In 1937, when the Sino-Japanese War broke out, thirty Indians met in the Rainbow and the *Indian Independence League* was formed. Another Conference of All-Asian Youths (Oshawa, J. G.: *Two Great Indians in Japan*, p. 37) was held in Sankaido in Tokyo on October 28, 1937.

With a view to enlisting support for India's Independence, Bose published several books and two magazines, one in English and another in the Japanese language.

Things had been moving fast in East Asia and the climax was reached when Japan declared war on U.S.A. on December 8, 1941. Rash Behari became alert and declared the aim of his *Independence League*, as firstly, to throw away the foreign domination over India and secondly, to protect Indians in the territories occupied by Japan.

This was closely followed by the formation of the *Indian National Army* on December 11, 1941, at Kotabaru in a historic

gathering consisting of some Indian Officers working in the British Indian Army and some Indian leaders. (Source: Shri Debnath Das, I.N.A.).

The shrewd Japanese thought of using the Indians taken prisoner in Malaya and one of their Generals met Mohan Singh of 1/14 Punjab Regiment and took him to the Japanese Commander-in-Chief on December 17, 1941. After a prolonged discussion all Indian prisoners were placed at Singh's control to add to the number of the *Indian National Army* which would co-operate with Nippon's forces to drive away the Britishers from India.

Singapore fell to Japanese assault on February 15, 1942. On the next day in the Imperial Diet, Tojo, the Premier of Japan pledged his support to the cause of Indian Independence.

A meeting of leading Indians from different parts of Malaya was held in Singapore on March 9 and 10, 1942. A suggestion came from Bose to hold a meeting of representative Indians in Tokyo. According to Bose's suggestion the next meeting of prominent Indians of East Asia was held under his presidency for three days, from March 28 to 30, 1942. *The Indian Independence League* hitherto existing in a fluid state was formally declared to the world. It desired the members to immediately start an Independence movement amongst all classes of Indians in East Asia. It was resolved at the Conference

"that military action against India will be taken only by the Indian National Army and under the command of Indians, together with such military, naval and air co-operation and assistance as may be requested from the Japanese authorities by the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League to be formed and that the framing of the future constitution of India will be left entirely to representatives of the people of India."

At the end of the Conference it was decided to hold a bigger and more representative Conference at Bangkok sometime in June 1942, to officially inaugurate the Indian Independence movement. The Bangkok Conference was held for nine days from June 15 to 23, 1942, in the presence of 100 delegates representing Indians in Japan, Hong Kong, Manchukuo, Burma, Borneo, Java, Malaya and Thailand.

In the preamble to the resolution it was stated that the war

of Greater Asia afforded the greatest opportunity to destroy British Imperialism in Asia and to realise the goal of complete independence for India. For the achievement of this objective the Indian Independence League was formed which was to raise an Army called the *Indian National Army* from among the Indian soldiers.

A Council of Action was formed with Rash Behari as its first President with four other Members. It was resolved that

"the formation, command, control and organisation of the Indian National Army be in the hands of Indians themselves."

The Conference desired that the Nippon Government would make a formal declaration to the effect that

"immediately on the severance of India from the British Empire, the Imperial Government of Japan shall respect the territorial integrity and recognise the full sovereignty of India free from any foreign influence, control or interference of a political, military or economic nature."

By another resolution it requested the Japanese Government "to hand over the properties owned by the Indians...and left by them owing to the exigencies of war to the Council of Action."

The most significant resolution was (No. 31 on the agenda) was to request "Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose to be kind enough to come to East Asia" and appealed to the Government of Japan to make necessary arrangements for bringing Subhas Bose to East Asia.

Rash Behari communicated the purport of the resolution and extended his personal request to his would-be successor over a radio-telephone which Subhas Chandra gladly accepted.

Soon there was a very serious hitch over the acceptance of the Bangkok resolutions by the Japanese Government, and particularly over the I.N.A., its relations and status *vis-a-vis* the Japanese Imperial Army and also over its control. General Mohan Singh put up a stiff resistance to Tokyo's request to shift the I.N.A. from Malaya to Burma before all the points formulated at the Bangkok Conference had been clarified by the Japanese Government. The most that the Japanese Government was prepared to concede did not reach even the least that the Indians wanted to. On this and other issues the whole Council of Action, except Rash Behari, resigned on December 8, 1942.

Between June and December 1942, with his headquarters at Bangkok, Rash Behari toured extensively in Thailand, Malaya, Burma, Java, Sumatra and other places enlisting support for the *Indian Independence League*. He also addressed radio messages to Indians at home and appealed to leaders of all schools of thought in the country to present a united front to the enemy. He offered to the fighters on the Indian soil the services of 'the League' in every possible way within its limits.

With the sole charge of a ramshackle body anyone else than Rash Behari would have given up the game and retired. He could not let slip the opportunity that Japan's War with Britain had brought to the door of India. With unparalleled steadfastness and devotion to the cause he valiantly braved the storm and in the face of chances of being misunderstood he held the helm with unfaltering grip. On April 3, he assumed dictatorial powers to stem the tide of unrest and disintegration of the militia which he was able to do through ceaseless labour and limitless patience.

The headquarters of 'the League' was shifted from Bangkok to Singapore and grounds were prepared for receiving Subhas Chandra Bose and investing him with the sole authority and unbounded responsibility to carry on the Second War of Independence to its logical end.

In April 1943, Rash Behari left his headquarters at Singapore for Tokyo. Subhas Chandra reached Tokyo on June 13, 1943. A conference of the representatives of Indians throughout East Asia was summoned to be held in Singapore on July 4, 1943. Rash Behari accompanied by Subhas Chandra reached Singapore on July 3. ?

The old and new leaders of the Movement inspected the *Indian National Army* on the ground in front of the Singapore City Hall on July 4, 1943, before the historic Session commenced its deliberations.

The two stalwarts of the Indian Freedom Movement stood side by side before a huge gathering of Indians from all the countries of East Asia, of all ages, men and women, using different languages and belonging to diverse religious faiths.

Rash Behari in words that bubbled forth from the depth of the heart, introduced Subhas Chandra to the vast concourse of men by saying:

"Friends and Comrades-in-Arms! You might now ask me what did I do in Tokyo for your cause; what present I have brought for you. Well, I have brought for you this present (turning to Subhas)—Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose needs no introduction to you, India, or to the world. He symbolises all that is best, noblest, the most daring and the most dynamic in the youth of India.

"Indians' best is represented in him.

"Friends and Comrades-in-Arms! In your presence today I resign my office and appoint Subhas Chandra Bose as President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia."

In publicly accepting the heavy responsibility Subhas Chandra in a suitable speech expressed his deep reverence for Rash Behari and recounted his services to the Motherland. He concluded by saying:

"His marvellous achievements at the risk of his life during the last War for liberation of India are not only fresh in our memories but are also in the records of the British Imperialism."

Rash Behari was not allowed to retire but was selected by the new President as the Chief Adviser to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

Continuous hard labour in the most difficult and uncertain conditions, suffering as had he been from diabetes and bereavement from the death of his dear wife and lately of his son, Mashohide, the Great Hero of hundred fights who never faltered or taken rest for decades at a stretch, fell ill in January 1945, and had to be removed to hospital for treatment.

During his illness His Majesty the Emperor of Japan decorated him with the Second Order of Merit of the Rising Sun with Double Rays. To the last moment of his life his predominant thought was the emancipation of his Motherland. Quietly, the one time President of the Hindu Mahasabha in Japan, slipped into the other world on January 21, 1945, with a heart yearning for visiting the soil of his birth, the playground of his younger days and the battlefield of his manhood.

He expressed the essence of the philosophy of his struggle on April 25, 1942, when he said:

"I was a fighter,
One Fight more;
The last and
The best."

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the State, Provisional Government of Azad Hind, paid glowing tribute to Rash Behari Bose, the Supreme Adviser to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, which ran:

"The sad demise of Sri Rash Behari Bose is a personal loss to me and to my co-workers, besides being a serious loss to the cause of India's Independence. The late Rash Behari was not only a born revolutionary but also a great man. When I was in my teens I used to thrill at hearing about the daring exploits of Rash Behari in his anti-British revolutionary activities in India. Now, thirty years later when I came into close personal contact with him in East Asia, I was deeply impressed by his burning ardour and unbounded optimism. Neither his advancing age nor his failing health blunted the edge of his fighting spirit.

"India cannot be sufficiently grateful to the late Sri Rash Behari for the yeoman service he rendered to the cause of India's Freedom during his sojourn for Nippon a generation ago. It will be remembered that when Dr. Rabindranath Tagore returned to India after a visit to Nippon, he paid a glowing tribute to the selfless services that Rash Behari Bose was rendering to the cause of India's Liberation. The goodwill, sympathy and friendship for India that he built up in Nippon bore fruit when the Greater East Asia War broke out, and the Government and the people of Nippon pledged all-out aid in India's fight for Freedom.

"The late Rash Behari has been rightly described as the Father of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia since the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War; and it may be truly said of him that he lived and died for India's Freedom. Among his most outstanding services to the cause of his Motherland will be counted the leading part he played at the Bangkok Conference and the establishment of Indian Independence Leagues throughout East Asia with Headquarters at Bangkok.

"But for his illness in recent months he would have taken a much more active part in the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. I vividly recall the moving scene at his sick bed when I visited him more than once when I was recently in Tokyo. Optimism was writ large on his face, and he was not in the least depressed over our failure to take Imphal in the first assault. He thought only of India and India's Freedom till the last moments of his life.

"Rash Behari Bose is dead, but his indomitable spirit will live in our hearts for ever and will inspire us to carry on our fight until the last Britisher is driven out of India, and until India achieves complete Independence—The Dream of his Life."

On January 25, 1945, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued instructions to the Indian Independence League branches throughout East Asia to hold mass meeting of Indians on January 29,

1945, the day of the Funeral Ceremony of Rash Behari Bose to be held in Tokyo.

A Special Meeting of the Council of Ministers and Advisers of the Provisional Government was held at the Office of the Provisional Government Headquarters on January 25, at 6-30 p.m. His Excellency Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose presided.

The Council unanimously passed the following resolution on the death of Sri Bose, the entire Council standing and observing one-minute silence:

"This meeting of the Council of Ministers and Advisers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind records its profound grief at the sad and untimely demise of Sri Rash Behari Bose,....and further places on record its sense of appreciation of the manifold outstanding services rendered by him to the cause of Independence throughout his life. As the only fitting tribute to the beloved memory of the late Sri Bose this Council reiterates once again his resolve to carry on the fight for India's Independence with unrelenting vigour until complete independence is achieved, and the life-mission of Sri Rash Behari Bose is thereby fulfilled."

The Council then resolved unanimously to create a new Order to be known as the *Order of Tamgha-E-Azad Hind* and to award the first decoration of the First Class of that Order posthumously to the late Sri Bose in grateful recognition of his sacrifices in the cause of India's Independence.

The Council also decided to award a Medal, to be known as the Rash Behari Bose Medal, to the successful Indian Cadet in the Military Academy in Tokyo.

This is what a handful of Indians beset with danger all around did with limitations patent to their very existence for the Great Fighter for India's freedom; but what about his countrymen of the mainland and the Sovereign State of India built on the ashes of Rash Behari Bose and the patriots who had immolated themselves at the Altar of the Motherland?

Victims of Air-Crash

(1942)

Four prominent members, viz., SATYANANDA PURI and PRITAM SINGH of Bangkok, and AKRAM and NILKANTHA IYER of Malaya of the *Indian Independence League* started on March 13, 1942, from Singapore to attend the Indian Independence Conference held at Tokyo. The plane failed to reach destination and the wreckage was discovered on April 1, 1942. A full military funeral was accorded to the victims of the War of Independence on April 5, 1942.

They Return to Die

(1942-1943)

The *Indian Independence League* took a very bold step in sending their own men to the interior of the Motherland to work up from within a revolt and to transmit news to the League 'outside'.

They were fourteen in number divided into four groups, two to reach by land and two by sea to get into India.

One batch of five landed in Calicut and was composed of M. A. KADIR, S. A. ANANDAN and three others. The second batch of another five men including SATYEN BARDHAN reached Kathiawad Coast.

They came by submarine and were transferred to a rubber boat five miles off from the land. Fighting against waves it took them 21 hours to reach the shore of India. Satyen had a transmitter with him, in the operation of which he had been known to be an adept.

On landing, before they could find a safe hideout they were noticed by the men on the shore and looked upon with suspicion. The police was informed. They were arrested and taken into custody within a few hours of their landing.

Of the two groups that started by land, the first batch numbering four reached Chittagong on October 26, 1942. The second, composed of six soldiers of which FOUZA SINGH was one, came

by Assam. The news of the arrival was communicated to the police headquarters by spies and informers stationed in those areas and their arrest was now only a matter of days.

Those arrested on the east and west coast of India were kept in the Madras Fort and the prisoners from Chittagong and Assam were removed to the same Fort in due course.

The accused were placed on trial for waging war against the King, acting as enemy agents under the Indian Penal Code and the War Emergency Ordinance on March 8, 1943. Judgment was delivered on April 1.

ABDUL KADIR of Travancore, S. A. ANANDAN, SATYEN BARDHAN of Bengal, FOUZA SINGH of Punjab and another were sentenced to death. The fifth man escaped death on the strength of a successful appeal.

The four comrades, soldiers of the *Indian National Army*, were executed in the Madras Penitentiary on September 10, 1943.

Almost the whole night previous to the execution the prison reverberated with the song, *Bande Mataram*. With great courage each of them ascended the steps to the gallows while shouting *Bande Mataram* to the last breath. ABDUL KADIR shouted *Subhas Babu ki jai ! Down with the British Government ! Victory to India !*

The wind carried the message to every corner of India and it did not take long before India achieved independence on the ashes of these martyrs.

From the meagre information that is now available most of these men had been earning their livelihood in different parts of East Asia with their own labour. When call for enlistment came they offered their services as 'Volunteers'.

Satyen Bardhan had been working in the Post and Telegraph Department in Malaya when it was overrun by the Japanese. He found himself stranded at Sebangom for some time. At the first opportunity he joined the *Indian Independence League* and was sent to Penang to receive training connected with the war. He had Kadir and Fouza Singh as co-trainees in the Institute. With the formation of the *Azad Hind Fauj* Satyen joined it. He was given a special training in radio transmission by both Indian and Japanese experts besides training in fighting, etc.

Satyen Bardhan in his last letter to his brother and (maternal) uncle, a co-accused in the case wrote :

"I have got nothing to say or to write to you....I feel so happy and proud that God has ordained me to sacrifice my life at the Altar of my Motherland.....Opportunity, if ever, comes handy, please try to take revenge (on our enemy). The sacrifice of life (for the cause of freedom) is nothing new to the Bengalis.

Yours fortune-favoured

KANU.

APPENDIX

Copy of Abdul Kadir's letter to his father :

Madras Prison, 9th September, 1943

Revered Abbajan,

.....This is for the last time that I am writing to you. In various ways we are confronted from time to time with situations and events that are exceedingly painful and heart-rending (killing). We should remember that Khodata (God) creates such situations to test our hearts. In the march of life we are faced very frequently with sorrow, poverty, despair, frustration and even danger to our very existence. In such circumstances it does not behove us to fret and foam (to protest) against them or to put blame against any agency. On the other hand we should accept those calamities as the blessings of the Almighty Allah. Our duty is to submit ourselves unquestioningly to His Grace and with an unfaltering mind to welcome them; and regard them without demur as part of our existence. The Sacred Koran also teaches us the same lesson. Very frequently when we are faced temporarily with such perplexities, Allah endows us with such strength to our mind that we can overcome them with courage and comparative ease.

He never puts us in such a position which are beyond our limit of endurance, because He is so kind and there is no end to His kindness to us.

Dear Father, I claim myself to be very thankful because Allah has endowed me with such a mind which feels never convulsed and is always calm. When we are faced with the sorest trial of life it is unbecoming of us to raise a faint tone of protest or to harbour the least ill-feeling against His dispensation. It is the supreme moment of my life when I am to submit ungrudgingly to the will of God and to sacrifice my life at His altar. Every moment my mind is surcharged with heavenly strength, unalloyed joy and unprecedented quietitude.

I am perfectly certain that this letter will add a good deal to your fund of sorrow already large.When I realise that your eyes have shed an unceasing flow of tears for me, I lose control over myself. Perhaps you cherished an idea that after I had reached Malaya I would forget my youthful delinquencies; may be, I would be of some help to you. What can I do for you in the present circumstances? You enquire of God, pray at His feet and you would get the answer.

Like all other creatures man has to die within a limited period of time. But there is one great difference. During the course of existence man puts a meaning, a mission, to his life and thereby raises himself to a higher plane than his fellow creatures. Instances are not rare when he firmly grasps those ideals and marches towards his goal even challenging death. With absolute selflessness and implicit faith in the ideal he gets himself prepared for any exigency. He who knows the reality of existence never cares for this ephemeral body.

The judgment in our case was delivered on April 1, last. I was awarded five years' imprisonment under Section 121 I.P.C. and a sentence of death under the Emergency Laws.

Tomorrow before 2 a.m. flame of this lamp of life will go out for ever. This hand will no longer hold the pen for writing.

On the 7th of the Sacred month of Ramjan in the early hours between 5 and 6 the life will see its end.

Revolt in the Army

(1943)

It is a pity that so little is known of a band of rebels who had worked within the Army itself in their own way to advance the cause of Indian Independence. In fact, spirit of resistance or defections within the ranks made a foreign Government feel that it was no longer possible to rule over a vast country by the White paid servants alone without the help of loyal Indians, the native of the soil.

The secret military intelligence brought the report to the authorities that a section of the *4th Madras Coastal Defence Battery* had been contemplating sabotage, incendiarism wherever possible, tampering with the loyalty of the forces by trying to cause desertions and encouraging tensions and rivalries amongst soldiers housed in army barracks.

The military police arrested about a dozen 'rebels' on April 18, 1943, on charges of acting against the Government and obstructing and or adversely affecting the war efforts.

A Court-Martial was held on July 6 and August 5, 1943, in the St. Andrews Church, Bangalore, where all the accused were convicted and nine Bengali young soldiers, *viz.*,

- (i) MANKUMAR BASU THAKUR, aged 21 years,
- (ii) NANDA KUMAR DEY (25),
- (iii) DURGADAS RAY CHAUDHURI (25),
- (iv) NIRANJAN BARUA (23),
- (v) CHITTA RANJAN MUKHERJI (24),
- (vi) PHANI BHUSAN CHAKRABARTI (23),
- (vii) SUNIL KUMAR MUKHERJI (22),
- (viii) KALIPADA AICH (23), and
- (ix) NIRENDRA MOHAN MUKHERJI (21)

were condemned to death.

Two were sentenced to transportation for life and one to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.

The nine condemned prisoners were about to be executed in Mysore. But due to the fact that the trial had been held by a

British Court-Martial, the Mysore Government objected to the execution within the State territory.

As killing could be done at any other place with as much ease and with the same effect, the British Government removed the prisoners to the Madras Penitentiary where four (or six) other condemned prisoners had been hanged about a month before.

Remarkable courage was shown by the youngmen who were led in batch of two's from their respective cells. All of them gave full-throated shouts of *Bande Mataram*, embraced each other with hearty smiles and gave up their lives on September 27, 1943, on the gallows like the heroes on the battlefields.

On the high Seas

(1945)

Of the few able Lieutenants of Rash Behari Bose, D. S. DESHPANDE had been the ablest enjoying Bose's implicit faith. Deshpande reached Japan in 1930, and within a short time came in contact with his leader. He showed particular interest in the affairs of the Indian students visiting Japan for whom Bose had been trying to find accommodation and other facilities during their residence in the country of their sojourn.

While Bose was busy organising the *Indian National Army* and had to visit South-East Asia for the purpose, Deshpande accompanied Bose on almost every occasion. In one of his itineraries Deshpande while returning to Japan in April 1945, his ship was torpedoed and sunk by the Americans and a valuable life was lost on the high seas. (Source: Ram Singh Rawal in *The Hindusthan Standard*, Special Number).

THE SALLY

Pilgrim Destined for Battlefield

(1914-1945)

Though a brilliant student of his *alma mater*, Subhas seldom showed that robustness in his early life that marked his youth and the latter part of his eventful career. He showed his bias towards a spiritual life from his youth which had drawn him away in April 1914, from the cosy corner of a well-to-do family home. When budding into youth, he prepared himself for a life of great hardship in strange surroundings amongst people who were completely unknown and without any chance of regular food and shelter. His search for a 'Guru' proved abortive and he came back home in a chastened mood.

He did well in his Matriculation and I. A. Examinations and when in the Third Year Class of the Presidency College, Calcutta, an incident of great importance in his life in the shape of assault of an English Professor on February 15, 1916, happened in unusual circumstances. It was the racial arrogance of his European classmates of the Protestant School at Cuttack in his younger days in an aggravated form. Subhas was accused of complicity in the whole affair and as he would neither admit his guilt nor give out the names of the students responsible for the incident, he was rusticated from the College for two years.

The incident deserves special mention as it proved to be a turning point in his career. In later years in the Presidential address at a Students' Conference delivered on December 1, 1929, he made the following significant remarks :

"I still remember very clearly the day when my Principal summoned me to his presence and announced his order of suspension and his words are still ringing in my ears 'You are the most troublesome man in the College'. That was indeed a red-letter day for me—in many respects a turning-point in my life when I had a taste of the joy derived from suffering for a cause—a joy, in comparison with which, the other joys of life pale and fade into insignificance. It was also the first occasion in my life when my theoretical morality and theoretical patriotism were put to a test and a very strong test—and when I came out of the ordeal unscathed, my future career had been chalked out once for all."

He was party to the assault because, as he would say, to the western people 'physical force alone makes an appeal'. It was a time when "Indians began to hit back and when they did so, the effect was immediate and remarkable."

In 1917, Subhas joined the Calcutta University Training Corps. His idea in enlisting himself in the Corps was that in the moral and intellectual sphere, in the domain of philosophy and culture, and almost everywhere else, excepting physical strength, Indians were in no way inferior to the British people. He could not let pass the opportunity of getting some sort of military training with fire-arms which, excepting a very few, was a banned article to the Indians.

He enjoyed a rough life in camp more than a quiet situation when they had almost nothing to do. He would call it monotonous. He liked the incident at the Belghurria Camp, when the wind was high, there was torrential rain flooding the tents; and the very next morning target shooting started. There was 'continual firing' up to 4-30 p.m. and he felt happy that it gave howsoever faint an idea of field service. Hard work such as fixing the tent, constructing lavatories, carrying water from distant places, and above all, the 'night operations' and 'acting the sentry' for the whole night made his life 'sweet'. The experience of the camp life was extremely 'pleasing' to him and he was of the opinion that there was no doubt that whatever little could be learnt in connection with the training must have done some good to each and every one of the party. In fact, he was extremely proud, as he wrote on April 30, 1918, of the performance of the ordinary Bengali boys when in a shooting competition they proved superior to their British instructors.

While in the fifth year Experimental Psychology Class of the University, he was asked to prepare himself for the next I.C.S. Examination for which only nine months were left. He started for England on September 11, 1919, and passed the Examination occupying a very high place. During the same period he secured a Honours Degree in Philosophy from the Cambridge University. He declined to accept an offer in the Indian Civil Service and returned to India on July 16, 1921.

With the arrival in India he at once got into the vortex of Indian political life and became the first lieutenant of Chitta

Ranjan Das. He became the Captain of the National Volunteer Corps in addition to his other responsible positions in the Congress.

He was very keen on studying the birth, growth and violent demonstrations of the revolutionary movement, the upsurge of which had made its influence felt on the Government. Within a few days after reaching Calcutta, he went straight to his native village, Kodalia, 24-Parganas, to meet some veterans of the Indo-German Conspiracy and actors in the great drama of revolutionary action. He kept a constant though secret touch with his friends of the village and gradually with the wider circle of Bengal revolutionaries that had been able to create a terror in the hearts of the British Officials in India.

Congress movement found him arrested on December 10, 1921, and he was sentenced to a term of imprisonment for six months.

The revolutionaries all over Northern India put themselves in a state of suspended animation watching the progress and sphere of influence of the Non-Co-Operation Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. When it began to lose its momentum, the secret organisations started marshalling their forces particularly in Bengal, and Subhas was arrested, on suspicion of complicity, on October 25, 1924, together with hundreds of the front rank leaders of the coming movement. After detention for three months in the Bengal jails he was removed to Mandalay Jail on January 25, 1926.

Then started the epic hunger-strike by the prisoners in the Burma jails for establishment of their rights of religious observances including Durga Puja inside the prison walls.

The health of Subhas and some of his co-prisoners suffered terribly and on grounds of health, Subhas was released on May 16, 1927. He was then elected President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

Subhas was able to recoup his health to a degree and he presided over conferences, political, youth, student, etc., in various parts of India with undiminished vigour upholding the cause of national freedom with a call to his countrymen to get themselves ready for any emergency.

The plenary session of the Indian National Congress was to be held in Calcutta in 1928, and a perfectly disciplined unit of

volunteers was organised to take charge of the various sections of the Congress activities related to the open Session and Subhas Chandra was placed at its head as the General Officer Commanding of the Volunteer Force.

Some men with great foresight declared that it was "a promise of the future". The *Welfare*, a Calcutta periodical, gave its impression on the Presidential procession of 1928, in the following prophetic language:

"... Before the daybreak the footpaths along the route were lined with a patient crowd, every inch of the terraces, verandahs, balconies and windows were taken up by eager faces."

There they had gathered to welcome the President of the Congress no doubt, but

"certainly they were gathered to welcome a greater thing of higher import and nobler national significance—the birth among a non-martial race of a deep desire for martial honours. Indeed, a new day was dawning for Bengal, a new tradition was sought to be created;—and the wave of hope and enthusiasm swept back the *purdah* just as in olden days it would sweep back the cold cruel veil when the conquering heroes marched back in triumph at the head of victorious forces, and balconies and casements opened wide to rain down love and admiration to shower flowers and good wishes. So they rained, so they showered, so they beamed forth joy and hope on the proud head of the General Officer Commanding as he stood valiantly in his commanding pose on the motor car, the conquering hero of the morning who had conquered a people's apathy and timidity to the sound of drums and trumpets. No, not an eye could ignore him, not a camera could miss him. He stood masterly as a Commander as the car crawled on, his sweeping hand only directing at times like a General signalling an army to action. . . . He looked every inch a General—the air of self-consciousness, the silent look of self-assurance, and the apparent self-satisfaction of a hero were there unmistakably stamped on his face and figure It was a sight—No! It was a Vision! A promise of the Future."

When the Congress Session was over Subhas was elected the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. Reckless of his own comforts and the sufferings of a prison life, Subhas was convicted and awarded nine months' r.i., in January 1930, for leading a procession in August 1929. He was released on September 23.

On several occasions Subhas was arrested and thrown into prison, with or without trial. In between these interrurnums he

was twice elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1938 and 1939.

Confinement in jail militated against his very freedom-loving mind and he was laid up with serious illnesses at least on two occasions.

For expert medical treatment he was sent to Europe for the first time on February 23, 1933. Due to his father's serious illness he rushed to India to meet him in his deathbed, reaching Karachi on December 3, 1934, just a day after his father's demise. He violated the terms and conditions of his stay and was put under arrest again to be sent to Europe on November 18, 1937, by air.

During his forced exile he studied the European diplomatic situation very closely. He visited several States and met some of the topmost political leaders of the respective countries. His knowledge of men and things stood him in good stead. Using it in India's interests, he always tried to warn his countrymen about the weal or woe that might be caused to India by changes in the political chess board of Europe.

His last imprisonment in India happened on July 2, 1940. In two letters which he called his 'political testament' to the Government of Bengal he gave an outline of his future programme which included a threat of resorting to hunger-strike unto death. He was released from jail on December 5, 1940, and removed to his residence at Elgin Road, Calcutta.

Subhas kept himself strictly confined within his room, gradually refusing to see anybody including his nearest relations. Food was given outside a screen wherefrom he would take the plate at his convenience and put it at the same place when finished.

One or two persons who were privileged to see him during this period wondered at the beard that he had grown round his hitherto clean-shaven face, looking rather thin, with one copy each of the *Gita* and *Chandi* on his either side. He would reply, if enquired, that due to his aunt's death, he was in a state of mourning and would not as a devout Hindu, shave. With a friend, called to his presence from time to time, after nightfall, he used to discuss matters of grave import, details of a plan of work to be carried on in his absence.

It was something remarkable that he could establish contact through only a few friends, not more than two or at best, three,

with men who would receive him in the North-Western Frontier and escort him to Afghanistan. Due to his delay in departure from Calcutta by two months, the arrangement for getting him out of Kabul and reach him to the Russian territory lapsed by default.

It was almost a leap in the dark. In the off chance of smuggling out of India and reaching Moscow through Peshawar and Kabul, Subhas Chandra left his Calcutta residence in the early hours of January 17, 1941.

What happened after Subhas left his Elgin Road residence has been stated by Dr. Asoke Nath Bose, his nephew, as follows:

"On the 17th January, 1941, at about 6 o'clock in the morning as my wife and I were preparing to sit down for breakfast (at Bararee, Dhanbad), we found my brother Dr. Sisir Bose, driving into the bungalow in one of my father's cars. He told me that he brought Netaji in disguise out of Calcutta. They had left Calcutta shortly after midnight and driven along the Grand Trunk Road all through the night. Nearing my bungalow he had put down Netaji from the car about a mile away so as to allay suspicion on the part of my servants that my brother had anything to do with the latter.

"After a few minutes of the arrival of my brother, a strange visitor was announced. He was dressed as a Pathan nobleman from top to toe. What with his dress, *fez*, and beard which he had grown during the last few months, the disguise was so perfect that it was next to impossible for anybody to recognise Netaji in the Pathan. He rested for the day at my bungalow. To allay suspicion, he was put up in the guest room, and to all outward appearances, treated as a stranger, all conversation between us being carried on in English.

"In the evening he apparently took leave of us and left the bungalow on foot ostensibly to catch a taxi at the nearest stand. The three of us, my brother, my wife and myself, then set out in the car after half-an-hour's interval and picked him up on the way. We drove along the Grand Trunk Road towards Gomoh. Near about Gomoh, we stopped on the lonely roadside for an hour or so—as the train was not due to arrive in Gomoh before midnight—for a quiet homely chat. . . . He told us that he was bound for Peshawar *en route* to Kabul, Moscow, and eventually, Berlin, and said that if the fact of his escape could be kept secret for another eight or nine days, he would be out of reach of the British. He told us further that the aftermath of his escape might be grave particularly to the members of the family and asked us to face the consequences with courage and fortitude if it came to that. The plan of his escape was not known in its entirety to any of us except two persons, viz., my father and mother. . . . I had no idea of his destination previously and also as to how and when he would arrive at my place.

"As the time of arrival of the (Delhi-Kalka Mail) train was drawing near, we started for the station and on arrival there quickly put him down and drove half-a-mile or so away from the station and waited for another half-an-hour after the departure of the train. Having satisfied ourselves that he had boarded the train safely, we then drove back to Dhanbad."

In an uneventful journey Bose reached Peshawar where he was received by a sympathetic and helpful friend waiting there by previous arrangement.

Subhas and his friend had to pass two days in Peshawar wherefrom they started for Kabul. They crossed the Indian frontier and with great difficulty negotiated the Kabul river in an improvised boat composed of large inflated water-bags, *mashaqs* as they are called, held together by a fishing net. Because of ignorance of the local dialect Subhas was to act as one who was both deaf and dumb.

It was easier, though very hard, to get into Afghan territory than to reach Kabul. It was evening and no bus would stop to pick him up at such an odd out-of-the-way place. Subhas and his comrade nearly lost all hopes of securing any conveyance whatsoever, at least for the night. The alternative was to wait for a frozen death in a terribly cold night with snow falling around without break.

At long last a fully loaded open truck responded to their request and they had to scramble up on the top of the luggages and occupy a perilous perch exposed not only to the chilly wind and descending snow but also to overhanging branches of roadside trees that might sweep the passengers off their seats. Passing through untold hardships the passengers at last reached Kabul after sunset.

As events sometimes happen that are termed 'miracles', a warm home was found for the two fugitives where Subhas had to stay for about 43 days with all the chances of discovery and arrest being constantly present.

Serious efforts were made to establish contact with the Russian Legation in Kabul without any result. The Italian Ambassador's Office responded more favourably, though slowly, and after many days of nerve-racking waiting, Subhas left Kabul on March 18, reaching the border of the Russian territory at night.

On March 20, 1941, Subhas left for Moscow where he met

the German Ambassador whose profound knowledge of Asian affairs greatly impressed Subhas Chandra. The arch fugitive reached Berlin on March 28, 1941.

Subhas was warmly received by the Axis Powers as Hitler had already decided upon attacking Russia and the question of India had been engaging a good deal of his attention.

The first proposal of the runaway from India was to start anti-British propaganda over the Berlin radio. The next was to engage himself to the recruitment of supporters and selection of men for anti-British work from amongst the prisoners of war.

A considerable number of men were willing to join Bose's Indian Legion under German leadership and underwent a thorough course of military training. Subhas took a keen interest in such matters. Some selected individuals were especially trained in Intelligence Service with a view to combating British propaganda in India. They were to be transported by air to counteract Indian war efforts of the British in selected localities and, if possible, to organise local revolt. The attitude of Germany relating to India was not clearly defined and there were mental reservations on both sides. But his attempt to form an Indian Legion was given every encouragement by Germany and the bulk of Indian war prisoners were brought from different centres to Annaburg Camp, near Dresden.

As days passed on it became quite clear that Subhas was not going to do anything exclusively to help Germany but was trying to reap the most out of German collaboration in Indian interests.

He showed a rare foresight as to the outcome of the German War. In 1942, long before Germany had shown any signs of weakness, he said to one of the foremost German Naval Officers, Admiral Canaris, that

"You know as well as I do that Germany cannot win this war. But this time victorious Britain will lose India. Even then the British will not be able to break their promise to give up their dominion over India, a promise made of their own free will in 1940." (Leverkuehn, P.: *German Military Intelligence*, 1954, p. 188).

He proposed to raise three infantry battalions from suitable Indians who would work in collaboration with Germany and with the advance of German troops towards Afghanistan, a large section of the Indian troops would be able to penetrate into the North-

West Frontier Province and join hands with the malcontents working inside the Indian territory.

Subhas worked hard and through personal contact with some of those who counted amongst the prisoners he was able to form the nucleus of his *Indian Independence League* and establish a "Free India Centre". With willing co-operation of a devoted band of colleagues he at once took up his plan of work seriously the foremost being a series of broadcasts on the Azad Hind Radio from December 1941.

It did not take a long time for the world to know that the prey of the British falcon had managed to escape to Germany where he was mostly known by the assumed Italian name of Signor Orlando Mazzotta. Amongst his Indian friends, old and new, *Jai Hind* substituted other forms of greetings. It is a fact that these two words wielded an influence on Indian minds next to *Bande Mataram*, the *mantram* of the warriors of India, both non-violent and violent. In the circle of his comrades, he was affectionately called "Netaji", the beloved leader, the name by which he was subsequently known.

To the accusation of being used as a stooge to the Axis Powers Subhas Chandra Bose gave a bold reply on April 20, 1942, saying that he needed no credentials when he spoke to his own countrymen for the simple reason that

"my whole life is one long persistent, uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism" which "is the best guarantee of my *bona fides* All my life I have been the servant of India. Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one. My allegiance and loyalty have ever been and will ever be to India alone, no matter in which part of the world I may live."

Within a short period Bose came to realise that there was not much to be gained by his stay in Germany particularly when Japan had been scoring resounding victories in East Asia. He became anxious to shift his venue of activity and was looking forward for an opportunity to gain his objective. A call came from Rash Behari Bose from the Far East to take charge of the *Indian National Army* already brought there into being.

The call was irresistible. The German Government was approached for providing Subhas Chandra with a U-boat for the journey. With a trusted lieutenant Netaji took a plunge into the deep sea at Kiel on February 8, 1943. The travel was not only

long but fraught with constant danger of the boat being intercepted by the enemy vessels reconnoitring all around.

The submarine reached a place near Madagascar on April 28, and the passengers with the help of a rubber boat, got into a Japanese submarine that had been waiting there by arrangement. The risky journey ended when the boat reached Penang on June 2, wherefrom he flew to Tokyo on June 13, 1943.

With Tojo the understanding about India was complete and the Japanese Premier reaffirmed Nippon's pledge on June 16, 1943, of rendering unconditional help to the Indians struggling for freedom. He at once set to work and he broadcasted for the first time in Japan on June 21, 1943. On July 2, he found Subhas in Singapore and at a Conference of East Asian delegates held on July 4, 1943, Subhas accepted the Presidentship of 'the League' from Rash Behari Bose. The Japanese Premier was prompt in congratulating the League on its choice and Subhas over his election.

The formation of the *Azad Hind Fauj* was publicly announced on July 5, with a remarkable oration addressed to the soldiers of the Army of Liberation.

It was the proudest day of his life, said Netaji, for by the Grace of Providence he was spared the unique honour of announcing to the whole world that India's Army of Liberation has come into being. In ringing words, reminiscent of 'Orders of the Day' of Napoleon Bonaparte, Netaji said

"Comrades! My soldiers! Let your battle-cry be '*Chalo Delhi*'. How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory parade on another graveyard of the British Empire—the Lal Killa of ancient Delhi.

"I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, suffering, forced marches and death. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free.

"Get up, we have no time to lose. Take up your arms. There, in front of you is the road that our pioneers have built. We shall march along that road. We shall carve our way through enemy's ranks, or if God wills, we shall die a martyr's death.

"And in our last sleep we shall kiss the road that will bring our Army to Delhi. The road to Delhi is the road to Freedom. *Chalo Delhi.*"

In declaring a state of 'total mobilisation' on July 9, 1943, Netaji gave his reasons for leaving India which "was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home." His idea was that when a fighting force powerful enough to attack the British army in India had been organised "a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population at home, but also among the Indian Army." When the British Government was thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it would collapse, and the Indian people would then regain their liberty. "Friends, let the slogan of the three million Indians in East Asia be:

"Total Mobilisation for a Total War."

"Give me total mobilisation in East Asia and I promise you a second front—a real second front for the Indian struggle."

Prophetic words were these, inasmuch as the strike in subsequent days in the Royal Indian Navy at Bombay irresistibly proved that the structure of the British Indian Empire had been shaken to its very foundation.

The first press conference was held at the Singapore Cricket Club or the Koukan Club on July 10, 1943, where he stated that the time had come for the East Asian Indians to take up arms and strike a blow to England in concert with the warriors of Nippon for the freedom of India. To this end he had accepted the leadership of the *Indian Independence League* in East Asia and the command of the *Indian National Army*.

Further in order to put the relationship with Japan on a footing of equality he intended to establish very soon a Provisional Government of Free India.

The Japanese press correspondents were also told about the formation of a Lady's Brigade as part of the Army. The world came to know on July 12, 1943, that women were going to form a section in the *Indian National Army*, the *Azad Hind Fouj*, and to play there the same role as men—rather a unique event in the history of armies of the Asiatics.

Matters now began to move with kaleidoscopic rapidity. Burma was declared independent on August 1, the *Indian National Army* was put on a modern military footing and to facilitate work, Subhas Chandra took direct command of the Army

on August 25, 1943. The momentous event was relayed to the world over the radio. While announcing his assumption of the charge of *Sipah-Salar*, Supreme Commander, Netaji made a speech in all respects worthy both of the occasion and of the leader. Said he:

"In the interests of the Indian Independence Movement and of the Azad Hind Fauj I have taken over the direct command of our Army from this day.

"This is for me a matter of joy and pride—because for an Indian, there can be no greater honour than to be a Commander of India's Army of Liberation. But I am conscious of the magnitude of the task that I have undertaken and I feel weighed down with a sense of responsibility.

"I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these thirty-eight crores may be safe in my hands, and that every single Indian will have reason to put complete trust in me."

In explaining the immediate aim of the *Azad Hind Fauj*, Netaji said:

"We must weld ourselves into an army that will have one goal—namely, the Freedom of India;—and one will, namely, to do or die in the cause of India's Freedom. When we stand, the *Azad Hind Fauj* has to be like a wall of granite; when we march, the *Azad Hind Fauj* has to be like a steam-roller."

While principally bestowed over the Army, other matters of vital importance did not escape Netaji's attention. The *Indian Independence League* had grown in dimension and men, money and materials had been flowing in. Numerous scattered training camps in Burma and Malaya came into existence where volunteers received their baptism of fire and emerged as fine and disciplined soldiers of freedom.

In the language of Shri Debnath Das, "The re-organisation of the Headquarters of the *Independence League* was effected by departmentalising the different activities of the League. Thus the General Secretariat, and separate Department each for Finance, Accounts and Audit, Recruitment and Training, Supplies, Women, Housing and Transport, Health and Social Welfare, Education and Culture, Territorial Branches and Overseas were created. Likewise the Indian National Army was reconstituted on war footing in strength and mobility. The total resources, men and material, were mobilised: thus ushering in the historic moments for establishing the *Provisional Government of*

Azad Hind with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as the Head of the State in a Cabinet of Ministers and advisers."

The *Azad Hind* (Provisional though) *Government* was formed on October 21, 1943. The event together with the names of Members of the Cabinet were announced with due solemnity at a meeting of Indian representatives all over East Asia at Sathay Cinema Buildings in Singapore.

A Proclamation was issued under the signature of Subhas Chandra Bose, as Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for War, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army on the occasion. After tracing the history of the Freedom Movement in India since British occupation, he said, it was incumbent upon Indians now to establish outside India a Provisional Government and "launch the last struggle under the aegis of Government" as this could not be done due to all the leaders being inside the jail. It concluded with a stirring appeal to the people in and outside India to rally round "in the name of GOD, in the name of by-gone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice" the banner of the Provisional Government and "strike for India's freedom." The time was ripe and could not brook any further delay.

Japan extended its recognition of the newly formed *Azad Hind Government* of India on October 23; the Provisional Government decided in a Cabinet meeting on the same day and War was declared on the United Kingdom and the United States of America at 12-15 a.m. on October 24, 1943.

Gradually Burma on October 24, Croatia on 27, Germany on 29, Chinese National Government on November 1, Manchukuo on the same day, Italy on 9, Thailand on 19, extended their recognition to *Azad Hind Government*.

The Greater East Asiatic Nations' Assembly opened its Session in Tokyo on November 5, 1943. Premier Tojo declared in the Assembly on November 7, Japan's decision to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Indians. After prolonged discussion about the future course of action Netaji left Tokyo on November 18, 1943, returning to Singapore on November 25.

Netaji visited the Andamans on December 29, 1943, where he was received by the Japanese Admiral at Port Blair and conferred with the C-in-C of the Japanese forces on the next day.

He then went round the historic Cellular Jail—the Bastille of India—when the wailing walls told him in silent voice the woes of the flesh of the prisoners under torture and the cool courage and undaunted spirit that braved the fury of the authorities like the ancient rocks lashed by the wind and the waves through ages.

On the next day the 30th, the National Flag was hoisted by Netaji on the liberated Indian soil, an act first of its kind in the history of British rule in India. All the formalities of regaining lost territory from the enemy were gone through. The National Anthem sung in chorus by almost whole of the assemblage heightened the solemnity of the occasion.

During the course of the day the National Flag was placed on the top of the British Chief Commissioner's residence in Ross Island. Netaji expressed the hope, amply fulfilled, that some day the same Flag would be waving on the Viceregal Lodge in New Delhi.

In a press interview in the first quarter of 1944, Netaji put great stress on the significance of regaining the Andamans by the Indians. Said he:

"By the acquisition of this territory, the Provisional Government has now become a national entity in fact as well as in name. The liberation of the Andamans has symbolic significance because the Andamans was always used by the British as a prison for political prisoners. . . . Like the Bastille in Paris, which was liberated first in the French Revolution, setting free political prisoners, the Andamans where our patriots suffered is the first to be liberated in India's fight for Independence. Part by part, Indian territory will be liberated but it is always the first plot of land that holds the most significance."

The Andamans was renamed as *Shaheed* in memory of the Martyrs and the Nicobars as *Swaraj*.

For the sake of convenience the headquarters of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was moved to Burma on January 7, 1944, with the principal Members of the Cabinet. The I. N. A. started its attack in the mountain regions of Arakan near the Indo-Burma border on February 4, 1944. Taung Bazar was

occupied on the same day; Saetabin in the Kaladan Sector on March 1, Kaladan itself on March 5. Fort White was reduced on March 8 and Lanacot on 12. The view of Indian soil was now in front of the conquering heroes from the Kennedy Peak which was occupied on March 18, 1944, and on the next day the Indian National Flag was planted on the Indian territory still in occupation of the British under the guise of the Government of India.

The administration of the Andamans and Nicobars was formally handed over to the Azad Hind Government on February 17, 1944.

Extensive thrusts were made inside India without break. Taungzan was occupied on March 20 and Ukrul on 21. Tiddim and Molon came under the conquering steps of the I. N. A. on March 22; Sangkak on 24, and Mores on 31. The progress was maintained also in April when Tammu and Kbau on the 1st and Hengtang on the 5th of April fell into their hands. Kohima had to surrender after stiff fighting on April 6. It was now easy to take Kangratonggi on 7, Moirang on 18, Paletwa and Teng-naupal on the 20th. The second arm of the *Indian National Army* crossed the Indo-Burma border from the South on the memorable day of May 7, 1944.

The official policy of Japan was made known by Tojo in the Japanese Diet on March 22, 1944, that

"it is natural that all areas over which Indian National Army marches within India must be placed completely under the administration of the Provisional Government."

Indians were asked over the radio on April 4, 1944, to render all help to the *Azad Hind Government* :

"the only lawful Government of India" which has "only one mission to fulfil. That mission is to expel the Anglo-American armies from the sacred soil of India by armed force and then to bring about the establishment of permanent National Government of Azad India, in accordance with the will of the Indian people."

Reminding his audience on July 4, 1944, that he had redeemed his pledge for the "Second Front" he now wanted them "to gird up their loins for the task that now lies ahead."

Continued he :

"We should have but one desire today—the desire to die so that India

may live—the desire to face a martyr's death, so that the path of freedom may be paved with the martyr's blood.

"Friends! My comrades in the War of Liberation! Today I demand of you one thing, above all. I demand of you blood. It is blood alone that can avenge the blood that the enemy has spilt. It is blood alone that can pay the price of freedom. Give me blood and I promise you Freedom."

A serious set-back now loomed large before the I.N.A. The monsoon in all its fury came over the ill-equipped and ill-sheltered soldiers. To add to the difficulties, the supply of the sinews of war to the forward bases suffered terribly due to lack of foresight, miserable arrangement and difficulty of the jungle terrain. There was general withdrawal of *Indian National Army* and Nippon forces from the Indo-Burma front on July 22, 1944.

After enumerating the reasons for the debacle, Netaji addressed his army on August 14, 1944, to take a lesson from the failure. He said:

"In the middle of March this year, advance units of the Azad Hind Fauj . . . crossed the Indo-Burma border and the fight for India's liberation thereupon commenced on Indian soil.

* * *

"all preparations had been completed and the stage had been set for the final assault on Imphal, when torrential rains overtook us and to carry Imphal by assault was rendered a tactical impossibility . . .

* * *

"May the souls of the heroes, who have fallen in the campaign, inspire us to nobler deeds of heroism and bravery in the next phase of India's liberation."

Faced with the debacle a War Council was formed on October 19, 1944. Netaji visited Tokyo on October 29, as a result of which diplomatic relations were established with Japan on November 26, 1944. It was accepted that the I.N.A. would not be subjected to the Japanese Military Code of Law and be free to act under strict I.N.A. discipline and punishment."

Last Phase

On the New Year's Day, 1945, Netaji addressed his comrades of the *Azad Hind Fauj* and after reminding them of their past achievements gave them a new slogan for the year in the following words:

"Comrades! Our immortal heroes have paid for India's liberty with their blood. We are proud of them. But we too must be ready for that supreme sacrifice. The *Azad Hind Fauj* can justify its name and fulfil its task—only if it is ready to fight and die to the last man. We have to give our blood and take the blood of our enemies. Therefore, your slogan, your battle cry for the year 1945, be . . . 'Blood, blood, blood'."

Netaji returned to Malaya on December 14, and rushed to Burma on January 12, 1945. He left Rangoon for the front on February 18, 1945. There was nothing now that could stave off the tide of disaster that had been coming down like a cataract on the I. N. A.

The news received on February 25, 1945, was simply alarming. There had been serious reverses almost on all fronts. When Netaji was prevented by his Generals from exposing himself to great personal risks he exclaimed that "England has not made a bomb that can kill me."

It was now time to bid adieu to his fighting units which he did on April 24, 1945, leaving a message coming out from the bottom of the heart:

"Brave Officers and Men of the Azad Hind Fauj,

It is with a heavy heart that I am leaving Burma—the scene of the many heroic battles that you have fought since February 1944, and are still fighting.

Comrades! At this critical hour I have only one word of command to give you, and that is that if you have to go down temporarily, then go down as heroes go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future generations of Indians who will be born, not as slaves but as free men, because of your colossal sacrifice will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that you, their forbears, fought and lost the battle of Manipur, Assam and Burma, but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory.

So far as I am concerned, I shall steadfastly adhere to the pledge that I took on the 21st October, 1943, to do all in my power to serve the interests of thirty-eight crores of my countrymen and fight for their liberation. I appeal to you, in conclusion, to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe like myself that the darkest hour always precedes the dawn. India shall be free—and before long.

Inquilab Zindabad! Jai Hind!"

Now everything seemed to be lost. The decision taken on February 27, 1945, to defend Pyinmana to the last did not materialise—the news of Japanese reverses pouring in from all

sectors. The last remnant of the fighting I. N. A. forces surrendered on May 13, 1945, at Pegu.

On the counsel of his advisers Netaji left Rangoon on April 24, and at the end of the week on May 3, 1945, Rangoon surrendered to the enemies.

His close association with Japan was assailed in India by a section of the people with whom the words of the propagandists of U.K. were sacrosanct. On June 25, 1945, he proclaimed to the world:

"I am not ashamed of taking the help of Nippon . . . on the basis Nippon recognised India's complete independence" and granted "formal recognition to the Provisional Government of the Azad Hind of Free India"

In explaining the constitution, status and character of the Indian National Army, Netaji continued:

"Nippon has given us the arms with which to organise an army, which is Indian from top to bottom. This army, the Azad Hind Fauj, has been trained by Indian instructors, using Indian language. This army carries India's National Flag and its slogans are India's National slogans. This army has its own Indian Officers and its own Officers' Training Schools, run entirely by Indians. And, in the field of battle, the army fights under its own Indian Commanders, some of whom have now reached the rank of General. If one talks of a puppet army, then it is the British Indian Army that should be called a puppet army, because it is fighting Britain's Imperialist War under British Officers."

Comparing with a parallel situation, Netaji justified his stand by saying:

"I am not ashamed to take the help of Nippon. I shall go further and say that if the once mighty British Empire can go round the world with the begging bowl and can go down on its knees in order to obtain help from the United States of America, there is no reason why we an enslaved and disarmed nation should not take help from our friends."

Asserted Netaji boldly that his action enjoys the stamp of approval of history. He would have been very glad if he could do without foreign help.

"But I have yet to find one single instance in modern history where an enslaved nation has achieved its liberation without foreign help of some sort. And for enslaved India, it is much more honourable to join hands with enemies of the British Empire than to curry favour with British leaders of political parties."

Netaji had limitless confidence in himself and retorted to his

calumniators, that he was wide awake to the accusations of double dealing by the Japanese. He had already thought out a protective armour and offered it to his comrades. Said he:

"Do you believe that I have brains enough not to be fooled by them? Then trust my word when I assure you that I am sure the Japs cannot double-cross us. They can only do that if we fail in raising a proper army of Indians to fight for our freedom. We shall have to be awake and alive, on our guard,—not only against the enemy, British Imperialism, against the imperialistically inclined Japanese bureaucrats, but also against Indians, in our ranks. With discipline, we must be ready for every sacrifice. Let each man be ready for work. Work—work—and work—that is your and my burden."

Netaji's next step was to reach Siam. He and his small retinue had to pass through indescribable privations and perils from enemy bombing. Through personal care and sharing the pains and sorrows of his fleeing comrades he assuaged the sting of their trouble to a large extent. The care that he used to bestow, denying himself any special privilege, on his humblest volunteer and co-worker in his younger days did not leave him and was seen at its best during the march at the sorest hour of travail. No work was too low for him and he would most gladly put a hand to the spoke of the wheel that had become bogged in slothful mire. If any medicine, which was rare at the time, which he and an unknown soldier needed at one and the same time, it must go to the relief of the latter. His comrades felt the joy of his companionship in the midst of utter miseries, despair and gloom.

By way of Moulmein Road, Netaji reached Bangkok on May 15. After having laid the foundation stone of the Memorial to the dead Martyrs at Singapore on July 8, he proceeded to Malaya coming back to Singapore on August 13, 1945.

The rest of the story of his life was as given out by the Government has not been universally accepted. It relates that on August 17, Netaji started in a plane from Bangkok and reached Touraine in French Cambodia the same evening. The next day he reached Taihoku in Formosa at about 2 p.m. In half-an-hour he emplaned for a destination of which nobody had any the least knowledge. The direction to the pilot, if there had been any, has not been disclosed. Before it had reached any great

height, the plane, a bomber, caught fire and crashed.. Nefaji was badly burnt. Over and above, he sustained serious injury in his head. He was removed to the nearby Japanese Military Hospital where he expired between 8 and 9 p.m. of the 18th of August 1945.

The contrary view is that he could have no idea of going to Formosa as he never had any occasion to go to the place in mind for help, shelter or anything else of the kind. It was part of an arrangement with the consent of Netaji to give a wrong version to the world about himself. He is still in hiding, and for reasons known only to himself.

If he is alive and free there is no power on earth that can keep him concealed or prevent him from coming out for the betterment of his countrymen. If he is in prison and prevented from doing anything for the outside world which is badly in need of his guidance, then the position is worse than death to him. Or, if he has been lured by his 'first love', the 'call of the Himalayas' and has decided to have nothing to do with the mundane world, then for the purpose of the common Indian mass struck down by the affliction of a raging tempest of unprincipled administration, NETAJI, the Idol of the Nation, is for all practical purposes, lost. It is not a matter of any moment to them whether he is living or dead.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE VICTIMS OF VENGEANCE

raison d'être

This section is most likely to give rise to controversy simply because its victims, emerging out of the opposite pole from which the martyrs came, were engaged in the sordid business of acting as traitors to their own country; and under the protective wings of the enemies of the land.

It has to be remembered in this connection that with each action the assailant exposed himself before the highest penalty of the law, and, if arrested, had to pass through all the engines of diabolical torture of inferno at the hands of the dismayed police smarting under a sense of the loss of an agent who had earned credit for his immediate employer, a police officer of some position.

The incidents present in bold relief the 'exploits' of those who toyed with their own lives to remove the poisonous thorns that retarded the march towards the goal.

In the context of the fight that had been going on between a foreign Government and the unrecognised 'army' of India at the time, it was absolutely certain that had not these stern measures been applied by the revolutionary party, there would have been legion of spies and informers, every weak-kneed fellow feeling tempted to work clandestinely and betray the best interests of the country. These foes in disguise could creep into the secrets of the revolutionary party and secure information which was not possible for the police who could be easily recognised.

Such killings injected new hope, new spirit of courage in the heart of the fighters for freedom and overawed the faint-

hearted greedy creatures from helping those whose one aim was to hold the country perpetually under their sway. These assassinations had their own peculiar value, which taken away from the the context of critical warfare may lose a good deal of its pristine colour. Spying is an age-old institution with every State, but a nation trying to assert itself and wrest the reins of Government from unwilling hands with the chances of secrets leaking out, had to resort to this effective method to prepare for sallies into enemy ranks and march forward from strength to strength till the goal was reached.

A few cases have been recorded here :

TURNCOAT'S REWARD

It seemed to be the first case known of disciplinary action being taken against party men who had betrayed the cause. *Sukumar Chakrabarti* was first arrested by the police for his close association with the *Anusilan Samity* for some time. To secure his release he made a statement implicating some of the leaders and disclosing some secrets of the organisation. Sukumar was released on bail and before long he was found missing and his whereabouts could not be traced. It subsequently transpired that to prevent further mischief, he was secretly assassinated on November 14, 1908, at Ramna, Dacca, and his body was disposed of in secret.

TREADING A RISKY PATH

In November 1908, *Keshab Chandra Dey* and *Annada Prasad Ghose*, once belonging to the revolutionary organisation, were killed in Dacca by their co-members of the *samiti* as their movements and contact with the police gave rise to grave suspicion in the minds of those interested in the welfare of their organisation and safety of its members.

FOR OTHER'S SINS

Revolutionary reprisals had some time exceeded the bounds of justification and in the early days when both the Government and the Indian militant nationalism were confronted face to face against each other, there had been a case which left a mark of sorrow even in the minds of those who had been responsible for the event.

A weak-kneed man when arrested in connection with a case of dacoity, made a statement before the District Magistrate of Faridpur implicating many persons including some absolutely innocent people. He also came to the rescue of the police in the Dacca Janmastami Stabbing Case and made himself a target of attack by the revolutionaries.

On June 4, 1909, the assailants went to the house of the accursed man and through mistake shot his brother *Preonath Chatterji*, a mere lad of 16 and a student of the Brajamohan College, Barisal. The real culprit, Preo's elder brother escaped.

FATE OF A HANDY WITNESS

The police found in *Manmohan Dey* a handy witness to depose in favour of the prosecution in both the Dacca Conspiracy and the Munshigunge Bomb Cases and his evidence had been going on very much against the accused persons.

It was thought expedient to prevent him from doing any further mischief and a very bold step was undertaken to kill him in his own house. On April 19, 1911, at about 11 p.m. when Manmohan had been sleeping in his room, some people called him by name from outside. Manmohan became naturally suspicious and did not open the door.

Thereupon three persons, who had come with hurricane lanterns, broke open the door with the help of an axe, rushed into Manmohan's room and shot him with a revolver in his bed in the presence of his wife and children. The victim received three shots, one bullet piercing him through his chest.

There was no trace of the culprits who could not be arrested.

ON SUSPICION

A young man was suspected of having supplied information about his leader who was later arrested.

Sukumar Chakrabarti, an inhabitant of Chandarphul, started from Dacca on February 11, 1912, to see the police chief next day, the 12th February. On the same day his dead body was found in an out-of-the-way place in a highly mutilated state.

DISCIPLINARY MURDER

Defection though looked upon with extreme disfavour was tolerated, but not treachery. *Sarada Chakrabarti* was a member of the revolutionary party at Feni, Noakhali, and it was deemed necessary to take action against him for his harmful activities. In June 1912, he was found murdered by unknown assailants. It was a gruesome murder, the head being severed from the body and thrown into a tank at a great distance to prevent identification. It was taken as a 'disciplinary murder' essential for '*samiti* reasons'.

'IMPORTED' ASSAILANTS

The Government started a series of conspiracy cases against the suspected revolutionaries or even persons displaying sympathy towards the political workers of advanced views. *Manmohan Ghose* was found a handy agent of the police for eliciting secret information about workers and helping the prosecution. As could be ascertained later he was murdered with the

help of local boys on December 11, 1913, by persons who had come all the way from Dacca to Barisal, the place of the incident.

The disappearance of Manmohan remained shrouded in mystery which was unravelled when an approver in a conspiracy case at Barisal disclosed the fact in course of his evidence.

IN HIS OWN TRAP

Several young men were arrested in a goldsmith's house in November 1912, for possessing revolvers and other implements generally used in dacoities. *Debendra Kumar Ghose* was one of the accused among the fourteen persons arrested. He was the son of a senior pleader in the local Munsiff's Court and was successfully influenced to make a confessional statement very much detrimental to the interests of the accused.

At about 7-30 p.m. on January 14, 1913, Debendra was passing through a quiet part of the town of Comilla when three or four men attacked him suddenly and a struggle ensued that was noticed by one of the passers-by from a safe distance. It was noticed that one of the assailants brought out a revolver from his waist cloth and shot Debendra dead on the spot and quietly disappeared.

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

The blow meant for a police informer fell on an innocent man for the simple reason of his keeping company with one who happened to be the target of the revolutionaries.

On June 19, 1914, *Satyendra Nath Sen* of Dhalghat, was shot dead on Sadar Ghat Road at about 8 p.m. The victim was returning to his house from a stroll with another person, an approver in the Dacca Conspiracy Case, and as such the *bête noire* of the revolutionary party. The approver, because of a guilty conscience, was always on the alert and heard sounds of distant footsteps. He turned and noticed a man aiming his revolver at him from the back. He ducked and escaped injury while Satyen was hit by the bullet and died instantaneously.

UNDER ORDERS OF THE MASTER

An unpretentious man of the very common type was suddenly found to become very active and trying to come quite close to the 'political' workers of Dacca. He was suspected to be completely under the influence of the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Basanta Kumar Chatterji.

In the heart of the Dacca town, *Ram Das* the informer, was shot dead on July 19, 1914, when he was walking over the Buckland Bund in the evening. The assailants, as in most other cases of the time, managed to escape without being arrested then or thereafter.

UNDISCLOSED ARRANGEMENT

Quite beyond the age of an average student *Srish Chandra Ray Chaudhuri* of Noakhali, was sent up at the age of 25 on January 9, 1915.

- * from the Raj Kumar Jubilee School for appearing at the Matriculation Examination. In the meantime he secured nomination for the River Police Sub-Inspectorship, may be for his meritorious services to the Government, and was to have joined the Training School after appearing at the Examination (which must have been deemed to be prerequisite for securing the job).

At about 6 a.m. quite early for a January morning of the 10th, Srish was called away by some persons, whose identity could not be established, and he was found dead at a place nearly half-a-mile away from his house.

Three loud reports occurring in quick succession at the early hours of the morning brought the local people to the place who found a man dead from bullet wounds at several places of his body. One bullet passed just behind the neck and two others pierced the right and left forearm, respectively. Portions of the wrapper and the coat of the deceased were singed by fire indicating that the shots were discharged from a very close range. No arrests were made.

UNWANTED VOCATION

The spirit of nationalism did not fail to influence the students of the Comilla Zilla School which happened to have as its Head Teacher, *Sarat Chandra Bose*, whose sense of loyalty militated with the views of his students and a section of the local public

Early in January 1915, a leaflet entitled, "Loyalty and Ambulance Corps", was sent to the teachers and students of the School which in the opinion of the Head Master was highly seditious. He did not rest there but informed the police about the document and reported against two students in particular as having had to do something with the circulation of the leaflet.

Sarat was returning to his house at about 6 p.m. on March 3, 1915, when he was shot dead by three persons coming on cycles on the public road on the north bank of *Nanui Dighi* and in front of Yusuf School. His servant also received gunshot wounds from the effects of which he eventually died.

FOR HIS SON'S SINS

A boy of sixteen had been cited as a witness in a case of political robbery committed on August 2, 1915, at Agarpara. He was warned on the score of danger that might befall him for his action.

On August 26, 1915, a well-dressed young man came to the house of the boy at Agarpara at about 10 at night and called *Murari Mohan Mitra*, the father of the lad, asking him to come outside for some urgent business. The gentleman came with a child on his arms and the stranger forthwith shot Murari for nearly half a dozen times. Murari fell dead on the spot. The child was also hit though not seriously.

The assailant ran towards the Barrackpore Trunk Road where a motor car and a couple of friends had been waiting for him. When the party

was on the point of starting two constables who happened to be on the spot * tried to stop them. The policemen in their turn were shot and left wounded on the road. Nobody could be arrested.

FRIENDS NOT SPARED

Comrades with a record of service and suffering were not spared when it became manifest that they had been working against the party's interests.

A young man of 25, once convicted in the Bajitpur Dacoity Case and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment, was shot dead on November 16, 1915, at about 7 p.m. on the Banglabazar Road at its junction with Pratap Chandra Lane. *Basantu Kumar Bhattacharya* received four revolver shots, one penetrating the left nipple and another piercing the back under the right shoulder.

The victim was a probationer in a local steamer company. It was suspected that forgetting his past history of suffering, he found it more profitable to enjoy the confidence of the police than his erstwhile colleagues.

A RENEGADE'S FATE

While attention towards policemen for reprisal was not relaxed, their agents were also having at this period a very bad time at the hands of the 'soldiers of freedom'. Of all the districts of Bengal, Mymensingh acquired a fame in this respect particularly in the early years of World War I.

A young man *Dhirendra* (Debendra) *Nath Biswas*, in the first flush of youth and without proper training joined the Bajitpur Group and subsequently lapsed into his inherent nature of going over to the police and acting as a spy and or informer. On December 19, 1915, he was assassinated at Saserdighi in Mymensingh by unknown assailants. Like so many other cases of the time no clue could be secured of the culprits.

COMMON FATE

It came to the knowledge of the leaders of the revolutionary party at Mymensingh that *Sasi* (Sarasi) *Chakrabarti* had been playing a double role and it was necessary to deprive the Government of the valuable help it had been receiving through him. Some workers were ordered to kill him at the first opportunity and this was done on January 19, 1916, at Bajitpur in the Mymensingh District.

THE SECOND HEAD MASTER

A teacher went out of his way and began to take a little more interest in the political views and activities of his students than in their studies and unfortunately had to pay the penalty for his indiscretion with death.

Nabin Chandra Basu, the Head Master of the Maldah Zilla School, became very unpopular with the local revolutionaries by giving assistance to Government in the suppression of patriotic sentiments of his pupils.

He first joined his services as Head Master of Jamalpur, a Government-aided High English School. In 1910, he gave evidence in the Dacca Conspiracy Case in which several young men were sent to prison. In 1911, he was a prominent witness against one of his own students charged with bad-livelihood, a handy section in the Criminal Procedure Code where no specific offence could be alleged. On July 15, 1911, the town of Jamalpur was placarded with posters abusing him. He was transferred and reached Malda on May 5, 1912. Here he intercepted a seditious literature addressed to the students and teachers of the Institution and handed it over to the Superintendent of Police.

On January 28, 1916, Nabin along with an assistant teacher went out for a walk and while returning they parted near the bungalow of the Superintendent of Police. He did not return home in time and his relations became very nervous. On a search, his body was found near the Guru Training College between 6-30 and 7 p.m. He was stabbed at several places on his body and death was attributed to serious loss of blood.

One boy was arrested in this connection and in a trial that followed he was sentenced to transportation for life.

TRUNK MURDER

A man, Upen Ghose by name, earned a very bad reputation as a police informer amongst the members of a secret organisation. It transpired, that Upen *alias* *Debabrata Brahmachari*, was murdered on August 10, 1916, in a garden at Sinthee, and as the *post mortem* examination revealed, by throttling. His body was put inside a trunk and left in a railway carriage. While waiting at Bandel Station the trunk, unclaimed, was taken charge of by the police. It was long before his identity could be established beyond doubt. The three accused in the case were acquitted after a prolonged trial.

ROYALIST OUTBURST

During 1930-32 systematic acts of violence particularly against the Europeans and their henchmen became very frequent. One incident has been singled out just to show how the Royalists, composed predominantly of Europeans residing in Bengal, reacted to these acts demanding drastic steps against the miscreants.

The incident took place in Calcutta on October 29, 1931, when a young man in trousers and *fez* entered the office chamber of the head of a mercantile firm who happened also to be the President of the local European Association.

Three shots were fired, two missed the target and the third hit the back of the victim. The assailant was overpowered and handed over to the police.

On the very next day leaflets were circulated to all Europeans and their supporters, to the newspaper owners and editors, bearing the following

words which displayed the great nervousness that had overwhelmed the redoubtable ruling race of the Indian Empire:

Congress
TERRORISM
must be
Crushed
- - - - -
BENGAL OUTRAGES :
- - - - -
MURDERED !!
Lowman
Simpson
Peddie •
Mukherjee
Garlick
Ashanulla
- - - - -
WOUNDED !
Hodson
Nelson
Cassels
- - - - -
DONOVAN sent home for
SAFETY
- - - - -
- - - - -
- - - - -
Yesterday Durno
This Morning Villiers
WE WANT ACTION
ROYALISTS

Printed for the Royalists by W. H. Armour, Ganges Printing Co. Ltd., Sibpur, Howrah.

SUSPECT'S FATE

One-time known as a Congress 'Dictator', *Sisupal Datta* acquired a very bad name as a police informer in the circle of underground workers. He was warned on three or four successive occasions through letters to the effect that as he was a police spy, he should be prepared for his end. Sisupal did not seem to have taken any serious notice of the threats.

He was sleeping in his house in Salpa Bahirdia, Khulna, on October 17, 1932, when he was shot by an unknown assassin resulting in his instantaneous death. The bullet pierced his body near the collar bone and came out at below the armpit. He was also hurt in one of his legs.

ROUGH AND READY JUSTICE

A veritable nuisance to the members of a secret organisation in Comilla, a police informer *Abdul Khalek Pathan alias* Mali, of Sarail, was singled out for speedy revenge.

On November 20, 1932, Khalek was returning from a *jatra* performance at Kalaikatchha at night when he was shot at the left side of his chest with a revolver by an unknown assailant who was accompanied by five or six other persons.

Khalek had not sufficient strength to relate the incident, not even to say whether he had recognised any of the assassins. He died a few hours later.

NONE TO ESCAPE

When a young boy of 20 was induced to tender evidence in the Manicktola Dacoity Case, he did not suspect that he had thus been exposing himself to danger of his life.

While returning from the press, where he worked for his livelihood, on December 30, 1932, at about midnight, *Ashutosh Neogi* was followed by the assassin from the head of the lane leading to his house.

As soon as he stood on the ledge of his residence and called out at the door for opening it, somebody fired a shot at him hitting him in his temple. He raised an alarm and fell to the ground. When the inmates of the house reached the place, life of the victim was extinct.

ALONG THE TRACK

A Naraingunge message dated November 8, 1934, stated that an informer, *Hirendra Nath Guha*, was murdered by some unknown men. Usual arrests of some suspects followed who were discharged by the enquiring Magistrate for want of evidence.

IN PEACOCK FEATHER

With a view to allow better facilities for their work, spies and informers were sometimes given the colouring of political suspects who maintained a show of labouring under the same restrictions as a genuine stuff.

The movements of some young men in an area of Dacca were restricted under the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act by an order of February 24, 1935.

Another man, *Hiralal Chakrabarti*, of the same locality and belonging to the same political party, was, for all practical purposes, accepted as a political suspect. He had to report himself to the Sutrapur P.S. and the District Intelligence Office every Wednesday ostensibly for reporting himself to the police, but really for secret purposes.

The crow of Hiralal under adornment of peacock feather did not take long to fall off, and it was decided by the revolutionary party members to put a permanent stop to his nefarious double game.

Hiralal gave his *hasira* as usual at the thana and he was, as in duty bound, going to the I. B. Office, which was about two miles from the thana for communicating the result of his watch during the week.

It was 1 p.m. on July 3, 1935. Hiralal was decoyed to the Company *bagicha* where he was stabbed by two persons who were recognised as political suspects under restriction and happened to be his friends. Hiralal died at six in the same evening in the hospital.

The suspects were arrested and put on trial before a Special Tribunal which sentenced both the accused to death on September 10, 1935, with the remark that it was found on evidence that the deceased had been acting as a spy and the murder of a spy who was giving information to the police in political matters was just as much an act striking at the organisation of an ordered Government as the murder, say, of a high Official.

One of the accused, a boy of only 18, deserving a lesser sentence for his tender age, was also awarded the highest penalty as "he was a desperate terrorist."

The High Court heard the appeal on November 27, and on December 12, 1935, passed its judgment reducing the sentence to one of transportation for life for both.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE GILDED SHACKLES

'Spirit' and the Law

The laws governing India from the early days of the British rule were framed with an eye to perpetual domination over a disgruntled people, some of whom had fought the Moghuls successfully and preserved their independent status while carrying on an unrelenting struggle from generation to generation.

There was a constant apprehension of sporadic outbreaks, and instances were not lacking, challenging the claim of the foreigners coming under the cloak of traders to hold their sway over an ancient people who had managed their own affairs, with vicissitudes of fortune no doubt, from a time which recorded history has failed to explore.

With the passage of time the natural urge for better treatment, equal status, a share in the governance of the country and ultimately a craving for self-rule, was bound to make its appearance and the far-seeing British statesmen brought every bit of their ingenuity into full play to put the axe at the root of all sentiments of love for the Motherland. With the rising tide of nationalism more rigorous laws, like showers in the monsoon, were enacted combined with the issue of emergency ukases which sadly betrayed the relics of an age that was wrongly believed to have gone into desuetude.

Some of the Regulations that originated with the idea of terrorising the people in the early days proved their efficacy by frequent applications with greater ferocity against those who wanted to speak on behalf of the people and in the the best interests of the natives of the soil. It was in the fitness

of things that the foreigners attempted to hoodwink the civilized world by presenting a mask that theirs was a "Government established by law" in British India.

A study of the trend of legislation affecting the revolutionary activities of a section of the Indian population is highly interesting to a student of history of India. It reveals the inception, growth and eruption of a robust national sentiment in its various phases. Broadly divided, the Bengal anti-Partition Movement (1907-1910), the Punjab disorders (1910)—fruitful for promulgation of Martial Law Ordinances, the post Non-Co-Operation period (1924-1926), and the stage of widespread violent outbursts particularly in Punjab and Bengal (1930-1935), spurred the Government to experiment with different measures of unparalleled harshness interspersed with grudging Constitutional Reforms, to check, if not paralyse the rising tempo of the armed revolution in India.

The Acts and Ordinances hurriedly promulgated reveal the nervousness that the Government of India had been overtaken by. Like a drowning man they wanted to save themselves by catching at the straw of legislation in a violent whirlpool which had steadily been sucking them down to the bottom. Battered and exhausted completely in the raging fury of the tempest, at long last, the Britishers shrewdly planned a subtle device for peaceful withdrawal from the land, the diadem of His Majesty, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland, and of British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India.

Thus an Empire gained at the point of the sword was liquidated by the process of law, here in the home of the Indians, and there in the distant island home of the Rulers of India.

The Regulations and Laws introduced for the purpose, are:

Regulation X of 1804

(December 12, 1804)

Under the Regulation the Governor General-in-Council (s. 2) ... ordering the existence of rebellion is empowered to suspend or to direct any public authority or officer to suspend the functions of the ordinary Criminal Courts of Judicature ... and to establish Martial Law (in any city, district or any other place);

and to direct the immediate trial by courts-martial of all

persons owing allegiance to the British Government, but have acted in violation of the obligations of such allegiance or involved in waging war, helping enemy during open rebellion, etc.

The Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, III of 1818

(April 7, 1818)

The preamble runs 'whereas reasons of State, embracing due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection and the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and from internal commotion occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceeding, or when such proceeding may not be adapted to the nature of the case, or for other reasons be unadvisable or improper the Government of India can place an individual under personal restraint, without any view to ulterior proceedings of a judicial nature.

Similar Regulations are the *Madras State Prisoners Regulation, II of 1819*;

Bombay Regulation, XXV of 1827

State Prisoners Act of 1850

State Prisoners Act, III of 1858.

Indian Penal Code—Act XLV of 1860

The Indian Penal Code or the Law of Crimes was passed into law on October 6, 1860, and came into force on January 1, 1962.

Not only a specific criminal act but also an intention to commit an offence is liable to punishment.

There is a whole Chapter on offences against the State and other sections specifically dealing with feelings of enmity or hatred against it.

The person committing an offence is guilty; but whoever abets (s. 109) any offence, i.e., (i) instigates any person to do a thing, (ii) engages with one or more other persons in any conspiracy, and (iii) intentionally aids, by any act, or illegal omission, the doing of that thing, is punishable to the same extent as has been provided for the offence itself.

Further, whoever conceals a design to commit an offence (s. 118); a public servant concealing design to commit offence which is his duty to prevent (s. 110); are abettors and liable to be punished as if the offence itself had been committed.

Criminal conspiracy (s. 120-A) was introduced into the Code by Act VIII of 1913. Conspiracy is a substantive offence and it is quite distinct from abetment. Here it is not necessary to commit an offence or that any offence had actually been committed; it is the mere intention, i.e., when two or more persons agree to do an act which is not illegal by itself by illegal means (s. 120-A) is guilty of a crime.

In addition, whoever is a party to a criminal conspiracy (s. 120-B) is to be punished to the same degree as the offence, such as death, transportation for life, etc.

There is a whole Chapter (VI) of offences against the State.

Waging war, attempting to wage war, or abetting waging war against the Government are punishable with death or various terms of imprisonment.

Conspiracy to commit offences punishable under the foregoing section is equally a criminal offence (s. 121-A).

Collection of men, arms or ammunition or otherwise preparation to wage war with the intention of either waging or being prepared to wage war (s. 122); concealing with intent to facilitate design to wage war (s. 123); assaulting the Governor General or Governors, etc., with intent to compel or restrain the exercise of any lawful power (s. 124) are offences against the State.

Forceful articles in the *Kal* and *Kesari* served as handle to the Government to introduce s. 124-A in the I.P.C. in 1898.

The section (s. 124-A) enjoins that whoever by words either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt or attempts excites or attempts to exercise disaffection towards the Government is liable to be punished with imprisonment for life or any lesser term and or with fine.

Any effort for committing depredation, or making preparations for the same, on the territories of any Power in alliance or at peace with the Government of India (s. 126) is liable to punishment with imprisonment for seven years.

The servants of the Government voluntarily allowing a State

prisoner or a prisoner of war to escape (s. 128) are to be punished with imprisonment for life. A case of negligence (not voluntary) or aiding escape or harbouring a fugitive is an offence against the State.

Besides, the Army Act VIII of 1911, CHAPTER VII, provides for heavy punishment for a person who "not being himself subject to military law, exhorts or assists those who are subject to such law to commit gross breaches of discipline".

Abetting mutiny or attempting to seduce a soldier, sailor or airman from his duty (s. 131); abetment of assault (s. 133); of desertion (s. 135); harbouring deserter (s. 136) or concealing him on board a merchant vessel (s. 137); abetment of an act of insubordination (s. 138); wearing garb or carrying token used in the Army, etc., (s. 140) carry heavy penalty.

There is severe punishment for offences against public tranquillity (CHAPTER VIII).

To happen to be a member of an unlawful assembly (s. 142); joining unlawful assembly armed with deadly weapon (s. 144); joining or continuing in such an assembly knowing it to have been commanded to disperse (s. 145), are penal acts and entail heavy punishment.

'Harbouring an offender' is severely punishable (s. 212). In Act VIII, 1942 (repealed by Act II, 1948) 'harbour' includes the supplying a person with shelter, food, drink, money, clothes, arms, ammunition or means of communication.

Harbouring an offender who has escaped from custody and whose apprehension has been ordered (s. 216) is punishable with imprisonment ranging between seven and three years with or without fine.

Most of the patriots were executed under a charge of murder (s. 300) to be met (s. 302) with death or a lesser punishment according to the circumstances of the event.

Robbery (s. 390); Dacoity (s. 391); Dacoity with murder (s. 396), attempt to commit Robbery, and or Dacoity when armed with deadly weapon (s. 398); making preparation to commit Dacoity (s. 399); are offences entailing heaviest punishment.

An attempt to commit an offence (Chapter XXIII—Attempts to commit offences, s. 511) punishable with transportation or imprisonment or cause such an offence to be committed, and in

such attempt does any act towards the commission of the offence, be punished with transportation or imprisonment or fine provided for the offence.

Some sections of the Indian Penal Code which were used to be frequently listed in the Schedule of Offences and were to be tried by Tribunal of Commissioners or Special Magistrates are the following, *viz.*,

Chapter XVI—Offences of Hurt. (ss. 326-7, 329, 332-3);
of Kidnapping (ss. 363-5, 368).

Chapter XVII—Offences of Extortion (ss. 385-7).
Robbery (ss. 390-4); Dacoity (ss. 395-402).
Mischief (ss. 431, 435-8, 440).

Criminal Trespass (ss. 454-5, 457-60).

Chapter XXII—Criminal Intimidation (s. 506).

The Press and Registration of Books Act, XXV of 1867

(March 22, 1867)

Enacted for the regulation of printing-presses and newspapers, for the preservation of copies of books printed in British India, and for the registration of such books. 'Books' mean "every volume, part or division of a volume, and pamphlet, in any language and every sheet of music, map, chart or plan separately printed or lithographed."

All particulars are to be printed on books and papers (s. 3); keeper of printing presses are to make a declaration (s. 4). It was compulsory that copies of books should be delivered *gratis* to the Government (s. 9).

Dramatic Performances Act, XIX of 1876

(December 16, 1876)

An Act for "better control of public dramatic performances which are . . . seditious . . ."

Whenever (s. 3) executive authority is of the opinion that any play, pantomime, or other drama performed or about to be performed in a public place is likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government it may by order prohibit the performance.

When such an order is passed whoever (s. 5) takes part in

the performance, assists in any manner in conducting such a performance, being the owner or occupier of the house, room, place, opens, keeps or uses the same for any such performance or permits the same to be opened, kept or used for any such performance shall be punishable with imprisonment or fine or with both.

Any officer authorised in this behalf may call for (s. 7) for all information for ascertaining the character of the performance of the place where it is to be performed.

Every person so asked shall be bound to furnish the same to the best of his ability, failing which he is liable to punishment (s. 176 I.P.C.) for omission to give notice or information to public servants by persons legally bound to do it.

The Magistrate is competent to grant warrant (s. 8) to Police to enter and arrest and seize whoever or whatever is concerned with the performance. A dramatic performance in any (declared) area except under a valid licence (s. 10), is prohibited.

The Sea Customs Act, VIII of 1878

(March 8, 1878) -

The Government may prohibit or restrict importation or exportation of goods by sea or by land (s. 19).

By an Act, (IV) of 1889, s. 19-A was inserted to effect detention and confiscation of goods whose importation is prohibited.

The Indian Arms Act, XI of 1878

(October 1, 1878)

Under the provisions of this Act, Arms include (s. 4) any or all of the following, viz.,

Fire arms, bayonets, swords, daggers, spears, spear-heads and bows and arrows, also cannon and parts or arms and machinery for manufacturing arms.

By judgment of the Courts, a "sharp knife with a tapering edge, sword sticks, parts of arms, serviceable or not, etc., come under the category of 'arms'.

The term 'ammunition' includes (s. 4) : all articles specially designed for torpedo service and submarine mining, rockets, gun-cotton, dynamite, etc., etc.

The law enjoins (s. 5) that no person shall manufacture, convert or sell, keep, offer or expose for sale, any arms, ammunition or military stores, except under a licence and in the manner and to the extent permitted thereby. It prohibits (s. 6) persons from bringing, taking by sea or by land or out of British India any arms, ammunition or military stores except under a valid licence.

No person shall go armed with any arms (s. 13); shall have in his possession or control any cannon or fire-arms (s. 14); possess any arms of any description (s. 15).

Any contravention of the provisions aforesaid (s. 19) involves a punishment of imprisonment for a term of three years and or fine. (The punishment was enhanced by Act VII, 1934).

The Code of Criminal Procedure Act, V of 1898

(March 22, 1898)

Persons may be arrested without warrant (s. 54).

Part IV deals with Prevention of Offences; of which CHAPTER VIII adopts measure of security for keeping the peace and for good behaviour (ss. 106-119).

Security may be demanded for keeping the peace on conviction (s. 106); the Magistrate may require any person who is likely to commit a breach of the peace, or disturb public tranquillity, or do any wrongful act may ask the suspect to execute a bond for good behaviour; issue warrant of arrest [s. 107(3)]; demand security for good behaviour from persons disseminating seditious matter (s. 108); from suspected persons having no ostensible means of livelihood (s. 109); from habitual offenders (s. 110). Provisions relating to maintenance of peace and order (s. 144-5).

Under Chapter IX Unlawful Assemblies are to disperse on the order of the District Magistrate or a Police Officer (s. 127). Civil and military force are to be applied (ss. 128, 129) if order is disobeyed. Power is taken to commission the military to disperse assembly (s. 131).

Chapter XIII (ss. 149-153) deals with the preventive action of the police.

The Indian Post Office Act, VI of 1898

(March 22, 1898)

The Post Office may detain or seize [s. 27B(1)] any postal article in transmission which he suspects to contain any newspaper or book, any document containing any seditious matter and shall deliver the same articles to the police.

Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, VI of 1907

(November 1, 1907)

The Act was brought into being to make better provision for prevention of public meetings likely to promote sedition or to cause disturbance of public tranquillity.

Notwithstanding that a meeting is held in a private place and admission controlled by tickets [s. 3(2)] and it is attended by more than twenty persons [s. 3(3)] are to be treated as 'public meetings'. Any police officer is to be allowed access [s. 4(2)] to it. The Magistrate is empowered (s. 5) to prohibit holding of any meeting. The speaker is liable to be arrested (s. 7) without any warrant.

This Act (VI) repealed the Regulation of Meetings Ordinance No. I of 1907.

Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, VII of 1908

(June 8, 1908)

The Act provides for prevention of incitements to murder and to other offences in newspapers.

Under the Act [s. 3(1)] all copies of offending newspapers are to be confiscated, and printing presses are liable to be attached *ex parte* [s. 3(3)].

Under s. 4(1) the police is empowered to seize, detain or carry away property ordered to be forfeited.

The declaration by a Printer made under the Press and Registration of Books (Act XXV of 1867) may be annulled under s. 7.

Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, XIV of 1908

(December 12, 1908)

It is enacted for the more speedy trial of certain offences (enumerated in the following Schedule), and for the prohibition of associations dangerous to the public peace.

Under s. 2 (4) steps may be taken to affect the proceedings of the Court and inquiries are to be conducted *ex parte*.

Part II deals with Unlawful Associations, a combination or body of persons [s. 15(1)]. Any association (s. 16) interfering with the maintenance of law and order or constituting danger to public peace, is to be declared 'unlawful' by a notification to that effect. Any one assisting in the management or promotion of an unlawful association is to be sentenced to a term of three years' imprisonment and or fine [s. 17(2)].

Under s. 3 of the Act:

SCHEDULE

Of the Indian Penal Code

Chapter VI—ss. 121, 121-A, 122, 123, 134

Chapter VII—131, 132.

Chapter VIII—148.

Chapter XVI—302, 304, 307, 308, 326, 327, 329, 332, 333, 363, 364, 365, 368.

Chapter XVII—385, 386, 387, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 431, 435, 436, 437, 438, 440, 454, 455, 457, 458, 459, 460.

Chapter XXII—506.

Offences under the Explosive Substances Act.

Any attempt to commit or abetment of above offences.

The Indian Press Act, I of 1910

(February 9, 1910)

Enacted to provide for the better control of the Press.

Under s. 2 the following comes under the purview of the Act:

Book, document (painting, drawing, photograph or any visible representation), newspaper (containing news and com-

ments thereon), printing press (engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, implements, utensils).

The keepers of the press acting prejudicially are to deposit security (s. 3). Power is taken to forfeit security [s. 4(1)]. Further security is to be demanded (s. 5) and still further security, printing press and publications are to be forfeited (s. 6). Search warrants may be issued under [s. 7(1)]. Publishers of newspapers are to deposit security [s. 8(1)]; such security is to be forfeited [s. 9(1)] and the offence continuing demand for further security is to be made (s. 10); the newspapers together with security are to be forfeited (s. 11); certain Publications are to be forfeited and search warrants are to be issued [s. 12(1)]. Any packages coming in or going out are to be detained (s. 13) on suspicion, and no package or paper are to be carried by post (s. 14); and these could be held (s. 15) without assigning any reason.

All copies of newspapers, etc. are to be delivered to the Government *gratis* (s. 16).

Army Act, VIII of 1911

(March 16, 1911)

When a unit of the Army begins, excites, causes or conspires to cause or joins in mutiny [s. 27(a)]; being present....does not use his utmost to suppress the same (b); having reason to believe in the existence, intention to conspiracy against the State does not without delay give information thereof to his Commanding or other superior officer (c); or commits an assault on his superior officer (d); disobeys lawful command (e) may be sentenced to death by Courts Martial.

Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, X of 1911

(March 22, 1911)

The object is to consolidate and amend the law relating to the prevention of public meetings likely to promote sedition or cause a disturbance of public tranquillity.

The whole or any part of a Province may be declared a proclaimed area (s. 2). Meetings are banned [s. 4(1)] in a proclaimed area unless written notice of the intention to hold such meetings [s. 4(1)(a)], unless permission has been obtained in

writing from the District Magistrate (b). Any reporter on behalf of the police is to be allowed access to the meeting [s. 4(2)]. Public meetings may be prohibited (s. 5), and under CHAPTER VIII of I.P.C. and Ch. IX of the Criminal Procedure Code of 1898 any meeting can be declared unlawful.

The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1907, and the continuing Act, 1910, were hereby repealed.

Naval or Military News (Emergency) Ordinance, I of 1914

(August 7, 1914)

Promulgated for the control of publication of naval or military news (s. 1). It is not lawful to publish any information with reference to movements of military personnel. It affects the publisher, editor and printer of any newspaper, magazine, book, pamphlet or other document.

The Police is empowered to seize documents (s. 5); the Magistrate may confiscate all papers (s. 6); to issue search warrants (s. 7); the Police officer may search any place, seize and detain any documents (s. 8).

Foreigners Ordinance, III of 1914

(August 20, 1914)

Promulgated to provide for the exercise of more effective control over foreigners in British India. Householder is to report residence of any foreigner (s. 5).

Ingress into India Ordinance, V of 1914

(September 5, 1914)

To provide for the control of persons entering British India, whether by sea or by land, in order to protect the State from danger of anything prejudicial to its safety, interests or tranquillity. It is to form a part of and construed with the Foreigners Ordinance, 1914.

The Emergency Powers (Continuing) Ordinance, I of 1915

(January 12, 1915)

To continue in force the provisions of the Indian Naval and Military News (Emergency) Ordinance (I of 1914); the

Foreigners' Ordinance (III of 1914); the Ingress into India Ordinance (V of 1914); the Foreigners' (Amendment) Ordinance (VIII of 1914); the Foreigners' (Further Amendment) Ordinance (VIII of 1914).

The Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment)

Act, IV of 1915

(March 19, 1915)

To provide for measures to secure the public safety and the defence of British India and for the more speedy trial of certain offences.

The Act is to remain in force [s. 1(4)] during the continuation of the war and for a period of six months thereafter.

The main object is to prevent persons communicating with the enemy or obtaining information which may be used for that purpose [s. 2(a)]; to secure safety of His Majesty's forces. . . . to prevent prosecution of any purpose likely to jeopardise the success of the operation of H.M.'s forces [s. 2(b)]; to prevent the spread of false reports or reports likely to cause disaffection or alarm or to prejudice H.M.'s relations with Foreign Powers or to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of H.M.'s subjects [s. 2(c)]; to secure safety of railways, ports, dockyards, telegraphs, post offices, etc., etc. [s. 2(d)]; to take possession of any property, movable or immovable [s. 2(e)]; direct person not to enter, reside or remain in any specified area [s. 2(f)]; prohibit or regulate the possession of explosives, inflammable substances, arms and all other munitions of war [s. 2(g)]; prohibit anything likely to prejudice the training or discipline of H. M.'s forces and to prevent any attempt to tamper with the loyalty of persons in the service of H.M. or dissuade persons from entering the military or police service [s. 2(h)]; enter or search any place. . . . suspected to be used for any purpose prejudicial to public safety or to the defence of British India. . . . to seize anything found there. . . . that is likely to be used for any such purpose [s. 2(i)]; arrest any person contravening or has any reasonable doubts of contravening [s. 2(j)]; prevent assistance being given to the enemy or doing anything against successful prosecution of the war [s. 2(l)]; to be punished

with seven years' imprisonment; or if the intention of the person so contravening is to assist H.M.'s enemies or to wage war against the King, with death.

Trial is to be held by Tribunals of Commissioners (s. 3); which may pass any sentence under the law (including death) to be accepted as final and conclusive [s. 6(1)].

The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, XI of 1919
(The Rowlatt Act)
(March 21, 1919)

The legislation is to continue in force [s. 1(3)] for three years from the date of termination of the present war (World War I). It enjoins prohibition or restriction on publication of reports of trial (s. 11); accused may be convicted of any offence (s. 15) mentioned in Schedule (vide p. 618); may be awarded any sentence authorised by the law and no order of confirmation is necessary (s. 16); and the judgment is to be conclusive and excluded interference by any other Court including the High Court (s. 17).

In PART II (s. 21) the Governor General being satisfied that there is presence of any anarchical or revolutionary movement or chances of promotion of such acts as enumerated in the Schedule (p. 618) may declare any area to come under the provisions of the Act. Severe restrictions, such as execution of a bond with or without surety [s. 22(a)]; to notify any change of residence (b); remaining and residing in a particular area (c); refraining from any act calculated to disturb public peace or prejudicial to public safety (d); reporting himself to the police station, are to be imposed.

The orders are to be enforced for compliance by all means (s. 24); to secure attendance or production of any document or thing before an investigating officer (s. 26).

Under PART III any person may be arrested without warrant [s. 34 (1)(a)]; confined in place under such conditions or restrictions as are enjoined (b); the police is empowered to search any place (c); and arrest any suspect at any place.

Martial Law Ordinances of 1919

Ordinance I—proclaimed on April 14, 1919—Expired.

Ordinance II—The Martial Law (Extension) Ordinance, April 16, 1919—Expired.

Ordinance III—The Martial Law (Sentences) Ordinance, April 18, 1919—Expired.

Ordinance IV—The Martial Law (Further Extension) Ordinance, April 21, 1919—Expired.

Ordinance VI—The Martial Law Trials (Continuance) Ordinance, May 27, 1919.

Indian Arms (Amendment) Act, XX of 1919

(September 24, 1919)

Under (s. 2) orders may be passed for depositing arms at Police Stations or with licensed dealers.

Act V of 1922

(February 22, 1922)

For repealing certain provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, relating to the Schedule of offences enumerated therein.

Press Law Repeal and Amendment Act, XIV of 1922

(March 29, 1922)

To repeal Indian Press Act, 1910, the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908, and to make provisions in regard to the liability of editors of newspapers, and to facilitate the registration of printers and publishers, and to provide for the seizure and disposal of offensive documents.

The Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act, 1922

(April 28, 1922)

Whoever edits, prints or publishes or is the author of any book, newspaper or other document which brings or is intended to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or is intended to excite disaffection towards any Prince or Chief of State in India (s. 3) is liable to imprisonment up to five years; (s. 4) empowers

Government to forfeit any publication containing matter in respect of which a person is punishable under s. 3 above.

The Police (Incitement to Disaffection) Act, 1922

Whoever intentionally causes or attempts to cause disaffection towards His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India amongst the members of the police-force, or induces or attempts to induce, or does any act which he knows is likely to induce, any member of the police-force to withhold his services or to commit a breach of discipline is to be punished with imprisonment.

Official Secrets Act, XIX of 1923

(April 2, 1923)

The first Official Secrets Act (XV) was enacted for India in 1889. It was followed by the Indian Official Secrets (Amendment) Act V of 1904, and one Statute of Parliament, viz., the Official Secrets Acts, 1911.

Statute of 1911, dealt with (i) espionage, in obtaining secret information, (ii) breach of official trust by persons in the service of the State.

Combining the results of the two legislations, Act of 1904 and of 1911, the Act (XIX) of 1923 was put on the legislative anvil and passed into law on April 2, 1923.

If any person for any purpose prejudicial to the safety and interest of the State [s 3(1)]; approaches, inspects, passes over or is in the vicinity of, or enters, any prohibited place (a); makes any sketch, plan, model, or note which is calculated to be or might be or is intended to be, useful to an enemy (b); obtains, collects, records or publishes or communicates to any other person any secret or official code or pass word, or any sketch, plan, model, article or note or other document to be useful to the enemy (c); is liable to punishment from three to fourteen years.

Communication with foreign agents (s. 4); wrongful communication, etc., of information (s. 5); unauthorised use of uniforms, falsification of reports, etc., (s. 6); interfering with officers of the police or members of the army, are all punishable heavily under the code.

Under (s. 8) it shall be the duty of every person of giving information as to commission of offences.

Any person who attempts to commit or abets the commission of an offence (s. 9) under this act, or

if any person knowingly harbours any person whom he knows or has reasonable grounds for supposing to be a person who is about to commit or has committed an offence (s. 10),

a Magistrate may grant search warrants [s. 11(1)], if in his opinion there is reasonable ground for suspecting that an offence under this Act has been or is about to be committed.

Power is granted to the police to arrest any person on the suspicion that a person is likely to commit a grave offence under this Act (s. 12).

The Bengal Criminal Law Act, 1925

(March 21, 1925)

The trial of offences enumerated under Schedule (p. 618) is to be done by Commissioner (s. 3). Political suspects are to notify [s. 11(1)(a)] residence; report himself to the police (b); conduct himself or abstain from acting in such manner as directed (c); to reside in certain specified area (d); not to enter, reside or remain in specified areas (e); and to be arrested and thrown into prison (f).

Police is empowered to arrest without warrant [s. 13(b)]. The arrested person is to permit [s. 16(a)] to be photographed; (b) his finger impression to be taken; to provide specimens of his handwriting (c); attend at places and times according to direction of the police (d).

The police is to search any place on suspicion (s. 17).

Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925

(March 30, 1925)

By s. 3 trial was to be held by Commissioners who were empowered to pass any sentence (s. 6). All or any persons could be excluded from the Court (s. 8-A).

Extensive power is given to the Commissioners to deal with refractory accused. Presence of any accused who "has by voluntary act rendered himself incapable of appearing before the

Court, or resists his production before them or behaves before them in a persistently disorderly manner" at the trial could be dispensed with (s. 8-B).

Under s. 4 power is taken to order custody in jail outside Bengal.

Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, I of 1930

(April 19, 1930)

Action may be taken [s. 2(i)] against a person who is acting or about to act in contravention of the provisions of the Arms Act, 1878, or Explosive Substances Act, 1908; against one who has committed, is committing or about to commit any offence specified in the Schedule (vide p. 618) (ii); with a view to interfere by violence or threat of violence with administration of justice (iii). Movements of suspect may be restricted in the manner hereinbefore stated or he may be committed to the custody of jail. Allowed to expire.

Ordinance II of 1930

(April 27, 1930)

It is intended to provide for better control of the press. Order for deposit of security by keepers of printing presses (s. 3); to declare security forfeited (s. 4) may be issued on Papers which whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise incites murder or incites any offence [s. 4(a)]; seduce soldier, etc. (b); brings the Government into hatred or contempt (c).

Over and above, forfeiture of security, and the newspaper itself is to be forfeited (s. 11).

The Ordinance was allowed to expire.

The Lahore Conspiracy Case Ordinance, III of 1930

(May 1, 1930)

The Lahore Conspiracy Case is to be tried by a Special Tribunal (s. 3); any sentence authorised by law can be passed and no order for confirmation is necessary (s. 8); power is assumed to secure orderly conduct of the trial and the attendance

of the accused is to be dispensed with if necessary (s. 9). Such judgment is final (s. 11).

The Ordinance was allowed to expire.

Ordinance IV of 1930

(May 15, 1930)

It is to provide for proclamation of martial law in the town of Sholapur and its vicinity, to empower military authorities to make regulations for administering it and to provide other matters connected therewith.

Ordinance V of 1930

(May 30, 1930)

It is to provide against certain forms of *intimidation*. No person is to *molest* any person with a view to cause such other person to abstain from doing or to do any act (s. 3).

Ordinance VI of 1930

(May 30, 1930)

It is mainly directed against the Civil Disobedience Movement to provide against instigation to the refusal of payment of certain liabilities. It expired in due course.

The 'Unauthorised News-sheets and Newspapers'

Ordinance, VII of 1930

(July 2, 1930)

It is to provide for the control of unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers.

Power is taken to seize and destroy such papers (s. 4); power to seize and forfeit undeclared presses which the police may enter and search without warrant (s. 5).

Ordinance VIII of 1930

(August 15, 1930)

It is intended to extend to the district of Peshawar in the North-Western Frontier Province.

This was followed by the Unlawful Association Ordinance X of 1930 and the Unlawful Instigation (Second) Ordinance XI of 1930 with effect from December 12, 1930.

Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, VI of 1930

(October 16, 1930)

by which power was granted to the Executive to arrest and detain persons without trial.

A suspect is to notify his residence [s. 2(a)]; report himself to the police (b); conduct himself in such manner as directed (c); reside or remain in specified area (d); not to enter or reside or remain in a specified area (e); and to be committed to custody in jail (f).

A person could be arrested without warrant against whom there is reasonable suspicion. Any place can be searched or property seized (s. 4). Punishment is provided for disobedience or resistance (s. 5). Punishment for violation by the provisions is to extend to seven years.

Power is given (s. 6) to take photographs, finger-prints, specimen of handwriting and signature; and to direct any person to attend a place at such times as directed.

Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, was repealed by Act VII of 1934.

Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, XXIII of 1931

(October 9, 1931)

It is intended to provide against the publication of matter inciting to or encouraging murder or violence. It provides for better control of the Press and of unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers. Originally this power was taken under an Ordinance published in a Gazette Extraordinary on December 23, 1930.

The Government could prohibit (s. 2-A) the publication of any newspaper, news-sheet, pamphlet, leaflet or other document containing any class of information. Publication of names, etc., of certain witnesses, etc., were prohibited (s. 2-B). Keepers of printing presses were compelled to deposit security money when called upon to do so (s. 3). Powers were taken (s. 4) to declare

security or the press itself forfeited to the Government when it appeared to the Government that

any newspaper, etc., had incited or encouraged or tended to incite or encourage the commission of any cognizable offence involving, violence, directly or indirectly, expressed approval or admiration of such offence, or any person, real or fictitious, who had committed or was alleged or represented to have committed any such offence,

had seduced any officer, soldier, sailor or airman in the military, naval or air forces,

had brought into hatred or contempt the Government,

put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver any person, and property or valuable security,

had encouraged or incited, any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, revenue, tax, etc.,

had induced a public servant or servant of a local authority to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public functions or to resign his office,

had promoted feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of subjects,

had prejudiced the recruiting of persons to serve in any of His Majesty's services, etc.

also prohibited to disclose the identity of any witness.

Power was taken to seize and destroy unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers (s. 16); to seize and forfeit undeclared presses producing unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers (s. 17); to declare certain publications forfeited and to issue search-warrants for same (s. 19); to detain packages containing certain publications when imported into British India (s. 20); to detain articles being transmitted by post (s. 22).

Punjab Criminal Procedure Amendment (Supplementary)

Act, I of 1931

came into force on February 19, 1931, to supplement the Criminal Procedure (Punjab Amendment) Act, 1930, to enable any person convicted by the Special Magistrate to appeal to the High Court at Lahore (s. 3).

Bengal Criminal Law (Arms & Explosives) Act, XXI of 1932
(January 12, 1932)

It is *to provide enhanced punishment* for certain offences under the Arms Act, 1878, Explosive Substances Act, 1908, in their application to Bengal and to make special provision for trial.

Section 3 provides insertion of *Sec. 19-A* in the Arms Act to the effect that whoever commits any offence under *Cl. (c) and Cl. (d) or Cl. (f)* of *Sec. 19* shall, if the offence is committed in respect of a pistol, revolver, rifle or shot gun, be punished with transportation for life (in place of a maximum of three years' imprisonment).

Similarly, the additional *Sec. 5-A* in the Explosive Substances Act, enhances the punishment to transportation for life.

Trafficking in arms (*ss. 6 and 7*) is to be heavily punished.

Bengal Criminal Law Act, IV of 1932
(March 24, 1932)

In case of any reasonable doubt that a person [*s. 2(i)*] is a member of any association of which the objects and methods include the commission of any offence included in the Schedule (*vide p. 618*) . . . or the doing of any act with a view to interfere by violence or threat of violence with the administration of justice; or (*ii*) has been or being instigated or controlled by a member of any such association with a view to the commission or doing of any such offence or act; or (*iii*) has done or is doing any act to assist the operations of any such commission is to be arrested by an order in writing.

Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Supplementary)
Act, VIII of 1932
(April 5, 1932)

under which power is taken (*s. 2*) to order custody of arrested person in jail outside Bengal.

The Bengal Criminal Law (2nd Amendment) Act, 1932
(October, 20, 1932)

mainly related to trial by Commissioners.

**The Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages
Act, XII of 1932**

(October 20, 1932)

The Act is to continue in force as long as the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930, remains in force [(s. 1(3))]. The absconders are to be hounded out by all means [s. 2(a)].

CHAPTER I—deals with Emergency Powers under which power is taken to detain and question persons behaving suspiciously [s. 3(1)]; to take possession of immovable property [s. 4(1)]; to prohibit access⁹ or limit access to certain places (s. 6); to regulate traffic (s. 7); to regulate means of transport (s. 8); power to prohibit or regulate the purchase, sale or delivery or otherwise dealing in arms [s. 10(1)(a)]; to issue order on owners [s. 10(1)(b)]; to take possession of arms, explosives, etc. [s. 10(2)].

CHAPTER II—deals with appointment of Special Magistrates who are invested with powers for a period not less than four years (s. 24). Procedure is to be followed as in warrant cases (s. 26) and any sentence including sentence of death may be passed by them (s. 27).

The Bengal Public Security Act, XXII of 1932

(December 12, 1932)

is to provide for the maintenance of the public security in case of emergency and for trial of certain offences by Special Magistrates.

Emergency powers are taken under [s. 3(1)] of CHAPTER II, to control [s. 4(1)] suspected persons regarding movement, residence, conduct reporting to police, etc. Access or entry to certain places (s. 5) is limited; traffic is to be regulated (s. 6); services of the posts and telegraphs to the public is to be controlled (s. 7); to secure reports of public meetings (s. 8).

Very wide powers are given to Special Magistrates who are to be appointed under provisions of CHAPTER III.

**The Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages (Amendment)
Act, XIX of 1932**

was published in the Calcutta Gazette dated January 12, 1933.

**The Provincial Criminal Law (Supplementary)
Act, IX of 1933
(April 13, 1933)**

Appeal is allowed to the High Court from the judgment of the Special Magistrates under the Bengal Public Security Act, 1932 (s. 2).

**The Bengal Smuggling of Arms Act, VI of 1934
(April 12, 1934)**

provides for issue of warrant on receipt of report (s 5); to arrest [s. 5(1)]; detain in custody [s. 5(3)].

To enforce attendance [s. 4(i)]; to forfeit bond executed for good conduct [s. 4(ii)]; issue of warrant on receipt of report (s. 5); to arrest [s. 5(1)]; detain in custody [s. 5(3)].

**Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, VII of 1934
(March 29, 1934)**

To supplement the Criminal Law of Bengal for the purpose of dealing more effectively with the terrorist movement and to that end to amend the Arms Act, 1878, the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, in their application to Bengal, and also to amend the Bengal Criminal Law Act, 1925, Bengal Criminal Law Act, 1930, and the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act, 1932.

Under [s. 4(20-A)] whoever goes armed with a pistol, revolver, rifle or other firearm.....or has any such firearm in his possession or under his control.....under circumstances indicating that he intended that such firearm should be used for the commission of any offence of murder shall....be punished with death, or transportation, or a term which may extend to fourteen years and fine.

The same provisions are applicable to Explosive Substances [s. 5(5-B)].

A new *Sec.* (2-A) is added to what is contained in *Sec.* 2 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, under which the Government may (s. 6) prohibit either absolutely or put restriction on publication in any newspaper, etc. of any class of information which . . . tends to excite sympathy with or secure adherents to the terrorist movement. New *Sec.* 2-B enjoins that neither the name nor the designation, nor any words, signs or visible representations disclosing the identity of the witness in a trial by Commissioners or Special Magistrates . . . be published in any newspaper.

Sec. 7-A(1)(a), a new clause, is to be added to *Sec.* 7 of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, that if after the commencement of a trial by Commissioners under this Act any person surrenders or is arrested before the commencement of the trial, who if he had surrendered or had been tried jointly with the persons under trial . . . he shall be placed on his trial jointly with such other persons at the said trial under new *Clause* 7-A(1)(b); evidence already recorded is to be used against any such person; and this can be done even after the conclusion of the trial (s. 11) under new *Clause* 7-A(2) of B. Cr. L. A. A., 1925.

If after an order of restriction over movement has been violated a person may be arrested (s. 14) and the punishment is to be very heavy (s. 16—s. 6 of the old Act). Any fine imposed may be realised from parents or guardians.

Section 23 amends the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act, 1932. Under *Section* 24 new Sections (11-A) prohibiting use of places for purposes of certain associations; (11-B) to take possession of places are added. Addition of *Chapter III* (s. 35) to the previous Act makes possession of prohibited documents (a) under the Sea Customs Act, 1878, (b) to be forfeited with a penalty to a term of three years. Addition of s. 36 makes possession of documents (a) inciting to or encouraging the commission of certain offences; (b) directly or indirectly expressing approval or admiration of any such offence to be meted with a penalty of three years' imprisonment.

**The Bengal Public Security (Extending)
Act, XVIII of 1935
(October 31, 1935)**

The Criminal Law Amendment Act, XX of 1938
came into force on September 14, 1938, making dissuasion from enlistment and instigation to mutiny or insubordination after enlistment (s. 2) heavily punishable.

**The Defence of India Act, XXXV of 1939
(September 29, 1939)**

to provide for the measures to ensure the public safety and interference in the defence of British India and for the trial of certain other offences.

It invests the executive authority to make rules under Emergency Powers.

Rule [22(x)] is framed for the apprehension and detention in custody of any person reasonably suspected... of acting or being about to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety;

Rule 22(xviii) regulates the use of postal, telephone or telegraph services; regulates delivery of postal articles (xxxi); prevents or controls any use, calculated to prejudice the public safety, the maintenance of public order, the defence of British India or the prosecution of the war;

Section 3(3) provides in addition to sub-section (1) for the arrest and trial of persons who can be met with a punishment for seven years.

CHAPTER III provides for constitution of Special Tribunals (s. 8); which may take cognizance of offences without the accused being committed to it for trial (s. 10); and the accused may be tried in his absence [s. 10(5)].

**The Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, VIII of 1942
(March 14, 1942)**

According to this amendment "harbour" includes the supplying a person with shelter, food, drink, money, clothes, arms, ammunition or means of conveyance. (It was repealed by an Act of 1948).

A Paradox

For the safety of the Empire laws were placed on the Statute Book in an unending stream. The victorious march of the dauntless fighters continued through the array of sharp teeth and dangerous claws of the Law which could maul a warrior and make a cripple of him or kill him outright. They did not fail to realise at least a part of their aim. The mass quailed at their hideous look. Parents and well-wishers felt compelled to induce their wards to retire into the corners of a closed room. But the few, a very few, brave hearts, confronted the Acts with deserving ridicule and contempt. To them the laws were mere mockery better ignored or violated. Before the verdict of the history of a nation struggling for independence, the 'lawless laws' are as useless as bubbles at the seashore.

In the name of the law the gallows yawned and closed. Unspeakable torture was perpetrated, in the name of the law again, on men who could be killed but never subdued. They are the Immortals in an ephemeral world. A tear of gratitude, for which they never cared, and the 'humble tribute of a sigh' are all that the bewildered nation can offer them for the present.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

The Rank and File

There had been casualties in the ranks of the fighting units of the I.N.A. through open clashes with the enemy, bombing, starvation and sickness.

The Supreme Commander wanted their 'blood' and assured them 'freedom'. His valiant and faithful soldiers of all ranks offered it in an unstinted measure making the way to Delhi gory and slippery for others to proceed cautiously with firm steps till the gates of the enemy's bastion had been battered and broken. It is not possible to get all the names of the martyrs unless both the Government and the men and Officers of the I.N.A. still living, combine in a fond desire to prepare a list as comprehensive as possible.

There should be an honest attempt with the fullest knowledge that at this late stage it is bound to be very incomplete. Soldiers had sacrificed their lives in far off places, in dense jungles, along the route of the march laying their heads in the roadside, with the supreme consolation that they had done the 'most heroic deed on earth', 'cherished the loftiest purpose' and 'made the most generous sacrifice' for the liberation of India.

All glory to them. India must remember with sincere gratitude the supreme sacrifice they made in the attainment of Indian Independence which came in the wake of the fight they waged though suffering temporary reverses in a distant front but cheering up the spirit of the fighters for freedom on the mainland of India.

An attempt has been made, however incomplete, to remember such names of the heroes as are available from an issue of the

Azad Hind Gazette, the Official Gazette of the Provisional Government of the Azad Hind and the *Azad Hind Fauj*, of February 28, 1945, that could find its way into India.

The names of the heroes are:

Saheed-E-Bharat Lt. KUNDAN SINGH

Vir-E-Hind 2/Lieut. ASHRAFI MANDAL

Tamagh-E-Bahaduri No. 54207 Hav. RAN SINGH

| No. | Rank/Name | Date of death | Place of Death | Cause of Death |
|-----|------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1. | Dalpati M. C. BAL | 25.5.44 | Ye-U | Snake-bite |
| 2. | Jathadar I. D. BHATIA | 31.5.44 | Morah | Malaria, etc. |
| 3. | Tolipathi SEWAK RAM | 3.6.44 | " | Air Raid |
| 4. | Deotha MANI | 5.5.44 | Narun | Air Raid |
| 5. | Lt. K. S. SURI | 10.6.44 | Morah | Fever |
| 6. | Tolipathi N. D DALANI | 5.6.44 | Narun | Air Raid |
| 7. | Sri SAMPURAN SINGH | 11.6.44 | Burma | Dysentery |
| 8. | Sri S. N. ROY | About mid-July | Burma | Dysentery |
| 9. | Sri J. L. MAJUMDAR | 14.7.44 | Kantha Vill. | Dysentery |
| 10. | Sri B. N. CHATTERJI | 16.7.44 | Kalewa | Drowning (in Chindwin) |
| 11. | Sri A. NADESAN | 16.7.44 | Kalewa | Drowning |
| 12. | Naik RAM SWARUP CHOWDHURY | 16.7.44 | Kalewa | Drowning |
| 13. | Sri ABHU HUSSAIN | 16.7.44 | Kalewa | Drowning |
| 14. | Sri DEBI BAHADUR | 16.7.44 | Kalewa | Drowning |
| 15. | Jathadar N. K. NAI | 18.7.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Neuro-Syphilis |
| 16. | Sri ARJUN DAS | 19.7.44 | Kalewa Hospital | Dysentery |
| 17. | Sri MANGA RAM | 19.7.44 | Kalewa Hospital | Tetanus |
| 18. | Sri B. K. MUKHERJI | 19.7.44 | Kalewa | Dysentery |
| 19. | Jathadar A. GOVINDAN | 27.7.44 | Imabaung Vill. | Dysentery |
| 20. | Tollipathi N. S. SUNDARAM | 19.7.44 | Whitok River | Washed away by current |
| 21. | N. 1428, LN/K SAUSARI RAM | 29.7.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Neuro-Syphilis |
| 22. | Sri RAM GOVIND AHIR | 1.8.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Bacillary Dysentery |
| 23. | Sri K. MARIMUTHU | 2.8.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Malaria B. T. |
| 24. | Jathadar M. S. HARI | 4.8.44 | Mandalay | Malaria |
| 25. | Sri KARINAL SINGH | 5.8.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Cerebral Malaria |
| 26. | T. P. V. IYER | 13.8.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Bronchitis and Malaria |
| 27. | Tollipathi T. K. RAMCHANDANI | 14.8.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Dysentery |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| No. | Rank/Name | Date of death | Place of Death | Cause of Death |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------------|---|--|
| 28. | L. K. SUNDARAM | 14.8.44 | On the way to Rangoon | Hospital air-raid casualty |
| 29. | No. 64275 Sp. RAM RAM | 26.7.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Tuberculosis |
| 30. | Sri K. M. SREEDHARAN | 2.9.44 | Maymyo Hospital | Tetanus |
| 31. | S. C. A. M. CHANDRA | 2.9.44 | Maymyo No. 2 Hospital | Fever |
| 32. | Sri TALRAJ KRISHNAN | 10.9.44 | Mandalay Hospital | Fever |
| 33. | Hav. No. 1409 LAL KHAN | 11.9.44 | Myang Hospital | Dysentery |
| 34. | Sri MOHINDRA KUMAR MAJUMDAR | 17.10.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Cerebral Malaria |
| 35. | Sri P. M. KAKA | 11.10.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Cerebral Malaria |
| 36. | Sri MOORJIMAL HANCHAND | 18.8.44 | Kalewa Camp | Pyaemia |
| 37. | Sp. YUNG BAHADUR | 10.10.44 | Myang Hospital | G. S. W. left foot |
| 38. | Sri S. C. NAHA | 6.9.44 | Monywa Hospital | Typhus |
| 39. | Sri N. N. ROY CHOUDHURY | 5.6.44 | Killed in Mintha area — Nurun village | |
| 40. | Sri H. C. DAS | 18.6.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Anaemia secondary |
| 41. | Sri KABIR KHAN | 14.11.44 | M. S. S. Burma | Appendix with suppurative gangrene |
| 42. | Sri BHIKARI JENA | 3.12.44 | Myang Hospital | Anaemia |
| 43. | Sri JAGAT NARAYAN | 18.9.44 | Monywa | Malaria |
| 44. | Sri VEER SINGH | 7.12.44 | Myang Hospital | Malaria |
| 45. | Sri PRITAM SINGH | 16.12.44 | Myang Hospital | Tubercular enteritis |
| 46. | Sri HASIM | 6.11.44 | Shwebo | Air-raid casualty |
| 47. | Sri MANJU | 6.11.44 | Shwebo | Air-raid casualty |
| 48. | Sri GANGULI | 6.11.44 | Shwebo | Air-raid casualty |
| 49. | Sri YOSOOF | 6.11.44 | Shwebo | Air-raid casualty |
| 50. | Sri RAN SHANKAR RAI | 6.11.44 | Believed to have been killed by enemy action near Intaungi about the first week of August (missing) | |
| 51. | Sri PURAN BAHADUR PURI | 27.7.44 | Believed captured as prisoner in Mintha area (missing) | |
| 52. | Sri RAJPAT PANDE | August | Believed killed by enemy action (missing) | |
| 53. | Sri BABOO LALL | Unknown | | Dead |
| 54. | Sri R. C. THAMBI | Unknown | On the way to Xabwa | |

Faithful Follower

COL. MISRA, who was awarded the *Sher-e-Hind* Medal by Netaji for his heroic battle in the Akyab area on February 4, 1944, died as a result of enemy firing on April 14, 1945, while conducting Netaji from Rangoon to Bangkok.

Heroic Ladies

Two Ladies, units of *Rani Jhansi Regiment*, Lt. JOSEPHINE and Havildar STELLA were killed on April 3, 1945, while returning from Rangoon to Bangkok

Self-immolation

A. YELLAPPA, Adviser, Azad Hind Government and Officer-in-Charge, Netaji Fund Committee, died in a clash with enemy forces near Mandalay in the course of his attempt to evacuate patients from the Mandalay Base Hospital.

Watery Grave

Wounded soldiers were being removed by Chatterji along the Chindwin river in November 1943, when an enemy bomb dropped from the sky, hit the boat and sent it under water with all its occupants.

Embracing Death

An admiring Comrade, under anonymity, recorded the death on June 5, 1945, of one Mr. P. on Indian soil in his attempt to blow up an ammunition dump lying beyond Burma border which was likely to be of use to the enemy.

Missing

The whereabouts of the following personnel of the A. H. F. who went to the front are not known yet (missing) :

1. Jathadar N. S. CHARLU
2. Jathadar R. N. RAHA
3. Tolipathi MOORJAMA KHUBCHAND
4. Tolipathi C. VASUDEV
5. Tolipathi VASUDEV POHUMAL
6. Tolipathi TEJ NARAYAN

7. Tolidas RAM SURAT TEWARI, and

8. Sri P. N. NAIR.

In the western front in Germany there was a large number of casualties due to enemy action. It is a pity that the names of the valiant warriors are not available.

The circumstances under which the men of *Indian National Army* fell on the German soil, as could be gathered from S. M. Ishaque, (Colonel in the I. N. A.), give just a glimpse of what happened in that far off region.

The contingent of Netaji in the I. N. A. West, was posted to the Atlantic wall in France to receive practical training of coastal warfare around the Bay of Biscay near Bordeaux from the middle of 1943, till the landing of the Allied troops on the French soil in the latter part of 1944.

The I. N. A. contingent had to retire along with the German forces towards the mainland of Germany. While retiring many valuable lives, nearly 200, of the I. N. A. heroes were lost. The names of the heroes are not at all available now except of

2nd Lieut. ALI, S. M.,

Under-Officer PAHELAD SINGH,

Sgt.INDER BAHADUR, and

Soldier GURMUKH SINGH

all from Punjab.

The I. N. A. contingent after retiring from France concentrated in South Germany in Heuberg, a military cantonment near Stuttgart where it remained till March 1944. At the beginning of April 1945, it had to move due to advance of the allied troops towards Germany. In the last week of April, the I. N. A. contingent was surrounded by the Allied troops, the 2nd French Army, near Lake Constance, South Germany, close to Swiss border. One Company, consisting of about 150 I. N. A. men were shot dead in the last week of April in a small cinema house in the morning after being kept there for the whole night without food and drink.

The remaining I. N. A. soldiers were made prisoners of war and some of them were taken to Thetfort Brandon near Norwich, England, for interrogation, and kept under strict guard. Some of them lost their lives while in confinement.

The World has not even been partially told about the vicissitudes of fortune of the I.N.A. in the Far East and in the Western front. These have come out only in dribblets. It proves that the demand on suffering and sacrifice of men of every religious faith, caste, creed, speaking different tongues and coming from every quarter of this vast sub-continent—so much essential for attainment of Independence—had not been fully met by the Indians before the epic struggle of the *Azad Hind Fauj*. The thirsty Mother of Liberation of the down-trodden seemed now to be propitiated with the flow of blood of every strain mingled in a common stream. In a single day or in a single stray encounter, more soldiers sacrificed their lives than the total, both of the non-violent and violent schools, had offered since the most gigantic effort in 1857.

Even a cursory glance over the list of Martyrs would reveal that no body had any clear idea of men dying in the Western Front of the War in such a large number. Honourable men committed suicide at the news of surrender of the Japanese and I.N.A. arms to the enemies. Besides the names of a few hanged by the British-Indian Government already recorded (p. 577) other names are now available who were executed in the Delhi, Multan, Sialkot and other jails. It is needless to go into more details, a sympathetic scanning of the list is earnestly commended.

Through the generous help of S. M. Ishaque (Col.), Shah Nawaz Khan (Maj.-General, I.N.A.), and Dr. Jagdev Singh (Col.) with Shri Nanak Chand (I.N.A.) of the I.N.A. Enquiry and Relief Committee, Delhi, it has been possible to publish the following list (part of a bigger one) in this volume, enabling it to put rightful claim on its title, "THE ROLL OF HONOUR".

Martyrs of the Indian

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1. AJMER SINGH | Lt. | 2/12 FF Regt | Major | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 2. ASHRAFI MANDAL | S/Hav | A.M.C. | 2/Lt | —do— |
| 3. ARJAN SINGH | H/Clk | A.O.C. | S.O. | — |
| 4. ATTAL SINGH | Jam | H.K.S.R.A. | Lieut | 2 Grla. Regt |
| 5. ABDUL AZIZ | Cook | 8 I.B.Y. Coy | Sep | W/Shop |
| 6. AMAR SINGH | Sep | 5/2 P.R. | Sep | — |
| 7. AMAR SINGH | — | — | Sep | 1/9 Grla. Regt |
| 8. AMIR HAYAT | Sep. | 1/14 P.R. | L/NK | M.P. |
| 9. ABDUL RAZAK | Sep. | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 2 Grla. Regt |
| 10. AJAIB SINGH | Civilian | — | Secret Service | Azad Hind Dal |
| 11. ALI AKBAR | — | — | S.O. | 950 Unit German Front |
| 12. ALI MOHD | — | — | Hav | — |
| 13. AMAR SINGH | L/NK | 22 I.B. 7 Coy | Hav | Int. Group |
| 14. AMIR SINGH | NK | 2/9 Jat Regt | Hav | Burma Advance Party |
| 15. AJIT SINGH | — | 5/18 R. G. Rifles | NK | 1 Grla Regt |
| 16. AUTAR SINGH | Sep | —do— | L/NK | 3rd Inf. Bn. |
| 17. ALAM SINGH | N/C | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 18. ALAM SINGH | Sep | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 19. AMAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 20. AN SINGH | —do— | 2/18 R. G.R. | —do— | —do— |

National Army (I.N.A.)

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| Vill. Dharawar, P.O. Sanewal, Dt. Ludhiana | Died in captivity in Red Fort, Delhi |
| Vill. Malkhanpur, P.O. Shahkund, Dt. Bhagalpur, Bihar | Died at Kalewa (Burma) |
| Vill. & P.O. Sidhawan Kalan, Dt. Ludhiana | Killed in action |
| Vill. Shahpur-Jainpur, P.O. Jani, Dt. Meerut | Killed in Air Raid (Imphal) |
| Vill. Biroti, Dt. Bulandshahr | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Tothepan Wadala Khurd, Dt. Amritsar | — |
| Vill. Bharat, P.O. Bham, Dt. Gurdaspur | Died in Singapore in Motor Acci- dent |
| Vill. Pirkhal, P.O. Malakand, Dt. Mardan, N.W.F.P. | Killed |
| Sampli, Dt. Rohitak | Died by enemy bombardment near Kalewa |
| Kalha, Dt. Amritsar | Hanged in Red Fort, Delhi |
| Vill. Bawati Khurd, P.O. Sarai Alamgir, Dt. Gujrat | Shot dead by Americans (German Front) |
| Chak No. 226, Malkhanwala, Dt. Lyallpur | Died in Lucknow Hospital |
| Vill. Bilaspur, P.O. Ghora Kalan, Dt. Gurgaon | Died |
| Kanjhawla, Dt. Delhi | Died in Burma |
| | Died of disease at Trawang |
| | Died of disease at Mitha Hakin |
| | Died of disease at Kalewa |
| | Died of disease at Trawang |
| | Died of disease at Ukhral |
| | Died of disease at Aizon |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 21. AMRIK SINGH | Jem | 5/11th Sikh Regt | Cap | 1st Grla Regt |
| 22. AMBRE PUN | — | R.G. Rifles | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 23. ALI SHAN | — | — | Sep | M.P. |
| 24. ANAND SINGH | Hav | 5/18 R. G.R. | S.O. | 3/1 Grla Regt |
| 25. ATTA MOHD | — | HK. SRA | NK | Intelligence Group |
| 26. ARJAN SINGH | — | 40 M. W/Shop | NK | Bahadur Group |
| 27. ALTAF HUSSAIN | Sep | — | — | Bahadur Group |
| 28. ACHHAR SINGH | —do— | 5/17 Dogra Regt | Sep | —do— |
| 29. AHMED KHAN | —do— | 5/14 P. Regt | Hav | 3rd Grla Regt |
| 30. ANAND SINGH | Sep | 2/10th Baluch Regt | NK | Int Group |
| 31. AMAR SINGH | Sep | 1st Ind. H.A.A. Regt | L/NK | 1 Grla Regt |
| 32. AMIN LALL | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 33. ATTAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | 3rd —do— |
| 34. AMBE SINGH | —do— | 7/6 Raj Rifles | —do— | 1/3 Grla Regt |
| 35. ANUP SINGH | —do— | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 36. ATMA SINGH | NK | 2/12 F.F. Regt | Hav | 2 Grla Regt |
| 37. AUTAR SINGH | Sep | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 38. AMAR NATH | L/NK | — | NK | Int. Group |
| 39. ANAND SINGH | Sep | — | NK | — |
| 40. ALLAH DAD | —do— | — | NK | Int. Group |
| 41. AMAR SINGH | —do— | 4/19 Hyd. Regt | — | 4 Grla Regt |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|---|
| — | Killed in action at Trawang. Awarded—"Sher-e-Hind" (Posthumous) |
| — | Killed in action in Burma |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died |
| — | • Died |
| Vill. Raipur Khurd, Dt. Amritsar | Killed in action in Burma |
| Vill. Pipli, P.O. Sarghat, Dt. Kangra | Died at Tangoo |
| Vill. Khurla-Gamun, P.O. Rattanpur, Dt. Dehra Gazi Khan | Died in Maymyo Hospital |
| — | • Killed in action—Arakan |
| | —do— |
| Vill. Khori, P.O. Pulli, Dt. Gurgaon | |
| Vill. Kuhand, P.O. Naher, Nabha State | —do— |
| Vill. Saharampur, P.O. Rewari, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| — | Died |
| — | Died |
| Sang Kalan. Dt. Thelum | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died |
| — | Killed in Air Raid at Shangai |
| — | Died |
| Tikri, Dt. Meerut | Killed in action at Imphal |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 42. AJIT SINGH | — | 7/8 P. Regt | Sep | — |
| 43. AMIR ALI | Sep. | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 44. AMAR SINGH | Gnr. | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 45. AMIN LALL | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 46. A. B. MIRZA | — | 1st Bahawal- pur Inty | Capt | — |
| 47. ARJAN SINGH | Sep | • — | Gfr | German Front |
| 48. AMAR SINGH | —do— | — | —do— | —do— |
| 49. AYUB KHAN | Hav | 4/9 Jat Regt | Lt. | 3 Grla Regt. |
| 50. ARJAN SINGH | Sep | 8 P R | S.O. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 51. AMAR SINGH | Sep | 4/15 Heavy A.A. | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 52. AJIT SINGH | Sep | 5/18 R.GR | Sep | —do— |
| 53. ATMA SINGH | Sep | Kapurthala Inf | NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 54. ARJAN RAM | Sep | 7/6 R.R | S.O. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 55. AWAD JANARDHAN | H/Cik | S & M | H/Cik | 3 Grla Regt |
| 56. AMAR SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 57. AMAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 58. A. MOOJUMDAR | Civilian Doctor | — | — | — |
| 59. A. A. K. LODHI | 2/Lt. | Kapur- thala Inf. | Lt. Col. | 2 Grla Regt |
| 60. S. AKHTAR ALI | Sub | —do— | Capt | —do— |
| 61. AMAD ULLAH | NK | —do— | Hav | —do— |
| 62. ABDUL REHMAN KHAN | L/NK | —do— | —do— | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| — | Died of wounds at Mitha Haka |
| — | Killed in action in Burma |
| — | Killed in retirement near Kalewa |
| — | —do— |
| — | Ex-INA Released. Died by Gun shot |
| Jadeo Kalan, Dt. Amritsar | Died of disease in France in hospital |
| — | Killed in action in France |
| Vill. Nahr, P.O. Rawalakat, Poonch | Killed in action near Imphal |
| Ludhiana | Killed at Jigargacha Camp |
| V. Misri, Dalmia Dadri, Jind State | Killed in retirement |
| Vill. Pago, P.O. Rudar Paryag, Garhwal | Killed in action |
| Vill. Khojewala, P.O. Kap, Jullundur | —do— |
| Vill. Bahadra, P.O. Chhanir, Bikaner | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Rewari, Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| Vill. Nayagaon, P.O. Nahr, Dujana | —do— |
| — | Died during the bombardment of Dresden—1945 |
| Kapurthala | Missing |
| Mohalla Dr. Sadiq Ali Kapurthala | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Maira, P.O. Bhaun, Dt. Jhelum | —do— |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 63. ABDUL RASHID KHAN | Hav | A.O.C. | S.O. | 2 Grla Regt |
| 64. ALI MOHD | L/NK | Kapurthala Inf. | NK | —do— |
| 65. ABDUL AZIZ | Sign | 9 Div Sig | Hav | 1 Grla Regt |
| 66. AHMED KHAN | L/NK | 28 Bde Sigl | —do— | 3 Inf. Regt. |
| 67. APA SALUNKE | Sep | S & M | Sep | 1 Eng Co. |
| 68. AMAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 69. ALLAH DITTA | — | — | — | — |
| 70. ANANT RAM | Sep | 7/8 P.R. | — | 3 Grla Regt |
| 71. ARJAN SINGH | —do— | S & M | Sep | 1 Eng Co. |
| 72. ANNA INALAI | Civilian | — | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 73. AMAR SINGH | Sep | 7/8 P.R. | — | —do— |
| 74. ABDUL KHALIQ | — | — | — | — |
| 75. ALI KHAN | Sign | Indian Signal | Lieut | 1st Bn. |
| 76. AKHTAR MEHMOOD | — | — | Hav | — |
| 77. ALI SHER | — | — | Sep | — |
| 78. AMAR SINGH | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | NK | S. S. Coy Grla |
| 79. AGADHU SAMANTA | L/NK | A.S.C. | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 80. ANGU K. | Civilian | — | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 81. ANNU MALAI | Civilian | — | Sep | —do— |
| 82. ANCHAL SINGH | Sep | 5/2 P.R. | Sep | 2nd Inf. Bn. |
| 83. S. C. BARDHAN | — | — | — | — |
| 84. BALWANY SINGH | Sep | 1/15 P. Regt | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--------------------------------|
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— (Imphal) |
| Vill. Dhuni Dhuria, P.O. Kharian, Gujrat | —do— |
| Kunjah, Gujrat | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died in Haka Front |
| Vill. Nayana, P.O. Kasna, Bulandshahr | Died |
| Dhaban Singh Chak-13, Sheikhapura | Killed in action (Imphal) |
| — | •Died |
| Vill. Kharkar, P.O. Kanina, Dt. Meerut | Killed in action |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Killed in France |
| — | Died in Italy |
| — | Died in Hospital |
| Patiala State | —do— |
| Korapat | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Rajal—Kangra | Died |
| Bitghar, Dt. Tipperah, Bengal | Hanged on 10.9.43 in Madras |
| Jaura, Dt. Hoshiarpur | Killed in action |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| Name | Indian Army | | I. N. A. | |
|---------------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | Rank | Unit | Rank | Unit |
| 85. BACHAN SINGH | Jem | 1/11 Sikh Regt | — | — |
| 86. BHULLAN SINGH | Sepoy | 24 IBT Coy | Hav | Intelligence Group |
| 87. BALWANT SINGH | Malaya Police | — | Sep | 4 Grla Regt |
| 88. BHOJA RAM | Sep | 1st Bahawalpur Inf. | L/NK | X-Regt |
| 89. BANTA SINGH | Sep | A.S.C. | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 90. BUR SINGH | Hav | Kapurthala Inf. | Lieut | Body Guard Bn |
| 91. BAKHSHIS SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 92. BISHAMBHAR DASS | Jem | MT Patiala State | Lt. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 93. BOOTA SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 94. BARA SINGH | — | — | S.O. | 1 Grla Regt |
| 95. BANJA SINGH | — | — | Hav | — |
| 96. BAHADUR SINGH KOTIYAL | Sep | 5/18 R.G R | Sep | 3/1 Grla Regt |
| 97. BALE RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | -do- |
| 98. BENJAMIN BASKEY | I.W.O. | B.P O No. 4 | Lieut | Reinforcement Group |
| 99. BHALLA RAM | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 100. BADLU RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | Body Guard Bn |
| 101. BISHAMBAR SINGH | L/NK | 36M. W/S IAOC | L/NK | Int. Group |
| 102. BHAGWAN SINGH | Hav | 4/19 Hyd Regt | 2/Lt | O.T.S. |
| 103. BRIJLAL SRIVASTAVA | Civilian | — | Editor, Prop. Deptt. | |
| 104. BAHADUR SINGH | Jem | A.S C | Capt | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 105. BACHAN SINGH | — | — | NK | — |
| 106. BHAGAT SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| Latala, Dt. Ludhiana | Dropped in India in 1942 Fate is not known |
| Vill. Dhandar, P.O. Muradnagar, Dt. Meerut | Killed in action |
| Vill. Bhani Jasa, P.O. Dhanala, Dt. Nabha State | Killed in action |
| Vill. Kabrala, P. O. Kanina, Dt. Nabha State | Killed in action |
| Vill. Kotla Heran, P.O. Ugi, Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Kot Khera, Dt. Amritsar | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Goraya, Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action |
| Vill. Raghu Majra, P.O. Telwara, Patiala State | Killed in action |
| Vill. Khanpur, P.O. Bolar, Dt. Sialkot | Killed in action |
| Vill. Chhote Baugan, P.O. Dichkot, Dt. Lyallpur | Killed in action |
| Vill. Lakhmipur, P.O. Rupar, Dt. Ambala | —do— (Imphal) |
| Vill. Muhara Patti Sila, P.O. Lansdowne, Garhwal | —do— |
| Vill. Seria, P.O. Dujana, Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| Vill. Kumarigram, P.O. Maharajpur, Santhal Parganas | Died while performing the duties in the I. N. A. |
| Vill. Gurana, P.O. Barwala, Dt. Hissar | Killed in action (Imphal) |
| Vill. & P.O. Dighal, Dt. Rohtak | Killed in operation in Rangoon |
| Vill. & P.O. Mankiala, Dt. Rawalpindi | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Kanwali, Dt. Gurgaon | Died |
| Dt. Jubbalpur, C.P. | Died of T.B. on 23. 1. 45 |
| | Killed in action |
| Nawan Pind Dona, P.O. Lohan, Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action |
| Hoshiarpur | Died in hospital at Jigargacha, of Malaria |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

I CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 107. BAKSHI RAM | — | — | S.O. | — |
| 108. BANARSI LAL | Clerk | 204 SPS A.S.C. | Surplus Volunteer | — |
| 109. BABU RAM PILLAY | Sep | 8 W/S A.O.C. | Sep | M. W/Shop |
| 110. BHARAT SINGH | Sep | A S.C. | Hav | Garrison Depot |
| 111. BAHADUR SINGH | Civilian | Driver | NK | 2 MT Coy |
| 112. S. B. BHATTACHARJEE | Civilian | • — | Grade 'C' | A. H. Dal |
| 113. BHOOPAL SINGH | C Q M.H. | 5/18 R GR | 2/Lt. | 3rd Bn Inf. |
| 114. BAKHTAWAR SINGH | Hav | -do- | S.O. | -do- |
| 115. BALWANT SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 116. BIR SINGH | NK | -do- | NK | -do- |
| 117. BISRAM SINGH | Hav | -do- | Hav | -do- |
| 118. BACHAN SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 119. BAHADUR SINGH | NK | -do- | NK | -do- |
| 120. BISHAN SINGH | Sep | -do- | L/NK | -do- |
| 121. BAKHTAWAR SINGH | W/C | -do- | Sep | -do- |
| 122. BHAWAN SINGH | Sep | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 123. BALWANY SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 124. BACHI SINGH | -do- | -do- | L/NK | -do- |
| 125. BACHI SINGH | L/NK | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| * BHANDARI | | | | |
| 126. BHAJAN SINGH | Sep | -do- | Sep | -do- |
| 127. BALAK SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 128. BACHITTAR SINGH | L/NK | 5/2 PR | 2/Lt. | 1 Bahadur Group |

Home Address

Remarks

Vill. Chamihat, P.O. Bhoranj,

Dt. Kangra

Chauhrkhana Mandi

Sheikhupur

312 Dewleo Bldg., Kirkee,

Poona

Vill. Kheri Asra, P.O. Jhajjar,

Dt. Rohtak

Vill. Kot Dhandal,

P.O. Kot Todarmal, Gurdaspur

Vill. Baharampur, P.O. Bareadhala, , Died

Chittagong

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—

—

1. 12

Died in Hamirpur Hospital

Died due to disease in Timor Island

Died in Civil Hospital in Poona

Died of T.B.

—do—

Killed in Air Raid at Kalewa

Died of disease at Khudmon

-do- at Ekaban

-do- at Trawang

-do- at Kalewa

Killed in action at Yen

Died of disease at Trawang

-do- at Aizon

-do- at Tamu

-do- at Trawang

-do- at Yen

-do- at Trawang

-do- -do-

-do- at Kindat

-do- at Panpon

Death reported by Japs—Burma

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 129. BHIM SINGH RANA | Jem | R.G. Rifle | 2nd Lt. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 130. BAHADUR SINGH | Sep | 1/13 F.F.R. | — | Int. Group |
| 131. BALAK RAM | Sub | A.S.C. | Capt. | H.Q. S.C. |
| 132. RUDHI RAM | Jem | 5/2PR | Lieut | 2 Grla Regt |
| 133. BHIM SEN | Hav | 12 SPS ASC | -do- | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 134. BAGGA SINGH | L/NK | Burma Rifles | 2/Lt | -do- |
| 135. BHIM SAIN | Hav | — | Hav | -do- |
| 136. BHASKAR NAIR V. | — | — | Sep | -do- |
| 137. BHAWAN SINGH | H/Clerk | 2/9 G R. | 2/Lt | -do- |
| 138. BASHIR AHMED | Jem | 2/9 Jat Regt | Lieut | 3 Grla Regt |
| 139. BHOOPENDAR SINGH | L/NK | 2 HKR RA | NK | Int. Group |
| 140. BHAGAT BAHADUR | Sep | 2/9 GR | — | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 141. BIKRAM RAI | Sep | — | — | -do- |
| 142. BABOO RAI BHONDE | Sep | 1 A.O.C. | — | — |
| 143. BHAGWAN SINGH | NK | 45 I.BT Coy | S.O. | Int. Gp. |
| 144. BAGGA KHAN | Barber | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 145. BAHADUR SINGH | Sep | — | Sep | Int. Gp. |
| 146. BANSI | Sep | 1st Ind Hy A.A. Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 147. BALDEV SINGH | Sep | 2/17 Dogra Regt | Sep | M.P. |
| 148. BIRHAM DATT | Sep | 1st Ind. Ify A.A. Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 149. BIJE SINGH | Sep | 7/6 R.R. | Sep | -do- |
| 150. BHAWANI DATT SHARMA | Sep | — | Sep | Body Guard Bn |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| — | Died of disease at Mandalay Hospital |
| — | Died of burns |
| — | Died of Kidney trouble—Singapore |
| — | Died in action—Burma |
| — | -do- |
| — | -do- at Akyab |
| — | Killed in Air Raid—Tangzong |
| — | Killed in action at Chiamol |
| — | Died in Burma |
| Vill. Bliah, Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action at Kalewa |
| Vill. Kurmath, P O Banot, Dt. Muzaffarnagar | Died |
| — | Died |
| — | Died in Burma |
| — | Died at Yen |
| Vill. & P O. Dalhira, Dt Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| — | Died at Ziawadi |
| — | Killed in action at Arakan |
| — | Died |
| — | Died in Burma |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 151. BAHADUR SINGH | Sep | 2/9 GR | L/NK | 1 Grla Regt |
| 152. BHOLA DATT JOSHI | L/NK | A.M.C. | Hav | 4 Grla Regt |
| 153. BAHADUR SINGH | Sep | — | Sep | — |
| 154. BALWANT SINGH | Sep | 44 I BT Coy | — | — |
| 155. BISHAN SINGH | Sep | 7/8 P.R | — | — |
| 156. BHIM SINGH | L/NK | 2/1 GR | 2/Lt | Int. Gp. |
| 157. BHATIACHARYA, K. | NK | 1 A O C | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 158. BUR SINGH | Sep | 5/2 P R | Hav | 2 Grla Regt |
| 159. BIJE SINGH | Sep | 11.K S. RA | Sep | -do- |
| 160. BEG SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 161. BAHADUR SINGH | -do- | 2/17 Dogra Regt | -do- | -do- |
| 162. BALDEO | -do- | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Hav | -do- |
| 163. BIRBAL | -do- | HKS RA | Sep | -do- |
| 164. BUDHRAM | -do- | 7/8 P.R. | -do- | -do- |
| 165. BHILA SINGH | -do- | 5/2 P.R | Naik | -do- |
| 166. BAGA SINGH | -do- | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | X-Regt |
| 167. BALWANT SINGH | — | 15 P. Regt | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 168. BALWANT SINGH | — | A.S.C | — | — |
| 169. BANNIE SINGH | L/NK | 4/6 PR | Gftr. | 1st Bn German Front |
| 170. BAGGA SINGH | L/NK | 8th P.R | Lieut | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 171. BHORIYA RAM | Sep | 7/8 P.R | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 172. BADRI RAM | Sep | — | -do- | -do- |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| P.O. Loharkhet, Patti, Malladanpat, Almora | Killed in Air Raid at Pynmana |
| Vill. Talimire, P.O. Ranikhet, Almora | Died by enemy bombing at Yen |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of disease at Yeizin |
| — | Killed in Air Raid at Hakka |
| -- | Died |
| — | Died of disease in Rangoon |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Died at Kalewa |
| — | • —do— |
| — | Died at Imphal |
| — | Died at Kalewa |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Kumharya, P.O. Kinnarai, Dt. Hissar | Died at Tamu |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in Bombardment near Kalewa |
| Vill. Saidawat, Kapurthala State | Died in Arakan Front |
| — | Committed suicide in Germany |
| — | Died of disease in France |
| — | Killed in Arakan operation |
| Mundiya, Hindawn, Jaipur | Killed in operation |
| Mehandpur, Jaipur | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 173. BAUR SINGH | Sep | 1/8 P.R. | NK | 3rd Grla Regt |
| 174. BHONDU RAM | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 175. BIHARI RAM | -do- | -do- | Sep | -do- |
| 176. BATU RAM | -do- | -do- | L/NK | -do- |
| 177. BALWANT SINGH | Sep | 2/12 F.F. Regt | NK | Int. Group |
| 178. BAKSHI RAM | -do- | 2/16 P R. | Sep | 4 Grla Regt |
| 179. PHOPAL SINGH GORKHA | -do- | 2/5 G.R. | S O. | Int. Gp. |
| 180. BHAGWAN SINGH | -do- | 22 1 BT Coy | IIav | -do- |
| 181. BHIM SINGH THAPA | Jem | 1/3 G R. | Capt | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 182. BASHIR AHMED | Sep | 5 Rajput Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 183. BISHAN SINGH | -do- | — | -do- | 3/1 Grla Regt |
| 184. BADRI DATT | -do- | — | -do- | -do- |
| 185. BACHAN SINGH | — | — | -do- | — |
| 186. BAKSHI RAM | NK | 7/8 P.R. | IIav | 3 Grla Regt |
| 187. BALLA RAM | Sep | -do- | Sep | -do- |
| 188. BISHAMBER SINGH | -do- | 4/1 Heavy AA Regt | -do- | -do- |
| 189. BHOGI RAM | -do- | 8 P. Regt | -do- | -do- |
| 190. BACHAN SINGH (<i>Saheed-e-Bharat</i>) | -do- | Kapurthala Inf. | NK | 1 Grla Regt |
| 191. BANTA SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 192. BUTA SINGH | -do- | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | -do- |
| 193. BAWA SINGH | Sep. | Kap. Inf. | -do- | 2 Grla Regt |
| 194. BISHAN SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Vill. Karwari, Hindawn, Jaipur, Bharatpur Pawto, Maluwa, Jaipur | Killed in operation —do— |
| —do— | —do— |
| Tesgaon, Hindawn, Jaipur | —do— |
| Vill. Pur, Shamli, Meerut | Killed in operation Kaladan Front |
| Kandhoi, Ladraul, Simla | Died of disease, Maymyo Hospital |
| — | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Dahina, Gurgaon | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Tharoh, Sialkot | —do— |
| Vill. Saunyara, P.O. Berinag, Almora | —do— |
| Vill. Koteswar, P.O. Berinag, Almora | —do— |
| Vill. Hariwal, P.O. Dera Baba Nanak, Dt. Gurdaspur | —do— |
| Vill. Rithod, P.O. Sohana, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— at Imphal |
| —do— | —do— |
| Misri, Dalm Dadri, Jind State | Died of disease |
| Bill. Jaspura Hindawn, Bharatpur | Killed in action |
| Vill. Tibba, P.O. Talwandi, Chandiram, Dt. Jullunder | —do— at Lalahua 29.8.44 |
| Vill. Ibban, P.O. Kapurthala | —do— 5.9.44 |
| | —do— at Paletwa |
| Vill. Mana Talwandi, P.O. Bholath, Jullunder | —do— |
| Vill. Kesarpur, P.O. Kapurthala | —do— |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 195. BATTAN SINGH | Sep | Kapurthala Inf. | NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 196. BAKHER SINGH | — | — | Hav | 3 Grla Regt |
| 197. BALBIR SINGH | — | — | Sep | -do- |
| 198. BAKSHA RAM | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | NK | -do- |
| 199. BHAWANI SINGH | Sep | -do- | Sep | -do- |
| 200. BAKHTAWAR | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 201. BAL MUKUND | -do- | MT | NK | -do- |
| 202. BHUPAL SINGH | N/Sep | A M C | N/Sep | -do- |
| 203. BADAR-U'D-DIN | L/NK | Kap Inf. | Hav | 2 Grla Regt |
| 204. BALKU POWAR | — | G & M | Sep | 1 Eng Coy |
| 205. BAPU SAVANT | — | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 206. BACHAN SINGH | — | S & M | Sep | 1 Engr Coy |
| 207. BACHAN SINGH | — | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 208. BANTA SINGH | — | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 209. BABU DARFKAR | Sep | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 210. RATTAN SINGH | -do- | 2/12 FF Regt | Hav | 5 Grla Regt |
| 211. BABU SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 212. BARA SINGH | — | — | S.O. | 1 Grla Regt |
| 213. BISHAN SINGH | — | — | -do- | — |
| 214. BAGA SINGH | — | — | NK | — |
| 215. BASHAMBAR LAL | — | — | 2/Lt | — |
| 216. BOLLU RAM | Sep | 7/8 P.R. | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|----------------------------|
| — | Killed in action |
| Jenini ka nangal, P.O. Sadabad, Dt. Mathura | —do— |
| Vill. Dhanora, P.O. Daba, Dt. Meerut | —do— |
| Vill. Paigha, P.O. Mohindargarh, Patiala State | —do— |
| Vill. Bhatsana, Dalmiadadri, Jind State | —do— |
| Vill. Karori, P.O. Nahar, Dujana | —do— |
| Delhi | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— at Imphal |
| — | —do— |
| Patiala | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Andora, P.O. Homail, Dt. Hoshiarpur | —do— |
| — | Died in Trahan Camp |
| Vill. Chhoti Bagan, P.O. Dichkot. Lyallpur | Killed in action near Tamu |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Bamarpur, P.O. Berkhard, Dt. Ludhiana | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Kherli, P.O. Balabgarh, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 217. BAGGA | — | — | — | — |
| 218. BISHAN SINGH | — | — | Lt. | — |
| 219. BAKHSHISH SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 220. BHAGAT SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 221. BARKAT | — | — | L/NK | — |
| 222. BIDHI SINGH | — | — | NK | — |
| 223. BABU KHAN | — | — | Sep | — |
| 224. BIKAR SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 225. BIR SINGH | — | — | -do- | — |
| 226. BACHAN SINGH | — | — | Hav | — |
| 227. BHAL SINGH | — | — | L/NK | — |
| 228. BAHADUR SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 229. BIJE SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | -do- | 2 Grla Regt |
| 230. BIJE SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 231. BISHAN SINGH | — | Supply | NK | Int. Group |
| 232. BALWANT SINGH | Sep | 2 HKS. RA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 233. BHAGWANA RAM | I./NK | 7/6 R.R. | NK | 4 -do- |
| 234. BAKSHI RAM | -do- | Supply | -do- | Int. Group |
| 235. BALWANT SINGH | NK | 46 M. W/S | S.O. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 236. BANWARI | L/NK | 7/8 P.R. | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 237. BADRI | Sep | -do- | Sep | -do- |
| 238. BHOMAN | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|-------------------------|
| Vill. Dabota, P.O. Nalagarh, Dt. Simla | Killed in action |
| Vill. Sarwan, P.O. Karlaipur, Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| — | Died in Italy |
| Vill. Mabana, P.O. Badri, Dt. Ferozepur | Killed in action |
| Vill. Bhoran, P.O. Lodh Bharath, Dt. Kangra | Killed in action |
| Vill. Daroon, P.O. Ladran, Dt. Kangra | —do— |
| Vill. Addi Kular, P.O. Aekki, Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| Vill. Rajpur, Dt. Hoshiarpur | —do— |
| Jilalpur Jaltan, Dt. Gurdaspur | —do— |
| Vill & P.O. Narli, Dt. Lahore | —do— |
| Vill. Dal, P.O. Kher, Dt. Lahore | —do— |
| Vill. Waradi, P.O. Bisa, Dt. Amritsar | Died in Maymyo Hospital |
| Vill. Bhanerha, P.O. Elan, Dt. Muzaffarnagar | Killed in action |
| Vill. Lukh Larha, P.O. Kuchesar, Dt. Meerut | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Gurgaon | —do— |
| Vill. Dhadot, P.O. Charawa, Dt. Jaipur | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Muzaffarnagar | Killed in action |
| Vill. Kuleswar, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| Vill. Kharola, P.O. Khertal, Dt. Alwar | —do— |
| Alwar | —do— |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--|----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 239. BHERAM | Sep | 1st Bahwalpur Inf. | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 240. BISHAMBER DAYAL | Jem | -do- | Lieut | -do- |
| 241. BALWANT SINGH | — | 2/9 Jat Regt | Hav | -do- |
| 242. BISHAN SINGH | — | 1/13 FFR | — | 2nd Inf. Bn |
| 243. BASANT SINGH | — | 2/12 FF Regt | — | -do- |
| 244. BARKAT RAM | — | -do- | -do- | — |
| 245. CHAJJU RAM | Sep | 1st Ind Hy AA Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 246. CHANDAR LAL VERMA | H/Clk | 136 Supply Section | S O. | Int. Group |
| 247. CHANAN SINGH | — | — | NK | — |
| 248. CHANAN SINGH | Civilian | - | Sep | — |
| 249. CHANDGI RAM | Sep | 2 HKSRA | Sep | 5 Grla Regt |
| 250. CHIRAG DIN | — | — | Sep | — |
| 251. CHHOTI RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 252. CHHAJA SINGH | — | — | — | —do— |
| 253. CHIRANJIT LAL | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | —do— |
| 254. B. N. CHATTERJEE | Civilian | — | Civil Administrator Reconstruction Deptt A. H. Dal | |
| 255. CHANAN SINGH | Civilian | — | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 256. BIMAL CH. CHAKRABORTY | — | — | — | — |
| 257. CHANDGI RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | NK | 1 Grla Regt |
| 258. CHATTAS SINGH | NK | 5/18 RGR | —do— | —do— |
| 259. CHANDER SINGH | NK | 2/18 RGR | —do— | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|----------------------------|
| Vill. & P.O. Barsana, Jind State | Died of dysentery |
| Vill. & P.O. Mandauda, Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Dubaldhan, Dt. Rohtak | Died |
| — | Died |
| — | Died |
| — | Died |
| V. & P. O. Achina Jind State | Died in Imphal |
| Gangola Mohalla Almora | Died of disease |
| V. & P. O. Tibba Kapurthala State | Killed in action |
| Mazara Dingrian Hoshiarpur | Killed in action |
| V. & P. O. Dhakla Dt. Rohtak | Died |
| Vill. Bardeghe, P. O. Hausa Dt. Ludhiana | Died |
| V. Lado Sarai, P. O. Mehrauli Delhi | Killed in action near Tamu |
| V. Hoshiarpur, P. O. Sialwa Majri Dt. Ambala | Killed in action |
| V. & P. O. Nangal Kaliya Dt. Narnaul | —do— |
| 12/B, Kunjalal Banerjee Road Calcutta-26 | Drowned in Chindwin River |
| V. Bukanwala, P. O. Moga Dt. Ferozepore | Killed in action at Pael |
| V. & P.O. Sharatoli Dt. Chittagong | Missing from Burma |
| V. & P. O. Bahu Akbarpur Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| — | Wounded in Kohima Front |
| — | Died of disease at Trawang |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 260. CHERIYAN | Civilian | — | Lieut | — |
| 261. CHACKO M. I. | T/L/D/Clerk | 4 Stationery Depot | 2/Lt. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 262. CHANDER SINGH | Sep | — | NK | —do— |
| 263. CHAND BAHADUR | — | — | NK | — |
| 264. CHANDLER SINGH | Sep | 1/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Group |
| 265. CHANDRA DATT | Sep | 4/19 ⁿ Hyd Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 266. CHANDER SINGH | Sep | Hospital | —do— | Hospital |
| 267. CHANAN SINGH | Sep | 5/14 P Regt | Hav | 1 Grla Regt |
| 268. CHANDAR BHAN | — | HKSRA | S.O. | 2 Grla Regt |
| 269. CHHATAR SINGH | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 270. CHHEDA LAL | N/Sep | 1.G H. | N/Sep | X-Regt |
| 271. CHHIB SINGH | Sep | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | X-Regt |
| 272. M. N. DEY CHOWDHURY | Subedar | 1MD Doctor | Capt | 3 Grla Regt |
| 273. CHANDA SINGH | Sep | 21 Lancers | S.O. | 2nd Bn German Front |
| 274. CHANAN SINGH | Sep | 4/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | 3rd Bn German Front |
| 275. G. CHEILAN | — | — | — | — |
| 276. CHHILU | Sep | HKSRA | — | — |
| 277. CHINNAPPA | — | 61 S & M | — | — |
| 278. CHANDGI RAM | — | HKSRA | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 279. CHANDAN RAM | Sep | 1/8 PR | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 280. CHARAN SINGH | — | —do— | S.O. | 3 Grla Regt |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| — | Died of disease at Kalewa |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died in Burma |
| V. Kainiri, P. O. Hindown Jaipur | Killed by enemy bombing at Yen |
| — | Killed by enemy Air Raid at Pyimana |
| — | Died of disease at Maymyo |
| — | Killed in action at Kalewa |
| V. Hassanpur Gurgan Bharatpur | Died at Kalewa |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of disease in Burma |
| — | Killed in bombardment near Kalewa |
| — | Killed in action at Manewa |
| — | Killed in action in France |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Missing from France |
| V. Tehra Kalan, P. O. Sonapat Dt. Rohtak | Died of disease at Kalewa |
| — | Died in Germany |
| V. Nemoriali, P. O. Chhapar Jind | Killed in bombardment near Sitang, July, 1944 |
| V. Chinari, P. O. Uchain Dt. Bharatpur | Killed in bombardment in Rangoon |
| V. Baoli, P. O. Hindowne Jaipur | Killed in act on near Imphal |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 281. CHARAN SINGH | L/NK | HKSRA | — | 4 Grla Regt |
| 282. CHANAN SINGH | Sep | — | Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 283. CHANAN SINGH | Hav | 1/8 P.R | — | —do— |
| 284. CHANDAD SINGH | Sep | — | Sept | —do— |
| 285. CHANDGI RAM | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 286. CHANAN SINGH | Sep | Kapurthala Infantry | —do— | 2 Grla Regt |
| 287. CHARAN SINGH | — | — | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 288. CHHATISHWAR TIWARI | — | A M C | N/Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 289. CHANDHI RAM | Sep | 2/17 Dogra Regt | NK | —do— |
| 290. CHANDGI RAM | Sep | HKSRA | Hav | Hy A.A. |
| 291. CHARAN SINGH | — | — | L/NK | -- |
| 292. CHAND SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 293. CHUNI RAM | — | -- | Sep | — |
| 294. CHANAN SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 295. CHERAG KHAN | — | — | Sep | — |
| 296. CHARAN SINGH | — | — | L/NK | — |
| 297. CHHAJU RAM | Sep | 4/10 Hyd Regt | — | 2 Grla Regt |
| 298. CHANDU LAI | Sep | —do— | — | —do— |
| 299. CHAMAN SINGH | NK | 1/8 P R | S.O. | 3 Grla Regt |
| 300. CHADAR SINGH | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 301. CHANDAN SINGH | Sep | 1/8 P. R | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 302. CHANDU KUNWAR | Sep | B. S & M | — | 1 Engr. Coy |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| V. Bhoranpur, P. O. Zaherabad Dt. Bulandshahr | Died of disease in Singapore |
| V. Bukraba Kapurthala State | Killed in action |
| — | Caught and <i>hanged</i> (Charged of Infiltration) |
| V. Chhand, P. O. Chaukulia Almora | Killed in action |
| V. Dhoni Bilorwala Sowari Hissar | Killed at Sitang River, March, 1945 |
| V. Tibba, P. O. Talwandi Jullundur | • Killed in action at Kalewa |
| V. & P. O. Dhakli Dt. Meerut | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do, — |
| V. Gopi, P. O. Badliara, Jind State | Killed in bombardment near Sitang |
| V. & P. O. Sarawan Dt. Jullundar | <i>Hanged</i> in Multan Jail |
| — | Killed in action |
| V. Kulwala, P. O. Datarpur Hoshiarpur | Committed suicide at Mayang on 20th April, 1945 |
| V. Jhullian, P. O. Same Dt. Ambala | Killed in action |
| V. Kahna, P. O. Talwandi Kapurthala | —do— |
| V. & P. O. Rajpur-Bhaian Hoshiarpur | —do— |
| V. & P. O. Narwana Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Bhagpur, P. O. Kherja Dt. Bulandshahr | —do— |
| V. Pahari, P. O. Hindowni Jaipur | Killed in action |
| V. Khariyan, P. O. Bhattar, Hissar | —do— |
| Hindowni, Jaipur | —do— |
| — | Missing, believed killed |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 303. CHHOTU | Sep | I. G. S. C. | — | 3 Grla Regt |
| 304. CHUHAR SINGH | — | 5/2 P Regt | — | 2nd Inf Bn |
| 305. DALAWAR KHAN | NK | HKSRA | Hav | Int Gp. |
| 306 DAL BAHADUR THAPA | Hav | 2/1 Gurkha Rifles | Capt | Reinforcement Group |
| 307. DURGA MAL | —do— | —do— | —do— | Gurkha Spl Squad |
| 308. DFB SINGH | Sep | I A M C | L/NK | Medical |
| 309. D L DASS | H/Cik | 43 Ind Ambulance | S O | M. Police |
| 310 DALIP SINGH | Sep | 44 IBT Coy | Sep | 2 MT Coy |
| 311. DHAJJA RAM | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 312. DANISH PARAN JORI | Civilian | — | | Broadcasting and Publicity |
| 313. DHARA SINGH | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 314. DHARAM SINGH | Sep | 44 IBT Coy | Naik | — |
| 315. DASS H C | — | — | Dalpati | A II Dal |
| 316 DEL SINGH | Hav | 5/18 RG Rifles | S O | 1 Grla Regt |
| 317. DHUM SINGH | NK | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 318. DHAM SINGH | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 319. DARWAN SINGH | W/C | 2/18 RGR | —do— | —do— |
| 320. DHARAM SINGH | Sep | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 321. DEBSAGAR RAE | Sep | 18 F A | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 322 DAMAR BAHADUR | — | R G R | L/NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 323 DATU CHOHAN | Sep | 10 W/Shop | NK | Int. Group |
| 324. DHARAM SINGH | Hav | S & M | Lieut | 1 Bahadur Group |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| V. Bale, P.O. Nisang, Dt. Karnal — | Killed in action Died |
| V. & P. O. Jalili Dt. Jhelum Bara Kothe, Dharamsala Cantt. Dt. Kangra V. Bhorl Khana, P. O. Dharamsala Dt. Kangra | Killed in action <i>Hanged</i> by the British in Dt. Jail, Delhi, before INA Trial started —do— |
| V. Dalli, P. O. Bhogpur Surwal Dt. Jullundur V. Ramkottora Benares Cantt. V. & P. O. Rath Dhana Dt. Rohtak V. & P. O. Madina Dt. Rohtak Madras | Died due to bombing in March, 1945 at Pabo Killed by bombardment in Myang Hospital, Rangoon Killed in action Died of disease Died of T B at Singapore on 30.11.44 |
| V. Jatkhori, P. O. Halalpur Dt. Delhi V. Kair, P. O. Bahadurgarh, Dt. Delhi V. Pura Paltan, P. O. Ramna, Dacca — — — — — — — — | Killed in action —do— Died Killed in action in 1944 at Ekabano —do— at Trawang Died of disease at Mitha Haka in 1944 Died of disease at Trawang —do— Killed by enemy Air Action in Burma, 1945 Killed in action |
| V. Kurandwado Bombay — | Killed by bombardment at Mingaladon Killed in action |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 325. DAYA RAM | Sep | 5/14 P.R | NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 326. DUNI CHAND | L/NK | 5/2 P. Regt | NK | —do |
| 327. DHAN BAHADUR GURUNG | Sep | 2/2 GR | NK | —do |
| 328. DARKO JI RAO | — | — | — | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 329. DIWAN SINGH | NK | HKSRA | S O. | Int. Group |
| 330. DIWAN SINGH | Sep | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 331. DAOLTA RAM | -- | A M C | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 332. DAYA NAND | --- | - | Sep | 1 —do |
| 333. DUNGAR SINGH | Sep | 7/6 R R | Sep | 1/3 Grla Regt |
| 334. DALIP SINGH | NK | 6/1 P M | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 335. DAN SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | L/NK | 1 Grla Regt |
| 336. DIWAN SINGH | Sep | — | Sep | 3 —do— |
| 337. DAMODAR SINGH | Sep | A M C | Sep | Medical |
| 338. DIWAN SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do |
| 339. DIWAN SINGH | Sep | —do— | —do— | W/Shop |
| 340. DANI CHAND | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 341. DAMU CHAND | —do— | —do— | —do— | 1 —do— |
| 342. DALIP SINGH | Sep | 1/8 Punjab Regt | — | — |
| 343. DARSHAN SINGH | Sep | 5/14 —do— | L/NK | Int. Group |
| 344. DEOKALI PARSHAD | Sep | 2 MAS/AMC | Naik | 2 Bahadur Group |
| 345. DHUM SINGH | Sep | 7/8 P R | — | 3 Grla Regt |
| 346. DIXIT G. S. | — | — | Naik | 1 Bahadur Group |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| — | Killed in action . |
| — | —do— |
| V. Fattulain Dehra Dun | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. Rasulpur, P. O. Saluinpur Dt. Bulandshahr | —do— |
| Gurdaspur | —do— |
| V. Rithoj, P. O Shana Dt. Guigaon | —do— in Burma |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed by enemy bombardment |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died due to disease at Mitha Haka |
| — | Killed by enemy bombardment at Pabo |
| — | —do— at Yen |
| — | Died due to disease at Haka |
| — | Killed by enemy bombardment at Tangoo |
| — | Died of disease at Kalewa |
| — | Killed in action at Kohima |
| — | Died at Mandalay |
| Muzaffarnagar | Killed in action |
| — | Died |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 347. DALEL SINGH | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 348. DALIP SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 349. DEBI SINGH | —do— | 2/17 Dogra Regt | Hav | —do— |
| 350. DURGA DASS | Naik | 3/17 —do— | S O. | Int. Group |
| 351. DIWAN SINGH | Sep | 5/2 Punjab Regt | Sep | — |
| 352. DARYAO SINGH | Sep | 3/0 Jat Regt | S.O. | 2nd Bn German Front |
| 353. DHANA PAL | Sep | Madras S & M | — | —do— |
| 354. DALIP SINGH | Dr | 7 Battery Fd Regt | O/Sutse | —do— |
| 355. DAVA DANAM | Sep | 61 Fd Coy S & M | — | — |
| 356. DALIP SINGH | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 357. DHURU | — | HKSRA | — | — |
| 358. DIWAN SINGH | Sep | 5/8 PR | L/NK | 4 Grla Regt |
| 359. DHONDU RAWAT | — | 2/5 Mht | — | — |
| 360. DIP CHAND | — | 22 IBT Coy | L./NK | Int. Group |
| 361. DHAN BAHADUR | Hav | 2/5 G R | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 362. DHAN BAHADUR | —do— | 1/3 GR | —do— | —do— |
| 363. DEB SINGH | —do— | —do— | Sep | 3/1 Grla Regt |
| 364. DHAN SINGH | — | — | —do— | —do— |
| 365. DHAN SINGH | — | — | Hav | —do— |
| 366. DHANI CHAND | — | — | — | 1 Grla Regt |
| 367. DARWAN SINGH | — | — | — | 4/3 Grla Regt |
| 368. DHAN SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| Meerut | Killed in bombardment near Imphal |
| — | —do— near Kalewa |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died |
| V. & P. O. Mithowal Dt. Sheikhpura | Killed in action |
| — | Killed in action in France |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed by bullet in France; shot by chance by Sep Sucha Singh |
| — | Killed in bomb explosion in Holland, July, 1943 |
| V. Rithala, P. O Sampla Dt. Rohtak | • Died of disease at Kalewa |
| Meerut | Died of disease in Burma |
| V. Siri, P. O. Nauli Dt Garhwal | Killed in bombardment near Mandalay |
| — | Died of disease in Germany |
| V. Bijana, Karnal | Killed in action |
| Nepal | —do— |
| —do— | —do— |
| V. Bhimpura, P. O. Saenti Dt. Almora | —do— |
| P. O. Loharhat, Dt. Almora | —do— |
| V. Jamilyan, Dt Almora | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. & P. O. Kapkot Dt. Almora | —do— |
| Patli Mala Danpur, P. O. Loharkhet Almora | —do— |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 369. DARSHAN SINGH | Jem | Kapurthala Inf. | Lieut | 2 Grla Regt |
| 370. DAYA CHAND | — | HKSRA | L/NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 371. DHARAM SINGH | — | — | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 372. DARAB SINGH | -- | — | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 373. Deo KARAN | -- | - | Sep | —do— |
| 374. DIN MOHD | W/C | Kapurthala Inf | Sep | 2 —do— |
| 375. DARYAO SINGH | Jem | RIASC | Lt. | —do— |
| 376. DEVI DASS NIKAM | Sep | B S & M | Sep | 1 Engr. Coy |
| 377. DHONDU PAHA- VANKAR | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 378. DHONDIRAM JADAV | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 379. DATU KADIKAR | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 380. DALBARA SINGH | — | — | Capt | — |
| 381. DIDAR SINGH | Jem | -- | — | — |
| 382. DAYAL SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 383. DARSHAN SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 384. DALIP SINGH | — | - | Lieut | — |
| 385. DHIRU RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Hav | 3 Grla Regt |
| 386. DIP SINGH | A/Sep | 16 F A | N/Sep | 4 —do— |
| 387. DIWAN SINGH | Nak | HKSRA | Hav | Int. Group |
| 388. DOGRU KIKAN | Sep | B S & M | L/NK | 1 Engr. Coy. |
| 389. DIGOPAL | Civilian | — | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 390. DINDLA RAM | Sep | 1/8 P R | — | — |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| V. Khera, Kapurthala | Killed in action |
| V. Dhanasan, P O Bodhea Jind State | —do— |
| V Deoli, P O Merakhur Dt Agra | - do— |
| V. Basrichohar, P O Kuli Dt Agra | do— |
| V & P O Dalmia Dt Gurgaon | —do— |
| — | —do— near Implial |
| V Jakhanda, P O Bahadunguh Dt Rohtak | Died of starvation hardship in Pacific Island |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Hang'd in Delhi Jail on 3.5.45 |
| — | Died in France |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Killed in action in 1944 |
| V & P O Munda-Bata Chak 54 Dt Lyallpur | Died of dysentery in Sitang in January 1945 |
| V & P O Dubaldhan Dt Rohtak | Killed in action |
| V Kharsi P O Bomada Dt Jodhpur | —do— |
| V. Saiga, P O Namangabad Dt Bulandshahr | Died of dysentery |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| V Panchrio Bharatpur State | —do— |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 391. DIP SINGH | Sep | 1/8 P. R. | — | — |
| 392. DHANI RAM | —do— | 2/16 P. R. | Sep | 2nd Inf. Bn. |
| 393. DUNI CHAND | — | 5/2 P. R. | — | —do— |
| 394. DEVI RAM | — | 2/12 F. F. Regt | — | —do— |
| 395. FATEH KHAN | Sep | — | Hav | — |
| 396. FAZAL KHAN | — | — | Hav | 2 Grla Regt |
| 397. FATEH SINGH | NK | 5/18 RGR | NK | 1 —do— |
| 398. FATEH ALI | Hav | 5/2 P. R | Lieut | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 399. FEROZE KHAN | Sep | 5/11 Sikh Regt | L/NK | 1 Grla Regt |
| 400. FATEH KHAN | NK | —do— | Hav | —do— |
| 401. FATEH ALI | Sign | Signals | Gafrator | 1st Bn. German Front |
| 402. FATEH SINGH | Sep | HKSRA | — | — |
| 403. FAZAL KARIM | — | Kapurthala Inf. | Barber | X-Regt |
| 404. FAQIR SINGH | Cook | Kapurthala Inf. | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 405. FAZAL MOHD | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 406. FATEH MOHD | H/Clk | — | — | — |
| 407. FATEH KHAN | L/NK | — | NK | — |
| 408. FATEH ALI | L/NK | — | NK | — |
| 409. FAZAL DAD | Sep | — | Sep | — |
| 410. FARZAND ALI | Sep | — | Sep | — |
| 411. FAZAL DAD | — | — | Sep | — |
| 412. FATEH SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|---|
| V Targarh | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. & P. O. Dharukana Dt. Jhelum | —do— |
| V. Shakar Parian, P. O. Saidpur Dt. Rawalpindi | —do— on 5 4 45 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V Hazial, P. O. Karyala Dt. Jhelum | —do— |
| — | —do— at Haka |
| — | —do— in France |
| V. Chumri, Dt. Rohtak | Died of disease |
| — | Killed in action at Imphal |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Died of disease in Johar Baru Hospital |
| V. Shergur Dt. Hoshiarpur | Killed in action |
| V. Saroba, P. O. Zilong Dt. Jhelum | —do— |
| V. & P. O. Bhuchhal Khurd Dt. Jhelum | —do— |
| V. Hastal, P. O. Thowabahadur Dt. Jhelum | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died in Italy in July, 1944 |
| V. Shampur, P. O. Samanrara Dt. Ambala | Killed in bombardment |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 413. PANDA RAM | Sep | 7/8 P.R. | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 414. FAUJA SINGH | Sep | — | — | 5 —do— |
| 415. FATEH SINGH | Sep | R B S & M | Sep | 1 Engr. Coy |
| 416. FATEH MOHD | Sep | 4/9 1st Regt | — | 3/3 Grla Regt |
| 417. GABAR SINGH | Sep | 5/18 R G Rifles | Sep | 1 —do— |
| 418. GUR BACHAN SINGH | Subedar | 1/8 P R. | Lieut | Int. Group |
| 419. GIANI RAM | Sep | 2/9 1st Regt | L/NK | 1 Grla Regt |
| 420. GOPAL CHANDRA GANGULI | Civilian | — | — | A H. Dal |
| 421. GULAB NOOR | Sep | 6/14 P R | Sep | M. Police |
| 422. GURNAM SINGH | Civilian | — | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 423. GHULAM KHAN | Sep | 5/14 P R. | Sep | —do— |
| 424. GURNAM SINGH | Civilian | — | Sep | — |
| 425. GURUSWAMY | Civilian | -- | NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 426. GANGA SAGAR DIKSHIT | Hav Storekeeper | — | Hav | Bahadur Group |
| 427. GOVINDSWAMY | Civilian | — | Sep | Trg. Camp Kualalampur |
| 428. GURDIAL | Gur | 1st Ind H A A Bty | — | — |
| 429. GAMAL SINGH | Hav | 5/18 RG Rifles | Hav | — |
| 430. GAJPAL SINGH | NK | -do- | Hav | — |
| 431. GIAN SINGH | L/NK | -do- | NK | 1 Grla Regt |
| 432. GOVIND SINGH | -do- | -do- | L/NK | -do- |
| 433. GRAJPAI SINGH | -do- | -do- | Naik | -do- |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| Bharatpur | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Rohtak | Died at Jigargachha |
| V. Chakergaon, P. O. Bhilang Dt. Garhwal | Died of disease |
| — | Killed in action at Mutaik |
| V. Biyana Khera, P. O. Barwala Dt. Hissar | Killed in bombardment at Ziabadi—Burma |
| 3-D, Gopi Bose Lane, Bowbazar, Calcutta | Killed in action |
| V. Bazar Kale, P. O. Rustam Dt. Mardan | Killed in bombardment in Rangoon |
| V. Kote Karor Kalan, P. O. Daroli Bhai, Dt. Ferozepur | Killed in action near Palel |
| V. Akzai, P. O. Shorkot Dt. Kohat | Killed in action near Implial |
| V. Chak Khurd, P. O. Kanganwal Dt. Malerkotla | Died at Popa |
| V. Pannapathu, P. O. Chidambaram Dt. N. Arcot | Killed in action in bombardment in Mayong Hospital |
| V. & P. O. Sikandarpur Dt. Farakhabad | Killed in action |
| V. & P. O. Sangarampanthal Dt. Tanjore | Died in Singapore in Strait Clinic |
| — | Committed suicide at Mingladone on receiving the order of surrender to Allied Forces |
| — | Died of disease in 1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 434. GABAR SINGH | L/NK | 5/18 R G Rifles | L/NK | 1 Grla Regt |
| 435. GUMAN SINGH | Sep | -do- | Sep | -do- |
| 436. GOPAL SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 437. GABAR SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 438. GOPAL SINGH SAHI | R/m | 2/1 GR | S O | Reinforce- ment Group |
| 439. GURBAX SINGH | — | — | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 440. GHULAM HAIDER SHAH (<i>Tamagh-e- Bahaduri</i>) | NK | — | Hav | Int Group |
| 441. GODA RAM | Hav | 4/9 Jat Regt | S O | 3 Grla Regt |
| 442. GHULAM MOHD | Jem | Kapurthala Inf | Lieut | 2 -do- |
| 443. GANESH GOPAL | L/NK | 20 S P C RIASC | NK | Int Group |
| 444. GIRRAJ SINGH | — | — | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 445. GULAM MOHD | | HKSRA | Naik | -do- |
| 446. GHULAM PANJIAN | — | — | Sep | -do- |
| 447. GOPAL SINGH | Hav | 2/1 GR | — | — |
| 448. GOVIND SINGH RAWAT | — | — | Naik | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 449. GOWDA B G | Subedar | 1 Mysore Inf | Capt | Reinforce- ment Group |
| 450. GUMAN SINGH | Sep | 7/6 Raj Rifles | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 451. GOVIND SINGH | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 452. GOPAL MALL | Clk/Hav | 2/9 GR | Lieut | 3rd Trg Centre |
| 453. GORE KHAN | Hav | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 454. GOPAL SINGH | L/NK | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Hav | 1 Grla Regt |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| — | Died of disease in 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in 1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of disease at Bangkok in 1945 |
| — | Killed in action in Burma |
| — | —do— August, 1944 |
| — | —do— on 18.3.44 |
| — | Died of disease at Maymyo Hospital in Sept., 1944 |
| — | Killed in action at Kalewa in 1944 |
| — | —do— at Morang in May, 1944 |
| — | Drowned in Kaladan River in Feb., 1944 |
| — | Died of disease at Tamu on 26.5.44 |
| — | Died |
| V. Sallagarhi, P. O. Dharamsala Dt. Kangra | Died in Burma in August, 1944 |
| — | Died in active service |
| — | Killed in action in Burma in August, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in bombardment at Tamu in May, 1944 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 455 GOPAL SINGH | Sep | — | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 456. GAJENDAR SINGH | -do- | — | -do- | -do- |
| 457. GAJENDAR SINGH GURUNG | L/NK | Burma F. Force | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 458. GHISA RAM | — | HKSRA | Lieut | 2 Grla Regt |
| 459 GORDHAN | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | -do- |
| 460. GANGA SINGH | Sep | HKSRA | — | -do- |
| 461 GURNAM SINGH | -- | 7/8 P R | L/NK | 3 -do- |
| 462 GURMUKH SINGH | — | — | — | 1st Bn German Front |
| 463 GURBUX SINGH | Dr | M F. | L/MM | 3rd Bn German Front |
| 464 GURMUKH SINGH | Sowai | 11 PAVO | Gafrator | -do- |
| 465 GHULAM ISA KHAN | Sep | 25 IBT Coy | -do- | 1st Bn German Front |
| 466 GURDIAL SINGH | Sep | 5/11 Sikh Regt | — | — |
| 467. GOPI RAM | Sep | 7/8 P R | NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 468. GOVIND SINGH | Sep | 3/18 RGR | O/Gftr | German Front |
| 469. GOVIND RAJU | Sep | RIASC | — | — |
| 470. GURBACHAN SINGH | Sep | 5/2 P R | Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 471. GAJADHAR SINGH | Sep | 3 Gwalior Lancers | -do- | -do- |
| 472 GURDEO SINGH | Civilian | — | — | — |
| 473. GULZAR KHAN | Sep | — | Sep | 1 Div HQ |
| 474. GIRDHARI LALL | Sep | 4/1 Heavy A A. | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 475. GANESHI LALL | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| V. Paphon, P. O. Dung Bageshwar | Died of disease at Mitha Haka in June, 1944 |
| V. Askot Thamu, P. O. Askot Dt. Almora | Died of disease at Maymyo on 26.9.44 |
| — | Missing |
| V. Hasanpur Dt. Gurgaon | Died of disease at Maymyo Hospital |
| — | Died in bombardment |
| — | Died near Kalewa |
| — | Killed in Air Raid at Haka on 4.6.44 |
| Dt. Amritsar | Died in Western Front |
| — | Killed in action in Italy |
| — | —do— in Germany |
| — | Killed in France in Sep, 1944 |
| Dt. Ferozepur | Died of disease |
| Vill. Budhpura, P.O. Dadri, Dt. Bulandshahr | Killed in action at Pyinmana in March, 1945 |
| — | Killed in bombardment in Germany |
| — | Killed in action |
| Vill. Salon, P.O. Nawashahr, Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Taipi Teh Jagraon, Dt. Ludhiana | —do— |
| — | Killed in cycle accident in Singapore |
| Vill Dhawana, P.O. Dahma Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action near Imphal |
| Vill. Kaulpuri, P.O. Birar. Dt. Rohtak | Died of disease in Rangoon |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 476. GHULAM RASUL | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 477. GULAB SINGH | -do- | 18 RGR | -do- | -do- |
| 478. GOKAL RAM | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 479. GURBUX SINGH | Sep | B S & M | Sep | 1 Engr Coy. |
| 480. GURDIAL SINGH | Sep | — | L/NK | — |
| 481. GULWANT SINGH | — | — | Hav | — |
| 482. GURBUX SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 483. GULAM NABI | — | — | L/NK | — |
| 484. GURDIAL SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 485. GIAN SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 486. GOPI NATH | — | — | — | — |
| 487. GURDIAL SINGH | — | — | L/NK | — |
| 488. GURCHARAN SINGH | — | — | Hav | — |
| 489. GURDAS SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 490. GHULAM QADIR | — | — | Hav | — |
| 491. GHRDIT SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 492. GURDIAL SINGH | — | — | Lieut | — |
| 493. GURDIAL SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 494. GOPALA RAM | — | — | Sep | — |
| 495. GAJAKAR SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 496. GOVINDA RAJU | Civilian | — | Sep | — |
| 497. GILLI RAM (Shaheed-e-Bharat) | Sep | 1/8 P.R. | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| — | Killed in action near Sitang River |
| Vill. Pago, P.O. Rudarparyag, Dt. Garhwal | Killed in action |
| Vill. Bawa, P.O. Bahyholrahi Nahar State | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Thawali, Dt. Ludhiana | —do— in November, 1945 |
| Vill. Sandu Kalan, P.O. Padaur, Dt. Patiala State | Murdered |
| Vill. & P.O. Waigial Teh Kasur, Dt. Lahore | Died at Popa Front in December, 1945 |
| Vill. Dharmabad, Dt. Gurdaspur | Died in Bidadhari Camp in Feb, 1944 |
| — | Died in Tarhan Camp |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Sewawala, P.O. Jaito, Nabha State | —do— |
| — | <i>Hanged</i> in Delhi by the British |
| Vill. & P.O. Waltola, Lahore | Died of dysentery in Hospital |
| Vill. & P.O. Allahabad, Bahawalpur State | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Sarhali, Dt. Amritsar | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Bhoji, P.O. Chamkaur Teh Rupar, Dt. Ambala | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Mahuwa, Dt. Murana | —do— |
| Madras | —do— |
| Vill. Chandan, P.O. Hindown, Dt. Jaipur | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I N A</i> | |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 498 GIRAJ SINGH | Sep | 1/8 P R | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 499 GAJAN SINGH | —do— | HKSRA | Hav | —do— |
| 500 GANPAT RAM | Sep | 7/6 Raj Rifles | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 501 GANGA SAHAI | —do— | 2/9 Jat Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 502 GOPALA RAM | —do— | 1/8 P R | —do— | —do— |
| 503 GUR SAHAI | —do— | 7/8 P R | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 504 GURU SWAMY | Civilian | — | Sep | Int Group |
| 505 GANPAT SALGAR | Sep | R B S & M | Sep | 1 Engr. Coy |
| 506 GURDIAL SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 507 GUIZI RAM | —do— | 7/8 P R | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 508 GOPAL | — | —do— | 1 /NK | —do— |
| 509 GANGA RAM | | 2/12 11 Regt | — | 2nd Inf Bn |
| 510 GOPAL SINGH | | 3/17 Dogra Regt | — | M P |
| 511 HARI DASS | Capt | 1 M S | Lt Col | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 512 HARI SINGH | Hav | 1/11 Sikhi Regt | Capt | —do— |
| 513 HOSHIAR SINGH | —do— | 1/15 P R | S O | Int Group |
| 514 HARDOWARI | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 515 HARI SINGH | Sep | 44 IBT Coy | L/NK | 3 —do— |
| 516 HAZARA SINGH | — | — | Hav | — |
| 517 HAKI MAT RAI | — | — | Lieut | — |
| 518 HAR NARAIN | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 519 HATAM ALI | Sep | — | — | — |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|---|
| Vill. Jailgaon, P.O. Hindown, Dt. Jaipur | Killed in action |
| Vill. Banda Hori, P.O. Mudhal, Dt. Hissar | —do— |
| Vill. Sulukanangal, P.O. Narnol, Dt. Patiala | —do— |
| Vill. Nimdariwala, P.O. Maunad, Jind State | —do— |
| Vill. Meolamaharajpur, P.O. Faridabad, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| P.O. Rewari, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Khora, P.O. Khoral, Dt. Alwar | —do— |
| Vill. Kunjaya, P.O. Jhanar, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| Dt. Garhwal | —do— |
| Kangra | Died |
| Zargar Bazar, Kohat | Shot by Japanese sentry on 30.4.46 |
| Vill. & P.O. Dakha, Dt. Ludhiana | Died at Military Hospital, Multan on 22.6.46 |
| Vill. & P.O. Khanda, Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| Vill. Selang, P.O. Kanina, Nabha State | Died in action |
| Vill. Shahpore, P.O. Mehraul, Dt. Delhi | Killed in action |
| Vill. Jhan Giana, Dt. Hoshiarpur | Hanged in Red Fort, Delhi, by British on 25.10.44 |
| Mahalla Sethian, Talagang Dt. Campbellpur | Died of dysentery in New Guinea (Pacific Sealand) |
| Vill. & P.O. Madina, Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Dherekan-Kalan, Dt. Gujral | Died of T.B. in Military Hospital, Lucknow on 1.4.46 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 520. HARI SINGH | Sep | 5/2 P.R. | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 521. HARKA RAM | Sep | HKSR | Naik | —do— |
| 522. HAKAM SINGH | — | — | S.O. | 1 Grla Regt |
| 523. HAR SINGH RAWAT | Sep | 5/18 RGR | —do— | Int. Group |
| 524. HAZURA SINGH | Civilian | — | Cadet Officer | — |
| 525. HARDIP SINGH | Sep | 7/8 P R | — | 3 Grla Regt |
| 526. HEM RAJ | Gnr | 1st Ind HAA Regt | — | — |
| 527. HIMAT SINGH | QMII | 5/18 RGR | S.O. | 1 Grla Regt |
| 528. HAR SINGH | Sep | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 529. HAKA SINGH | Sep | ' —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 530. HANSA SINGH | Hav/Clk | 5/14 PR | S.O. | 2 Grla Regt |
| 531. HARCHAND SINGH | L/NK | —do— | Hav | Bahadur Group |
| 532. HIMAT SINGH | — | 7/6 RR | S.O. | 1 —do— |
| 533. HARBANS SINGH | -- | — | Naik | —do— |
| 534. HIMAT SINGH | — | — | S.O. | —do— |
| 535. HAMID R. A. | — | Mysore Inf | Lieut | —do— |
| 536. HARI SINGH | — | 1st Ind H A A. | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 537. HAMIR SINGH | Sep | 7/6 R R | —do— | 3 —do— |
| 538. HIRA LALL | Sep | 203 SPC RIASC | —do— | Reinforce- ment Group |
| 539. HAKIM SINGH | Sep | 5/2 P.R. | —do— | 2 Grla Regt |
| 540. HIRA SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | 1 —do— |
| 541. HAR DATT | Sep | —do— | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|---|
| Vill. Paprala, P.O. Rupar, Dt. Ambala | Died at Tantu |
| Vill. & P.O. Bamla, Dt. Hissar | Killed in action near Kalewa |
| Vill. Khaila, P.O. Mausli, Dt. Patiala State | Died during withdrawal from Imphal |
| Vill. Thala Dimmar, P.O. Simli, Dt. Garhwal | Died in Burma |
| Vill. Akkanwali, P.O. Baha, Dt. Patiala | Killed in action at Imphal |
| Rohitak | Died |
| — | Committed suicide at Mingladown on receiving orders of surrender to Allied Forces |
| — | Drowned in Dec., 1943 in Neesoon |
| — | Died of disease in 1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died |
| — | Killed in action at Kohima |
| — | Died of burns in Hospital |
| — | Died |
| — | Killed in bombing in February, 1945 |
| — | Died of disease in Rangoon in March, 1945 |
| Vill. & P.O. Dakhaur, Dt. Ferozepore | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of T.B. in Singapore in January, 1945 |
| — | Died of disease at Kalewa in July, 1944 |
| Almora | Killed in Air Raid at Tangoo in July, 1944 |
| — | Died of disease at Yen in August, 1944 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

I CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 542. HAS RAM | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 543. HAR PHUL SINGH | — | 7/8 PR | Naik | —do— |
| 544. HAKAM SINGH | — | 36 Fd Ambulance | Sep | —do— |
| 545. HAZURA SINGH | — | 5/11 Sikh Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 546. HAZARA SINGH | — | HKSRA | L/NK | —do— |
| 547. HANSA SINGH | Sep | 5/11 Sikh Regt | — | 2 Grla Regt |
| 548. HATIZ ULI AH | | 6/1 R R | Lieut | 3 Grla Regt |
| 549. HARI SINGH | | RIASC | — | German Front |
| 550. HARI CHAND | - | - | Hav | — |
| 551. HAR GIAN | - | — | — | — |
| 552. HAR MOHAN SINGH | | | Hav | - |
| 553. HARBANS SINGH | | — | Gftr | — |
| 554. HANS RAM | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 1 Grla |
| 555. HARI DALL | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 556. HARI SINGH | -do- | 4/1 Heavy AA Regt | -do- | -do- |
| 557. HARBANS SINGH | Sep | Kapurthala Inf | -do- | -do- |
| 558. HAZARA SINGH | Sep | 5/2 P R | L/NK | — |
| 559. HADAYAT ULLAH | Sep | — | L/NK | — |
| 560. HARI SINGH | — | — | Lieut | — |
| 561. HUSSAIN ALI | Sep | — | L/NK | — |
| 562. HARJIT SINGH | -- | — | Sep | — |
| 563. HAKAM SINGH | — | — | S O. | — |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| — | Killed in action near Kalewa |
| P.O. Kalanor, Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action at Tamu |
| — | —do— at Haka on 31.8.44 |
| — | Died of disease at Kalewa in August, 1944 |
| Vill. Jagniwala, P.O. Nidola, Dt. Hoshiarpur | Killed in action at Yezin on 24.45 |
| — | Died of disease at Tamu in Aug 1944 |
| Vill. Gulma Panda, P.O. Haripur-Hazra | Killed in action at Yen in Sep. 1944 |
| — | Committed suicide in Germany in Sept., 1942 |
| Vill. & P.O. Chukli, Dt. Kohlapur | Died of disease in Hospital in December, 1944 |
| Vill. Rajpur-Karali | Died |
| Partapgarh | Killed in action, Kaladon Front |
| — | Killed in France |
| Alwar | Killed in action at Kalewa |
| Alwar | Died in Maymyo Hospital |
| Vill. Misri, P.O. Dalmia Dadri, Jind State | Killed in action at Kalewa in Sept., 1944 |
| Vill. Dhapai, P.O. Kapurthala, Jullundar | —do— Peguyema Hills on 15.6.45 |
| — | Missing |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Died in Jail |
| Vill. & P.O. Choha Saudan-Shah, Dt. Jhelum | Died in Hospital in October, 1944 |
| — | Killed in Imphal Front |
| | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 564. HIRO RAM | — | — | Sep | — |
| 565. HAROHARAN SINGH | — | — | Hav | — |
| 566. HARI SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 567. HAZARI LAL | Dr. | — | — | — |
| 568. HAR LALL | — | — | Sep | 2 Grla |
| 569. HARNAM SINGH | Cook | Rb S & M | Sep | 1 Engr Coy |
| 570. HANS RAJ | — | 7/8 P R | L/NK | 3 Grla |
| 571. HARI RAM | L/NK | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 572. HAR MOHAN | Civilian | — | Sep | Int. Group |
| 573. HANUMAN | -- | -- | L/NK | — |
| 574. HARDEVA | — | IGSC | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 575. HARI SINGH | Civilian | — | -do- | 1 -do- |
| 576. HORAM | — | 1/8 PR | L/NK | — |
| 577. HANSA RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 1/3 Grla Regt |
| 578. HIRA LAL | — | — | Sep | 3/3 -do- |
| 579. HARBANS SINGH | Sep Clerk | 1/14 PR | — | — |
| 580. INAYAT ULLAH (Veer-e-Hind) | NK | 1 Motor Ambu- lance RIASC | Lieut | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 581. ISHAR DASS BHATIA | Hav | IAOC | — | A. H. Dal |
| 582. INDAR SINGH | Sep | RIASC | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 583. INDER SINGH | NK | 5/18 RGR | Naik | 1 -do- |
| 584. INDER SINGH | Sep | -do- | Sep | -do- |
| 585. INDER SINGH | -do- | -do- | L/NK | -do- |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Gadhon, P.O. Sarka Ghat, Dt. Kangra | Died of disease in Bidadhari Hospital |
| Vill. Dulchika, P.O. Uggoke, Sialkot | Died at Jetra |
| Nabha State | Died |
| Vill. Manhejitpura, Dt. Bhind | Killed in action |
| Vill. Banjarpur, Dt. Bulandshahr | —do— |
| Vill. Baidpura, P.O. Dadri, Bulandshahr | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Palhari, Jaipur | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Tigaon, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| Vill. Khanpur Kholra, P.O. Bahu, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| Vill. Bakorpur, P.O. Manauli, Dt. Ambala | Died in New Guinea |
| Vill. Talozai, P.O. Pabbi, Dt. Peshawar | Died at Tamu in July, 1944 |
| Vill. & P.O. Kalabagh, Dt. Mianwali | Killed in action |
| Vill. Udohal, P.O. Mehatpur Dt. Jullundur | Wounded and died in Maymyo Hospl. |
| — | Died of disease in 1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 586. Inder Singh | Jem | 2/16 PR | Lieut | 4 Grla Regt |
| 587. Inder Singh | Hav | 3 Fd Coy S & M | 2/Lt. | 1 Engr Coy |
| 588. Ismat Ullah | Hav/Clerk | Indian Signal | O/Gftr | 1st Bn Ger- man Front |
| 589. Inder Singh | Sep | HKSRA | — | — |
| 590. Ilam Chand | Sep | HKSRA | — | — |
| 591. Indraj | Hav | -do- | Lieut | AA Bty |
| 592. Ibrahim | Sep | Kapurthala Inf | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 593. Imam-ud-Din | Cook | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 594. Ibrahim | Sep | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 595. Ismail | -do- | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 596. Imamdin | — | — | — | — |
| 597. Ishwar Singh | Sep | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 598. Irsaad | — | — | L/NK | -do- |
| 599. Indur Singh | — | — | — | — |
| 600. Jagat Singh | — | — | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 601. Jai Lall | Gnr | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 602. Jai Mal Singh | Sep | -do- | Sep | 3 -do- |
| 603. Jarnail Singh | Sep | 1/15 PR | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 604. Jiwan Singh | Sub Major | RIASC | Major | 1 Div HQ |
| 605. Jagat Singh | Sep | 1/15 PR | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 606. Jowand Singh | Sub | RB S & M | Major | -do- |
| 607. Jagir Singh | — | — | — | — |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| — | Died |
| — | Died of disease at Maymyo Hospital in Sept., 1944 |
| — | Killed in France |
| — | Died of disease near Kalewa |
| Vill. & P.O. Saruspore, Dt. Meerut | Died of disease |
| Vill. Nimriati, P.O. Chhapar, Jind State | Died of T.B. at Maymyo Hospital |
| — | Killed in action near Imphal |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died in Hospital |
| Vill. Kabulgarh, P.O. & Dt. Mirpur | Killed in action |
| Vill. Kharora, P.O. Khartal, Alwar | —do— |
| Vill. Ningana, Dt. Rohtak | Died |
| Vill. Jhubian-Brahminandian, P.O. Ramgarh, Jammu | Killed in action |
| — | Killed in action at Arakan in 1944 |
| Vill. & P.O. Madina, Dt. Rohtak | Died at Kalewa |
| Vill. Panduwan, P.O. Dalmia Dadri Jind State | Died of disease in Burma in May, 1945 |
| Vill. & P.O. Baddi Tehli, Dt. Hoshiarpur | Killed in action in May, 1944 |
| Vill. & P.O. Mayo Path, Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action near Tamu |
| Vill. Kundpur, P.O. Adampur, Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action on 6.6.44 in Arakan Front |
| Vill. & P.O. Udonangal, Dt. Amritsar | Committed suicide in Red Fort on a/c of ill treatment of the authorities concerned |
| Vill. Jhallian Simble, P.O. Rupar, Dt. Ambala | Died of disease in Kalewa Hospital |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 608. JAG RAM | Sep | Jind Inf. | Naik | 2 Grla' Regt |
| 609. JAG RAM | Sep | 7/8 PR | Lieut | 3 -do- |
| 610. JARNAIL SINGH | Sep | — | Sep | — |
| 611. JAHAN DAD | — | — | NK | — |
| 612. JHAMATMAL SUKHRAM DAS HASRAJNI | Civilian | — | — | A. H. Dal |
| 613. JAGIR SINGH | Sep | 5/11 Sikh | M. Police | — |
| 614. JOGINDER SINGH | Civilian | — | Sep | 1/6 Grla Regt |
| 615. JUGTI RAM | Sep | 4/9 Jat Regt | Hav | 1 Grla Regt |
| 616. JANGI SINGH | - - | — | | |
| 617. JAGAT SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | NK | |
| 618. JIT SINGH | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | — | 3 Grla Regt |
| 619. JAGAT SINGH | Civilian | — | Sep | 1 -do- |
| 620. JASWANT SINGH | -do- | — | Sep | 2 -do- |
| 621. JAGAT SINGH | Hav | 5/18 RGR | Hav | 3rd Bn |
| 622. JOGA SINGH | L/NK | -do- | L/NK | -do- |
| 623. JITTAR SINGH | Sep | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 624. JAWAHAR SINGH | Sep | 2/18 RGR | Sep | -do- |
| 625. JHANKAR SINGH | Sep | 5/18 RGR | -do- | -do- |
| 626. JAGAT RAM | W/O | 10 Fd Dept | -do- | Bahadur Group |
| 627. JOGINDAR SINGH | Hav | 5/2 PR | Hav | 1 -do- |
| 628. JAI SINGH | Sep | 2/17 Dogra | — | 2 -do- |
| 629. JAI KARAN SINGH | NK | 18 Field Amb. | Hav | Int. Group |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Vill. Dewawas, P.O. Jhunpa, Dt. Hissar | Killed in action |
| Vill. Tukhlagabad, P.O. Mehrauli, Dt. Delhi | —do— |
| Vill. Burj Racka, P.O. Sarhali, Dt. Amritsar | Killed in action |
| Vill. Shakar Pasian, P.O. Saidan, Dt. Rawalpindi | Died at Penang on 22.12.43 |
| Main Bazar, Saraf Chowk, Hyderabad (Sind) | Killed in action near Imphal |
| Vill. & P.O. Jhabal, Dt. Amritsar | Killed in Akyab Front |
| Vill. Jauhal, P.O. Jandu Singh, Dt. Jullundur | Died of disease in Singapore Hospital |
| Vill. Dahaman, P.O. Uklana, Dt. Hissar | —do— |
| Vill. Manipar, P.O. Samoghar, Dt. Gorakhpur | Killed in action at Popa Hills |
| Vill. & P.O. Mirpur, Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action in Burma |
| Vill. Alewa, P.O. Raijan, Dt. Karnal | Died |
| Vill. Saristapur, P.O. Manak Dhert, Dt. Hoshiarpur | Died |
| — | Died |
| — | Killed in action in 1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of disease in 1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Died of disease at Tarow in 1944 |
| — | Died of burns |
| — | Killed in action in Burma |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 630. JHUTA RAM | Sep | 1/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 631. JALAL KHAN | Sep | 5/11 Sikh | Sep | 1 -do- |
| 632. JAGDEV SINGH SURI | UDC | 206 SPC RIASC | Lieut | A. H. Dal |
| 633. JAGA SINGH | Sep | 2 Burma Rifles | L/NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 634. JHANDA SINGH | Sep | HKSRA | NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 635. JAI CHAND | -do- | , -do- | Sep | -do- |
| 636. JIWAN SINGH | -do- | 4/19 Hyd Regt | L/NK | -do- |
| 637. JAGIR SINGH | -do- | Bahawalpur Inf. | Sep | -do- |
| 638. JIT SINGH | Sep | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 639. JAGBANDAN | Dhobi | , - | —do— | Reinforce- ment Group |
| 640. JAGAT SINGH | - | — | — | — |
| 641. JAMNA DASS | - | - | — | — |
| 642. JIR RAM | -- | 4/0 Jat Regt | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 643. JAGMAIL SINGH | -- | HKSRA | Sep | — |
| 644. JAGAT RAM | - | —' | Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 645. JOGA CHAND | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 646. JOGINDAR SINGH | Sep | Kapurthala Inf | NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 647. JAGAT SINGH | -do- | -do- | Sep | —do— |
| 648. JAT SINGH | -do- | -do- | —do— | —do— |
| 649. JAT RAM | -do- | — | Hav | 3 Grla Regt |
| 650. JAG MAL | -- | 4/19 Hyd Regt | L/NK | —do— |
| 651. JHUTHAR | — | -do- | Sep | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| Jaipur | Died of wounds at Imphal Front in June, 1944 |
| Vill. & P.O. Hastal, Dt. Jhelum | Died in Burma in May, 1944 |
| Vill. & P.O. Daultola, Dt. Rawalpindi | Died of disease in Burma in July, 1944 |
| — | Died of disease in Myang Hospital |
| — | Killed in action in Burma |
| — | Killed in action near Kalewa |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— near Yezin in March, 1945 |
| — | Died of disease at Tamu in August, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in Burma on 15 8 44 |
| — | Died of T.B. in France |
| — | Killed in Air Raid in Germany |
| P.O. Bias, Jaipur State | Killed in action at Popa Hills in April, 1944 |
| V. Togna, P.O. Chaprol, Dt. Meerut | Killed in action |
| Kangra | —do— |
| V. Kuala, P.O. Wadda, Dt. Almora | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Sidhwan | —do— |
| Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| V. Tibba, P.O. Talwandi, Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| V. Dhopai, P.O. Kapurthala, Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| V. Udham, P.O. Murson, Dt. Aligarh | —do— |
| V. Kharkhari, P.O. Farukhnagar, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| V. Khoma Neshar, P.O. Badshahpur, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

CHAP.
I. N. A.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 652. JAG RAM | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 653. JALLU RAM | — | 2/17 Dogra Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 654. JAI NARAIN | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 655. JAMAL-UD-DIN | Sep | Kapurthala Inf | NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 656. JAI SINGH MORE | — | R. B S & M | L/NK | 1 Engr Coy |
| 657. JAI RAM CHOWAN | — | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 658. JAGAI SINGH | — | W/Shop Coy | —do— | —do— |
| 659. JOGINDAR SINGH | — | R B S & M | —do— | —do— |
| 660. JAT SINGH | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 661. JOGINDER SINGH | Ind Signals | — | S O | Int. Group |
| 662. JALaura SINGH | — | — | NK | — |
| 663. JAGAT RAM | — | — | NK | — |
| 664. JAGIR SINGH | — | Bahawalpur Inf | — | 1 Grla Regt |
| 665. JALAL DIN | — | — | — | — |
| 666. JAGIR SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 667. JAGDISH SINGH | — | — | 2/Lt | — |
| 668. JAILALL | — | — | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 669. JAGAN RAM | L/NK | 7/8 PR | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 670. JUWAN SINGH | Sep | 1/8 PR | Sep | —do— |
| 671. JAI SINGH | —do— | 7/8 PR | —do— | —do— |
| 672. JAMDAR SINGH | —do— | 1/8 PR | Sep | —do— |
| 673. JAGMIG SINGH | —do— | 2 HKSRA | —do— | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|---|
| V. & P.O. Motta Dt. Gurgaon — | Killed in action —do— |
| V. Paigha, P.O. Mohindargarh, Patiala | —do— |
| V. Mainwan, P.O. & Dt. Kapurthala — | —do— at Imphal —do— |
| — | • Killed in action at Imphal |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. Jauhal, P.O. Jandusinghoola, Dt. Jullundur — | Died in hospital in Singapore Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| V. Tharipurawali, P.O. Minchni, Dt. Bahawal Nagar — | Died in Ziawadi Hospl. —do— |
| V. Burjnaklianwala, P.O. Raikat, Dt. Ludhiana | Died in Shanghai |
| Sadar Bazar Jullundur Cantt. | Killed in action |
| V. Kheri Kumar, P. O. Jhajjar Dt. Rohtak | Died |
| V. Gowta, P.O. Mandona, Jaipur | Killed in action |
| V. Jali, P.O. Hindowne City Jaipur | —do— |
| V. Gopawali, Jaipur | —do— |
| V. Khertu, P.O. Hindowne City, Jaipur | —do— |
| V. Tagama, P.O. Barat Dt. Meerut | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 674. JHUTAR | Sep | 2 HKSRA | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 675. JAGAN NATH | Civilian | — | —do— | 4 Engr Coy |
| 676. JAS RAM | Sep | Bahawalpur Inf. | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 677. JOT RAM | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 2 —do— |
| 678. JAIVANT SHIDE | Sep | R.B. S & M | Sep | 1 Engr Coy |
| 679. JOHN A. | Civilian | , — | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 680. JAGIR SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 681. JAGGAN SINGH | — | 2/9 Jat Regt | Hav | 1/3 Grla Regt |
| 682. KIRPAL SINGH RAWAT | Sep | 2/18 RGR | Naik | 3/1 Grla Regt |
| 683. KANAHIYA LAL | Sep | 8th P.R | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 684. KESRA SINGH | — | — | Sep | —do— |
| 685. KABUL SINGH | Jem | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Capt | 1 Grla Regt |
| 686. KALI RAM | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 687. KHUDA BUX | Hav/Clerk | 5/11 Sikh Regt | S.O. | — |
| 688. KAILASH NATH | A/Hav | 40 S. P. S. RIASC | S.O. | HQ Supreme Commdt. |
| 689. KARAM SINGH | NK | — | S.O. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 690. KETKAR | Sub. | I MD/AMC | Major | 2 Inf. Bn. |
| 691. N. KUTTAPPAN | — | — | — | 5th Grla Regt |
| 692. KURARA RAM | Sep | 1 Bahawalpur Inf. | Naik | 1 Grla Regt |
| 693. KHAN MOHD | — | — | L/NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 694. KAZANA | — | — | NK | — |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| V. Rohrai, P.O. Jatosena Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| V. Kalauth, P.O. Kund Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| V. Sone, P.O. Chuera Dt. Mathura | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Missing—believed killed |
| Dt. Hissar | Killed in action |
| V. Siungi, P.O. Langasu Dt. Garhwal | Died of disease in Burma in 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in Arakan hills in May, 1944 |
| V. Sainabod, P.O. Sarint Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action near Haka |
| V. Duhai, P.O. Muradnagar, Dt. Meerut | Killed in Air Raid in Arakan in July, 1944 |
| V. Chitya Auliya, P.O. Sonipat Dt. Rohtak | Died of disease near Kalewa |
| V. Tajek, P.O. Rangoo Dt. Campbellpur | Died of disease at Tamu in August, 1944 |
| 86, Jews' Street, Tanjore | Died of Gun-shot wound on 24.4.45 in Rangoon accidentally while cleaning the Rifle |
| Chak No. 50, P.O. Chak No. 51 GB, Lyallpore | Killed in Bombay at INA Camp at Tanshan Khan on 6.6.44 |
| Ring's Circle, Matunga, Bombay | Killed in action at Popa |
| Kizhakumkara Puthen Elamkulam Thazathu Cheery, P.O. Verkala Travancore | Killed in action in Burma |
| V. Kakralla, P.O. Kanina Nabha State | Killed in action in 1944 |
| V. & P.O. Nurpur Dt. Jhelum | Killed in action on 11.1.45 in Rangoon |
| V. Bharan, P.O. Oatpur Dt. Kangra | Killed in action near Palel |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 695. KHOSLA N.N. | Capt | RIASC | Lt. Col. | HQ No. 1 Dn. |
| 696. KARTAR SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 697. KHUSHI RAM | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 698. KANHIYA LAL | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 699. KUTTY KRISHNAN NAIR | — | — | Sep | Trg. Insti- tute |
| 700. KUMARAN NAIR | — | — | — | — |
| 701. KHAZAN SINGH | Sep | HKSR A | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 702. KABUL SINGH | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 703. KRISHAN DATT MEHTA | Sep | 16/F A AMC | — | Int. Group |
| 704. KOSHY VAIDAN T.K. | Civilian | — | Office Asst. | Johor Br. I I. League |
| 705. KALI MUTHU | — | — | Sep | 1/2 Grla Regt |
| 706. KARTAR SINGH | — | — | Sep | 4 MT Coy |
| 707. KESHAR SINGH | Mess Waiter | 1/13 FF Rifles | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 708. KISHAN SINGH | — | — | Sep | 2 —do— |
| 709. KHUSHI MOHD | Sep | Shanghai Police | Sep | S.S. Group |
| 710. KANSHI RAM | Sep | HKSR A | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 711. KOMAN V. | Civilian | — | Swaraj Institute | I.I.L. Penang |
| 712. KARTAR SINGH | — | — | L/NK | 1/3 Grla Regt |
| 713. KARNAIL SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 714. KARAMAL SINGH | — | — | — | 6 Grla Regt |
| 715. KFHAR SINGH (Sher-e-Hind) | Sep | 1/13 FF Rifles | NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 716. KLIHAR SINGH | Civilian | — | — | — |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| 29, Queen Road Lahore | Killed in action in 1944 in Mandalay |
| V. & P.O. Ucha Khatra Dt. Amritsar | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Dighal Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| —do— | —do— |
| Thehangad House, P.O. Kadampur S. Malabar | Died of T.B. on 22.4.46 in Singapore |
| V. Nellikode, P.O. Puthiyara S. Malabar | Died |
| V. Matindo, P.O. Kharkada Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Jharsa Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| Dt. Jhelum | —do— |
| Thekkey Thayil, The Valakara, P.O. Chava, Travancore | Died |
| V. Puthupatnam, P.O. Alhalpuram Tanjore | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Naushara-Dhalla Dt. Amritsar | Killed in bombardment in Rangoon |
| V. Mooni, P.O. Pankhal Dt. Garhwal | Died |
| V. & P.O. Badhri Kalan Dt. Ferozepore | Killed in action |
| V. Bhundri, P.O. Sowaddi Dt. Ludhiana | Killed in Burma Front |
| V. & P.O. Chharah Dt. Rohtak | Died of disease in I.N.A. Hospital, Mandalay |
| V. & P.O. Guruvayur Malabar | Died |
| V. & P.O. Buttor Dt. Ferozepore | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Paras-Mahana Dt. Ferozepore | Died in Nilganj Camp when Camp Guard fired I.N.A. personnel |
| V. Khori Bari, P.O. Bhatni Dt. Gorakhpur | Died in Burma |
| V. Hailran, P.O. Bhurawal Dt. Hoshiarpur | Died |
| V. Mughalkhatrian, P.O. Sagri Dt. Rawalpindi | Missing |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 717. KALU RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Hav | 1 Grla Regt |
| 718. KUMARAN T. P. | Civilian | — | I/C. Intelligence Br. | Ind. Swaraj Institute |
| 719. KHUSHAL SINGH | NK | 5/18 RGR | Hav | 3rd Bn. |
| 720. KIDAR SINGH | L/NK | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 721. KANAYA SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 722. KIDAR SINGH | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 723. KRIPAL SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 724. KUNDAN SINGH | —do— | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 725. KHANTAR SINGH | —do— | 2/18 RGR | Sep | —do— |
| 726. KHEM SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 727. KUMRAJ THAPA | Hav | 2/1 'Gurkha Rifles | S.O. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 728. KHUSHAL SINGH | NK | 5/18 RGR | Naik | 1 Grla Regt |
| 729. KANSHI RAM | — | 3/17 Dogra Regt | — | Band S.C. |
| 730. KUNDAN SINGH | Hav | 7/8 PR | Capt | Int. Group |
| 731. KHIALI RAM | —do— | 2/17 Dogra Regt | 2/Lt. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 732. KALLU (Gurkha) | — | — | Sep | —do— |
| 733. KUMBRAJ (Gurkha) | — | — | NK | —do— |
| 734. KESAR SINGH | Civilian | — | Sep | —do— |
| 735. KESAR DASS | — | — | NK | —do— |
| 736. KAVI RAJ B. K. | — | — | —do— | —do— |
| 737. KHAN BEG | — | 2/10 Baluch Regt | L/NK | Int. Gp. |
| 738. KHUSHAL SINGH | Jem | 1/13 I.F. Rifles | Capt | Reinforce- ment Group |
| 739. KUL BAHADUR | — | — | Sep | Body Guard Bn. |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| V. Chirod, P.O. Barwa Dt. Hissar | Died |
| V. Nelligode, P.O. Puthiyara S. Malabar | Hanged by the British |
| — | Died of disease—1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Died of disease—1944 |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Died of disease—1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Died of disease at Trawang in 1944 |
| V. & P.O. Hamirpur Dt. Kangra | Died of burns in Hospital |
| — | Killed in action on 10th April, 1944 |
| V. Har, P.O. Hamirpur, Dt. Kangra | Killed in action near Imphal in April, 1944 |
| — | Drowned in November, 1943 |
| — | Died |
| — | Died of disease in Rangoon in Oct, 1944 |
| — | —do— in August, 1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in action in Arakan Hills |
| V. Julianwala, P.O. Manawa Dt. Mirpur Shan State | Died in Singapore in March, 1945 |
| | Died in Burma |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.]

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I N. A</i> | |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 740 KLDAR SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 741 KULO MANI | L/NK | A M C | NK | 3 —do— |
| 742 KISHAR SINGH | Sep | —do— | —do— | — |
| 743 KIRPA SINGH | Hav | G R | C/Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 744 KALI RAM | Sep | HKSRA | L/NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 745 KALIA SINGH | Sep | 5/2 PR | Sep | —do— |
| 746 KHAN BAZ | —do— | 3 1 PR | —do— | 950 Unit German Front |
| 747 KARAN SINGH | —do— | 7/8 PR | Hav | 3 Grla Regt |
| 748 KARAM SINGH | do— | 2/14 PR | Sep | —do— |
| 749 KEHAR SINGH | Cook | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 750 KISHAR SINGH | Sep | 5/2 PR | Sep | — |
| 751 KAIWA RAM | Sep | 1/8 I R | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 752 KHAN MOHD | Cook | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Hav | 1 Bahadur Coy |
| 753 KAIU RAM | — | — | L/Officer | — |
| 754 KHODDER | Civilian | — | — | — |
| 755 KAIU RAM | — | — | — | 2nd Bn German Front |
| 756 KARTAR SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 757 KARTAR SINGH | — | Signals | — | — |
| 758 KOHIAH | — | 61 Id Coy S & M | — | — |
| 759 KUMARIN KIRTI | — | RIASC | — | — |
| 760 KAMIKAR SINGH | Sep | HKSRA | — | — |
| 761 KAITU LAMA | — | — | SO | Trg Centre |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| — | Killed in Air Raid in Popa in March, 1945 |
| — | Killed in bombing at Ye-u on 4.4.44 |
| — | Died of disease at Chambol in June, 1944 |
| — | Killed in Air Raid at Myitkana in December, 1943 |
| — | Died near Kalewa |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in France in July, 1944 |
| V. & P.O. Bilaspur Dt. Bullandshahr | Killed in Air Raid at Yezin in March, 1945 |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of disease at Tamu in August, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action near Kalewa in July, 1944 |
| Vill. Katesra, P.O. & Dt. Bharatpur | Killed in bombardment at Yen—1944 |
| — | Killed in bombardment in Hospital, February, 1945 |
| — | Killed in France |
| Kadavil House, P.O. Anchigore, Travancore | Hanged by Govt. of India |
| — | Killed in action in France in August, 1944 |
| — | Shot dead by French soldier in France in August, 1944 |
| — | Shot dead by a French terrorist in France in November, 1944 |
| — | Killed in bomb explosion in Holland in July, 1943 |
| — | Died in Germany |
| — | Died of T.B. in Singapore in October, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action near Cnindwin River on 31.12.43 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 762. KARAM SINGH | Sep | RIASC | Sep | — |
| 763. KANO RAM | — | HKSRA | — | — |
| 764. KARTAR SINGH | Sep | 5/8 PR | Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 765. KARAM SINGH 'E' | —do— | S & M | —do— | —do— |
| 766. KESAR DAS | Store Keeper | — | Hav | —do— |
| 767. KHAN BAS | -- | 4/11 Sikh Regt | O/Gft | — |
| 768. KUNWAR SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 769. KEDAR SINGH | - do - | --do— | —do— | —do— |
| 770. KASHI RAM | Sep | C G H. | Sep | — |
| 771. KUNDAN LAL | —do— | 4/1 Heavy AA Regt | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 772. KRISHNA RAM | NK | HKSRA | Hav | —do— |
| 773. KANI RAM | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | —do— |
| 774. KHAYALI RAM | Hav | —do— | S.O. | —do— |
| 775. KANHIYA | — | — | L/NK | —do— |
| 776. KANAHAI RAM | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 777. KURA RAM | — | — | NK | — |
| 778. KHAN MOHD | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Hav | 3 Grla Regt |
| 779. KHEM SINGH | L/NK | Kapurthala Inf. | Hav | 2 Grla Regt |
| 780. KHUSHI RAM | H/Clk | 7/6 Raj Rifles | H/Clk | —do— |
| 781. KUNDAN LAL | — | — | Lieut | — |
| 782. KARNAIL SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 783. KHALAS KHAN | — | — | Sep | — |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| Vill. Maschak, P.O. Kota-Khatai, Dt. Sheikhpura | Died of disease in Burma in April, 1944 |
| Vill. Kila Zafargarh P.O. Jolana, Jind State | Died of disease |
| Vill. & P.O. Bilaspur, Dt. Ludhiana | Died |
| Vill. & P.O. Latlian, Dt. Jullundur | Died |
| — | Died |
| Dt. Campbellpore | Killed by terrorist in France |
| Vill. & P.O. Ganai Gangoli, Dt. Almora | Killed in action |
| Vill. Garigaon, P.O. Pithoragarh, Dt. Almora | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Koharar, P.O. Nahar, Dt. Rohtak | Killed near Kalewa |
| — | Killed at Sitang River |
| — | Killed near Imphal |
| Vill. Teekh, P.O. Badshahpur | Killed in action in Burma |
| Vill. & P.O. Dighal. Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| Vill. Choke, P.O. Jatusana, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Bahali, Dt. Hisar | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in action near Imphal |
| Vill. Thapi, P.O. Tugarwala, Dt. Ludhiana | Killed in action |
| Vill. Basine, P.O. Nurpur, Dt. Jhelum | Died in hospital in October, 1944 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 784. KARAM SINGH | A/Sep | 16 Fd. Amb. A.M.S. | N/Sep | Medical Aid party |
| 785. KARTAR SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 786. KARNAIL SINGH | Sep | Bengal S & M | Sep | 1 Engr Coy |
| 787. KARTAR SINGH | — | — | —do— | —do— |
| 788. KASHMIRU SINGH | — | — | L/NK | — |
| 789. KAPUR SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 790. KAPU SINGH | — | — | Lieut | — |
| 791. KALA SINGH | — | — | L/NK | — |
| 792. KAUR SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 793. KASHORI LALL | — | — | Hav | — |
| 794. KANSHI RAM | — | — | S.O. | — |
| 795. KALE RAM | L/NK | 7/8 PR | NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 796. KARAN SINGH | — | 1/8 PR | — | —do— |
| 797. KRISHNA KADAM | Sep | RB S & M | L/NK | 1 Engr Coy |
| 798. KANSHI NATH KADORA | —do— | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 799. KABI TALAP | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 800. KANAIYA | —do— | Madras S & M | L/NK | —do— |
| 801. KHAZIN SHAH | —do— | Bengal S & M | Sep | —do— |
| 802. KARTAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 803. KARTAR SINGH | —do— | Bombay S & M | Sep | —do— |
| 804. KHEM SINGH | — | IAMC | NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 805. KHAZAN RAM | — | 7/8 PR | —do— | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| — | Died near Imphal |
| Vill. Bilaspur, Dt. Patiala | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| Dt. Sheikhpura | Hanged by the British in Sialkot Jail on 4.12.45 |
| Vill. & P.O. Raiwind, Dt. Lahore | Died in New Guinea |
| Vill. Gidpur, P.O. Ugoki, Dt. Sialkot | —do— |
| Dt. Ludhiana | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Tanda, Dt. Gajrat | Killed in action near Chindwin River in April, 1944 |
| Vill. Makarne Kalan-Rupore, Dt. Ambala | Killed in action |
| Vill. Kujheri, P.O. Kharar, Dt. Ambala | —do— |
| Vill. Thana, P.O. Hamirpur Dt. Kangra | —do— |
| Vill. Khorindo, P.O. Malagarh Dt. Bullandshahr | —do— |
| Vill. Baragaon, P.O. Khorla, Dt. Jaipur | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Bamarpur, P.O. Berklund, Dt. Ludhiana | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Dhaban-Singh Chak No. 13, Dt. Sheikhpura | Missing--believed killed |
| P.O. Masi, Dt. Almora | Killed in action |
| Vill. Bhotala, P.O. Tegaon Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 806. KHUSHAL | — | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 807. KARAN M. P. | Civilian | — | NK | —do— |
| 808. KRISHNA | Civilian | — | Sep | —do— |
| 809. KRISHNA M. | Civilian | — | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 810. KALIA PARMAR | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 811. KISHAN DASS | Cook | — | Sep/Cook | — |
| 812. KHUSHI RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 813. KAMAR SINGH | — | 2/12 FF Regt | — | 2nd Inf. Bn. |
| 814. KANSHI RAM | -- | —do— | — | —do— |
| 815. MISRA L S (Sardar-e-Jang) | Capt | 5/17 Dogra Regt | Col. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 816. LAKHPAT RAM | Sep | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 817. LAKHI RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 1 —do— |
| 818. LAKHAN SINGH | Sep | Garhwal Rifles | — | — |
| 819. LOURDESAMY | Civilian | — | Hav/Clk | 3 Grla Regt |
| 820. LALL SINGH | Sep | 5/18 RGR | Sep | 3rd Bn |
| 821. LUNGAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 822. LALL SINGH | —do— | 1/8 PR | Naik | — |
| 823. LALL SINGH | Jem | 5/14 PR | Lieut | 1st Grla Regt |
| 824. LAIQ RAM | — | — | 2/Lt | 4 Grla Regt |
| 825. LEKH RAM | — | Heavy A A | Sep | 1 —do— |
| 826. LALL SINGH | Sep | — | Sep | 3 —do— |
| 827. LALL SINGH | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 2 —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Dt. Meerut | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| Hamirpur, Dt. Kangra | —do— |
| V. Gachachhi | —do— |
| P.O. Beri, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Dhera, Thural | —do— |
| Bani Bengi, Dt. Kangra | —do— |
| Risaldar Bagh, Lucknow | —do— |
| Shakalpora, P.O. Noli, Dt. Meerut | Died of disease near Kalewa |
| V. Sunari Kalan, P.O. & Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| V. Rikshal, P.O. Bungidhar | Died in 1946 |
| Garhwal | |
| North St. Periyaversile | Killed in action at Ziawadi |
| Lalgudi, Dt. Trichy | |
| — | Died of disease |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died at Maymyo Hospital in May, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action at Kindat in July, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of disease in Yen Hospital |
| — | in July, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action near Kalewa |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

1. 1944.

| Name | Indian Army | | I. N. A. | |
|------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|----------|--------------------|
| | Rank | Unit | Rank | Unit |
| 8 LEXH RAM | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 9 LALL SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 10 LABH SINGH | Civilian | — | — | 3 M T Coy |
| 11 LALL KHAN | Sep | Army Rectg Dept | L/NK | 1 Bn |
| 12. LAXMAN AVANKAR | — | — | Gftr | — |
| 33. LAKSHMIAH | - | 10 Fd Coy S & M | - | — |
| 34. LUCAS | — | — | — | — |
| 35. LAHRI RAM | — | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 36 LALL SINGH | - | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | Int Group |
| 37. LACHMAN SINGH (Dogra) | Sep | — | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 38 LALL SINGH | Sep | 4/9 Hyd Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 839 LACHHMAN SINGH | | | | |
| 840 LALA RAM | | | | |
| 841 LALL HUSSAIN | — | — | — | — |
| 842 LALL SINGH | — | — | Licut | — |
| 843 LALL SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 844. LALL KHAN | — | — | Sep | — |
| 845 LALI SINGH | Tem | — | Licut | — |
| 846 LALL SINGH | L/NK | HKSRA | L/NK | Int Gp. |
| 847 LALA RAM | Sep | 1/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 848 LIKHI SINGH | Sep | 7/8 PR | L/NK | —do— |
| 849 LAJJA RAM | —do— | —do— | Sep | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| — | Killed in action near Kalewa |
| V. Sarurpur, Dt. Meerut | Killed in Air Raid near Imphal |
| — | Killed in a motor accident, 1944 |
| — | Died in France |
| — | Shot dead by a French Guard in France in August, 1944 |
| — | Killed in a bomb explosion in Holland in July, 1943 |
| — | Missing in France |
| V. Khoka, P.O. Hansi Dt. Hissar | Died of disease near Imphal |
| — | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Nurpur Dt. Kangra | —do— |
| V. Benkat, P.O. Wada, Dt. Almora | Killed in action near Kalewa |
| V. Malkhana Kapurthala State | Died in Hospital |
| V. & P.O. Raya, Jammu State | Killed in action |
| — | Died in Germany |
| V. Ladhke, P.O. Narang Dt. Sheikhpura | Killed in action on 3.5.44 |
| Dt. Sialkot | Killed in action |
| V. Maghal, P.O. Dalwal Dt. Jhelum | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Nathawal Dt. Ludhiana | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Kurawa Dt. Muzaffarnagar | —do— |
| V. Deokhera, P.O. Deoli Jaipur | —do— |
| V. Jaspura Bharatpur State | —do— |
| V. Chithaira, P.O. Doori Dt. Bullandshahr | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 850. LAKHA SINGH | L/NK | 1/13 FF Rifles | Hav | Int. Group |
| 851. LAKHA RAM | Sep | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 852. LUKUMAN BHUGBAJRAO | Sep | R. B S & M | Sep | 1 Engr Coy |
| 853. LAKHI RAM | —do— | 7/8 PR | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 854. LELU RAM | — | — | L/NK | —do— |
| 855. LAL SINGH | — | 2/17 Dogra Regt | — | — |
| 856. MALIK SINGH | Hav Clk | IAMC 10 Fd Hyg Section | S O. | HQ No. 1 Divn. |
| 857. MOHD HUSSAIN | Sep | HKSR A | Sep | Reinf. Group |
| 858. MIKHA SINGH | Sep | Kaputhala Inf | Naik | 2 Grla Regt |
| 859. MASSA SINGH | Hav | 15 P R | 2/Lt | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 860. MOHD AFSAR | Hav/Clk 1st Gt | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Lieut | HQ No 1 Divn. |
| 861. MANGAL SINGH | Sep | IAOC | Sep | — |
| 862. MOHD BENARES | Hav | 1/8 PR | Lieut | 2 Grla Regt |
| 863. MOHD DIN | Hav/Clk | 7/6 R R | Hav/Clk | 2 Grla Regt |
| 864. MOTA RAM | Sep | 4/9 Jat Regt | Naik | —do— |
| 865. MOHD ABBAS | — | — | Sep | — |
| 866. MAHENDRA SINGH BAGRI | Sub- Major | 2/18 RGR | Major | 3/5 Grla Regt |
| 867. MUTIAH L. P. L. | Civilian | — | — | — |
| 868. MIR SINGH | Gunner | HKSR A | Naik | — |
| 869. MAHA RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 870. MEHAR SINGH | Sep | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | — |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| — | Killed in action |
| V. Sikandrabad, P.O. Nedampur, Bulandshahr | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. Kamala, P.O. Binoli Dt. Meerut Dt. Hissar | —do— Died |
| Dt. Gurdaspur | • Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Hassan-Abdal Dt. Campbellpore (Punjab) | —do— |
| V. Tundial, P.O. Zafarwal | —do— |
| V. Nurnur, P.O. Nakodar Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| V. Dhepar, P.O. Adampur Doaba Dt. Jullundur | Killed in bombing at Tanshan Khan Camp on 6.6.44 |
| V. Raman, P.O. Daultala Dt. Rawalpindi | Killed in Burma operation |
| V. Thattha, P.O. Sarhalikalan Dt. Amritsar | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Bassali Dt. Rawalpindi | —do— —do— |
| V. & P.O. Rattan Garh Dt. Bikaner | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Karor Dt. Rawalpindi | Killed in action |
| V. Bagri, P.O. Loharkhet Dt. Alnora | —do— |
| V. Meela Siva Pura Dt. Puddokotai State (S.I.) | —do— |
| V. Khandsa P.O. & Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Bijwasan Dt. Delhi | Killed in action by aerial Machine Gun |
| V. Rajeana, P.O. Raggahal Dt. Ferozepore | Died in Bidadari Hospital in February, 1945 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------------|--|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 871. MOHD YUSAF | Sep | 5/14 Bh. Regt | Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 872. MUKHERJEE B. K. | Gde. 'C' Steward General Hospital, Moulmein | | Azad Hind Dal | |
| 873. MOHMET T. M. | Chief Offr. Asstt. in European Rubber Estate in Malaya | | Hony. Secy. | I.I.L. |
| 874. MOHD ALI | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Hav | 3 Grla Regt |
| 875. MOHAMMED P. P. | Civilian | • -- | Sep | 2/2 —do— |
| 876. MOHD ABDUL KADLR | Civilian | -- | — | S. S. Group Penang |
| 877. MARIAPPAN S. | Civilian | — | Sep | Inf. Bde |
| 878. MUTIU SAMY | Civilian | — | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 879. MARKANDOO S. | — | — | Pte | Signal Coy |
| 880. MADHUBAN TIWARI | — | — | — | 2 M.T. Coy |
| 881. MADIHO SINGH | NK | 5/18 RGR | S.O. | 3 Grla Regt |
| 882. MADAN SINGH | Amb. Driver | 27 Fd. Amb RIASC | I./NK | 4 M.T. Coy |
| 883. MOHD SAFI | Civilian | — | Hav | 2 Grla Regt |
| 884. MOHINDER SINGH | Civilian | — | Capt | S.S. Group Penang |
| 885. MATBAR SINGH | L/NK | 5/18 RGR | Naik | 1 Grla Regt |
| 886. MAHIPAL SINGH I | —do— | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 887. MAHIPAL SINGH II | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 888. MOHINDRA SINGH | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 889. MAN SINGH (TOPAL) | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 890. MAHI PAL SINGH | —do— | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 891. MAN SINGH | L/NK | —do— | —do— | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| V. & P.O. Ibrahim Zai Dt. Kohat (NWFP) | Died on Imphal front |
| V. & P.O. Kundasi Dt. Jessore (Bengal) | Died due to disease in Imphal Front |
| V. Kavo Kauapetty P.O. Nhamanghat (Malabar), S.I. | Died in December, 1944 in Malaya |
| V. & P.O. Sampala Dt. Rohtak (Punjab) | Died near Chindwin River |
| V. Kadigad, P.O. Andathode Dt. Malabar (Mardas) | Died on Imphal Front |
| V. Vayalpurayldam Vakkam 10, Anjined, Quilon | Executed in Madras on 10.9.43 |
| V. Singara Thope P.O. Cuddalore, Dt. S. Arcot Sidambaraveeram Kadu Vadakku Seeth, Tanjore | Killed by Guard in Nilganj Camp near Calcutta while in captivity Died at Tamu |
| V. Pannagam South, P.O. Chulipuram Dt. Jaffna, Ceylon | Died in Hospital |
| V. Khorl Bari P.O. Bhatni, Dt. Gorakhpur | Died in 1944 |
| V. Kothra, P.O. Chopta Dt. Garhwal | Died |
| V. Banholi, P.O. Bageshwar Dt. Almora | Died |
| V. Mohuwal, P.O. Nakodar Dt. Jullundur | Died of disease: Imphal Front |
| V. Dhoot Khurd, P.O. Pindosi Bawa Das, Dt. Hoshiarpur | Committed suicide on 28.2.45 while in Govt. custody Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of disease |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— in 1944 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 892. MADAN SINGH | Sep | 2/18 RGR | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 893. MADHO SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 894. MAN BAHADUR THAPA | NK | 2/1 Gurkha Rifles | S O. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 895. MANI LAL GURUNG | Hav/Cik | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 896. MOHAN SINGH THAPA | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 897. MEHTAB SINGH | Jem | 2/18 RGR | Lieut | 1 Grla Regt |
| 898. MOHAR SINGH | L/NK | 2/9 Jat gegt | Hav | Reinforce- ment Group |
| 899. MISRA R. K. | — | 17 CGH/A.M C. | Hav/Cl | Int. Gp. |
| 900. MEHTAB SINGH GUSAIN | Hav | 5/18 RGR | Lieut | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 901. MOHAMMAD AFZAL | —do— | 10 Baluch Regt | Hav | —do— |
| 902. MOHAN SINGH | Jem | Kapurthala Inf. | Licut | 2 Grla Regt |
| 903. MOHINDAR SINGH | Hav | — | 2/Lt | 4 Grla Regt |
| 904. MOHD YUSAF BHATTI | NK | 4/9 Jat Regt | S.O. | H.Q 1 Div. |
| 905. MOHAR SINGH JAT | — | 2 HKSRA | 2/Lt | 2 Grla Regt |
| 906. MOHD KHAN | Sep | — | Sepoy | Reinf. Gp. |
| 907. MAN SINGH | — | 2/1 Gurkha Rifles | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 908. MAN BAHADUR DAWAI | — | — | Sep | —do— |
| 909. MOLAR SINGH | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Naik | 1 Grla Regt |
| 910. MOHAN SINGH (Gurkha) | — | 2/1 G.R. | Hav | — |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| — | Died of disease |
| — | —do— |
| V. Toturani, P.O. Dharamsala Dt. Kangra | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— at Yc-u |
| — | Died |
| — | Killed in action in Burma |
| — | Died of disease at Kendat in July, 1944 |
| — | Died of disease at Rangoon Hospital in 1944 |
| V. Dhapai, P.O. Kapurthala Jullundur | Killed in action |
| — | Died |
| — | Killed in action in Burma in 1944 |
| — | Died of disease at Maymyo Hospital |
| — | Killed in action in Burma on 15.7.44 |
| — | Died |
| — | Died of disease at Baugkok in July, 1945 |
| V. & P.O. Kanwali Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| | —do— in Burma in April, 1944 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 911. MUSA KHAN | Hav | 5/14 PR | — | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 912. MANJU (Pathan) | Sep | —do— | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 913. MOHD GHULAM | —do— | —do— | —do— | 3 —do— |
| 914. MOHD ANWAR | Hav | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Lieut | 2 Bahadur Group |
| 915. MOHD SHAFI | Sep | — | L/NK | Int. Group |
| 916. MOHD HUSSAIN | Sep | — | —do— | —do— |
| 917. MANGE RAM | Sep | 1st Hv A A Regt | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 918. MANGAL SINGH | — | 1st Hv A A Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 919. MANGAL SINGH | — | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 920. MAGH SINGH | Sep | 7/6 Raj Regt | Sep | —do— |
| 921. MOHAN SINGH | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Hav | —do— |
| 922. MOHINDER SINGH | Sep | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 923. MOHINDER SINGH | Sep | Kapurthala Inf | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 924. MADAN SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | L/NK | 1 —do— |
| 925. MOHD SAIF | Wine Waiter | — | Sep | Int. Group |
| 926. MAL KHAN | | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 927. MANI RAM | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 928. MALKHAN SINGH | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 929. MANGE RAM | NK | —do— | Hav | 3 —do— |
| 930. MANGAT SINGH | — | 5/2 P R. | L/NK | 2 —do— |
| 931. MOHAN SINGH | — | 2/1 G R | Hav | 3 —do— |
| 932. MAN SINGH | — | 7/8 P R | Sep | X-Regt |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.

| <i>Home address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| — | Killed in action in 1943 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— in July, 1944 |
| P.O. Nurpur Dt. Jhelum | —do— in Arakan in January, 1945 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Dighal Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action in Burma in April, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Chakot, Dt. Almora | Died of disease at Malaik in April, 1944 |
| Vill. Pangaon, P O. D. Thal, Dt. Almora. | —do— |
| Vill. Wadala-Kapurthala Dt. Jullundur Almora | Died of disease at Mitha Haka. in June, 1944 |
| — | Killed in bombardment at Pegu in March, 1945 |
| — | Died accidentally falling from a water- fall in Arakan on 4.4.44 |
| — | Killed in action near Kalewa in July, 1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Dighal, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| Vill. Katesra, P.O. Kamon, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Mahant Dharamsala Dt. Kangra | —do— |
| | Killed in action at Yezin on 3.4.45 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 933. MANGAL SINGH | — | 5/11 Sikh Regt | — | X-Regt |
| 934. MAM CHAND | Hav | — | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 935. MOHD FAZAL | — | 5/14 P R | Hav | —do— |
| 736. MANJI RAM | Sep | 2 HKSR A | Sep | 4 Grla Regt |
| 937. MOHD ASLAM | L/NK | 4/13 FF Rifles | S O. | 2nd Bn. German Front |
| 938. MOHD YUSAF | Sep | M I | L/NK | —do— |
| 939. MAGHAR ALI KHAN | Hav/Clerk | Ind Signal Corp | U/Off | 1st Bn. German Front |
| 940. MELA RAM | Sep | 4/10 Baluch Regt | Gafrator | 3 Bn. German Front |
| 941. MOHAR SINGH | — | 6/14 P R | Sep | — |
| 942. MOUJI RAM | Sep | 4/9 Jat Regt | Sep | — |
| 943. MALKHAN SINGH | Cook | Gwalior Lancers | Sep | — |
| 944. MOHD ZAMAN | — | — | U/Off | German Front |
| 945. MANSAS DAR | Sep | 4/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 946. MALIK RAM SAWHNI Y | | RIASC | Lieut | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 947. MAHDUB ALI | | RIASC | NK | Int. Group |
| 948. MADAN BALI AV | — | — | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 949. MOHAN SINGH | - | — | Hav | 3 —do— |
| 950. MAN BAHADUR CHAND | | - | L/NK | —do— |
| 951. MAN SINGH | — | - | Sep | Body Gd. Bn. |
| 952. MAN SINGH | | | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 953. MANGAL SINGH | Sep | 1 Bahawalpur Inf | —do— | —do— |
| 954. MALOOK SINGH | Hav/Clerk | 100 High Tank Sgn. | | |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| — | Killed in Air Raid in Burma in May, 1945 |
| — | Killed in action in Burma |
| — | Died in Hospital |
| — | Killed in bombing in Rangoon Hospital in March, 1945 |
| — | Killed in action in France on 24.12.44 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— in September, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in France in Sept., '44 |
| Vill. Loke, Dt. Ferozepore | Died of disease |
| Vill Kharak, Jind State | —do— |
| — | Died |
| Dt. Jhelum | Died in bombardment in Germany |
| Vill. Nahr, P.O. Rawalakot, Poonch | Killed in action near Imphal |
| — | Killed in action in 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in 1944 |
| Almora | Killed in action near Tamu |
| V. Simroli, P.O. Choukut-Deghat Dt. Almora | Killed in action at Kalewa |
| V. Danraur, P.O. Thulaghat Dt. Almora | Killed in action near Tamu |
| V. Runia Talla Walda Dt. Almora | Killed in action at Mandalay |
| V. Bengaligaon, P.O. Gangali Hat, Dt. Almora | Killed in action at Manewa |
| V. Nangal, P.O. Mohindargarh Dt. Patiala | Died of disease in Mandalay Hospital |
| P.O. Saidpur Dt. Bullandshahr | Died of disease in Singapore in 1944 |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 955. MEWA SINGH | — | Kapurthala Inf. | S.O. | 2 Grla Regt |
| 956. MASSA SINGH | — | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 957. MUNSHA SINGH | — | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 958. MOHD ILAHI | — | HKSRA | L/NK | A. A. Btn |
| 959. MOHAN SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 960. MEHARBAN KHAN | Sep | 2/9 Jat 'Regt | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 961. MAKHAN | Sweeper | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep/Spr | —do— |
| 962. MANGAL SINGH | Sep | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 963. MUMTAZ ALI | —do— | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | —do— |
| 964. MAGHAR SINGH | Capt. | Kapurthala , Inf | Major | Int. Group |
| 965. MUBARAK ALI | Sep | —do— | NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 966. MUNSHI | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 967. MANGAT RAM | Hav Armoured | 3/17 Dogra | S.O. | I.A.B.O. Depot |
| 968. MISRA, H. D. | — | — | — | — |
| 969. MUNSHI RAM | — | 7/8 P R.' | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 970. MOHD SHAFI | — | — | Sep | — |
| 971. MUKHTIAR SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 972. MALL SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 973. MAYA SINGH | — | — | S.O. | — |
| 976. MAJNUN HUSSAIN | — | — | Sep | — |
| 975. MOHD KHAN | Sep | — | L/NK | — |
| 976. MOHD YANIL | —do— | — | Sep | — |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| V. & P.O. Lasuri Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action |
| V. Desarpur, P.O. Kapurthala Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| V. Kanhna, P.O. Talwandi Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| — | —do— near Sitang River on 7.3.45 |
| V. Palasur Chak 287 P.O. Janiwali, Dt. Lyallpur | Killed in France |
| V. & P.O. Ramba, Dt. Karnal | Killed in bombardment at Kalewa in October, 1944 |
| V. Jate, P.O. Khegra Dt. Karnal | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Dahmia Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Babli Dt. Hissar | —do— |
| Kapurthala | Committed suicide in captivity in Red Fort, Delhi |
| — | Died of disease near Imphal |
| — | —do— |
| Kangra | Died of disease at Mandalay Hospital |
| — | Killed in action on 26.7.44 |
| V. Ninka, P.O. Tigaon Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Patti Lahore | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Kapurthala | Died of disease in Hospital |
| V. & P.O. Asharjai Dt. Kohat | Died of disease in Hospital |
| V. Sethi, P.O. Nurpur Dt. Jhelum | Died of disease in Hospital in July, 1944 |
| V. & P.O. Golrisari Dt. Rawalpindi | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 977. MOHD AKBAR | Sep | — | Sep | — |
| 978. MAHBUB BUX | —do— | — | L/NK | — |
| 979. MOHAN SINGH | —do— | — | Sep | — |
| 980. MUNSHI RAM | -- | — | Naik | — |
| 981. MELA RAM | — | 3/16 PR | Sep | 2nd Bn German Front |
| 982. MIRAYAT | -- | " — | NK | —do— |
| 983. MOHD AYUB | — | — | Licut | -- |
| 984. MEHAR SINGH | - | — | Hav | — |
| 985. MOHD YAQUB | - | — | Sep | — |
| 986. MOHD DIN | — | -- | —do— | — |
| 987. MEHNGA SINGH | - | — | —do— | — |
| 988. MOHD SHAFI | | — | —do— | — |
| 989. MADAN LAL | NK | — | NK | — |
| 990. MUNSHI RAM | Dr | — | Dr. | — |
| 991. MAKHAN SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 992. MANGI RAM | -- | 44 I.B.T. Coy | —do— | —do— |
| 993. MADHU SINGH | NK | 1/8 PR | Hav | 1/1 Regt |
| 994. MATHU RAM | Hav | —do— | S.O. | 2 Grla Regt |
| 995. MAM RAJ | L/NK | 7/8 PR | NK | 3 —do— |
| 996. MOHAN RAM | Sigs | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 997. MOHAR SINGH | —do— | 1/8 PR | —do— | —do— |
| 998. MADHO | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| V. & P.O. Basarat Dt. Jhelum | Died of disease in hospital in July, 1944 |
| V. Khai, P.O. Bhaun Dt Jhelum | —do— |
| — | Died near Imphal |
| V. Chamboli, P O Bhareri Dt. Kangra | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Chanari Chamba State | Killed in action in France |
| — | • - do— |
| V. Nehr, P O Rawalkot Dt. Poonch | Killed in action |
| V. Mahaman Singhwala Dt. Ludhiana | Killed in action by bombardment |
| V. Kasir, P.O. Manshra Dt. Hazara | Killed in action |
| V. Kala Kalan P.O. Budha, Dt. Sialkot | • —do— |
| V. & P.O. Sarawan Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action |
| V. Harafwala Nai Abadi, Kapurthala | Died of dysentery at Yezin |
| V. Teli, P.O. Talaganj Dt. Campbellpore | Killed in action |
| V. Dulchike, P.O. Ugoke Dt. Sialkot | Died of dysentery in Hospital |
| V. & P O. Grawara Dt. Gurgaon | Died in Hospital |
| V. Balahina, P.O. Behur Dt. Rohtak | Died |
| Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| Dt. Rohtak | —do-- |
| V. Munjiri, P.O Tegaon Dt. Rohtak | —do-- |
| V. Gothea, P.O. Lone, Dt. Meerut | —do— |
| V. Moroli, P.O. Hindowne Jaipur State | —do— |
| —do— | —lo— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 999. MANGURAM | Sigs | 1/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1000. MOHAR SLNGH | L/NK | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 1001. MALKHAN SINGH | NK | 2 HKSRA | NK | Int. Group |
| 1002. MEGH. SINGH | Sep | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1003. MAINON | — | — | Capt | 3/5 Grla Regt |
| 1004. MOHAR SINGH | Hav | 2 HKSRA | Hav | 2 —do— |
| 1005. MEHAR SINGH | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 3 —do— |
| 1006. MIR SINGH | Sep | 4/9 —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1007. MARUTI GADWAY | L/NK | 31 G T Coy | NK | 1 M T Coy |
| 1008. MLHAR CHAND | Sep | 7/8 P R | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1009. MUTTU RAM | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1010. MOHAR SINGH | —do— | 1/8 P R | —do— | —do— |
| 1011. MONE SINGH | —do— | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1012. MET SINGH | —do— | 16 Fd Am | —do— | 4 —do— |
| 1013. MADHO MORI | — | R B S & M | Sep | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1014. MARUTHI ZADOO | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1015. MADHO SAWANT | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1016. MOHD SARWAR | — | Bengal S & M | —do— | —do— |
| 1017. MOHD SHAFI | — | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1018. MIR GUL | — | —do— | Naik | —do— |
| 1019. MASKU BUJHAL | — | Bombay S & M | Sep | —do— |
| 1020. MADHU SOLONKE | — | —do— | Sep | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|-------------------------|
| V. Moroli, P.O Hindowne Jaipur State | Killed in action * |
| V. Rindi, P.O. Hindowne City Jaipur State | —do— |
| V. Nangla Hukam Singh P.O. Rahapura, Dt Bullandshahr | —do— |
| V. Juneopur, P.O Dankaur Dt. Bullandshahr | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. Jaswa, P O Sabhawas Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Barona, P.O. Khakhola Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. & P O Sampla Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Gola Mandi Satara | —do— |
| V. Chethaira, P O. Dadri Dt. Bulandshahr | —do— |
| V. Kateswar, P O. Kumar Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Morali, P O. Hindowne City Jaipur State | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Kiraoli Dt. Agra | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Bagana Dt. Udaipur | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Missing—believed killed |
| — | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1021. MOHAR CHAND | — | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1022. MANGE RAM | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1023. MAIDAN KUTTY | Civilian | — | Sep | —do— |
| 1024. MULA RAM | Sep | 7/8 P.R. | L/NK | —do— |
| 1025. MAMAN RAM | Sep | Bahawalpur Inf. | Sep | —do— |
| 1026. MANGAL RAM | — | — | Sep | —do— |
| 1027. MLHTAB SINGH | — | — | — | 2nd Inf. Bn. |
| 1028. MAKHAN SINGH | — | 2/12 FF Regt | — | —do— |
| 1029. MAKHAN SINGH | — | —do— | — | —do— |
| 1030. NASIB SINGH | Jem | Kapurthala Inf | Lieut | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1031. NEKI RAM | —do— | 2/9 Jat Regt | —do— | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1032. NIRANJAN SINGH | Sep | IKSRA | Sep | 2 —do— |
| 1033. NAIDU, A. P. | I W.O. | 46(M) W/Shop | S O. | Reinf. Gp. |
| 1034. NAGINDER SINGH | Sep | 8 B.R. | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1935. NASIB SINGH | Civilian | — | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1036. NARANG SINGH | | | | |
| 1037. NANDO K. | Civilian | — | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1038. NAGANATHAN | Civilian | — | Lieut | — |
| 1039. NASIB SINGH | Sep | Kapurthala Inf. | —do— | — |
| 1040. NANDA SINGH BISHT | Sep | 8/18 RGR | Sep | — |
| 1041. NANHAR SINGH | —do— | 2/9 Jat Regt | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|---|
| V. Chhapargarh, P.O. Dankar, Dt. Bulandshahr | Missing—believed killed |
| V. Katesra, P.O. Kanarior Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| | Killed in action |
| | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Mahadevpur Dt. Gurgaon | Died of dysentery |
| V. Niribath Deheria, Gurgaon | • Died |
| Kangra | Killed in action |
| Kangra | —do— |
| Chart, Kangra | —do— |
| Vill. Chak No. 92, P O Chak No. 91, Dt. Lyallpur | Killed in action |
| Vill. Kirohli, P.O. Kharkhanda, Dt. Rohtak | • —do — |
| Vill. & P.O. Makhan Weridi, Dt. Rohtak | --do-- near Kalewa |
| Vill. & P.O. Doveton Road Dt. Bolarum, Secunderabad (Deccan) | Killed in action |
| Vill. Ramgarh, P.O. Sidhwan, Dt. Ludhiana | • Hanged on 7.7.43 by British Indian Govt. |
| Vill. & P.O. Atta, P O. Bara Pind Dt. Jullundur | Died at the time of general retreat |
| Vill. Khariankhukran P.O. Meleod Ganj Road Dt. Bhawalpur | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Kunnirala House Kallankoram VARKALA 176/42 New Street, Siri Ganga, Ramnad Distt. (S.I.) | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Mahilpur Dt. Hoshiarpur | Died at Kalewa during retreat |
| Vill. Duntra, P.O. Ghat Dt. Garhwal (U.P.) | Died in hospital |
| Vill. Malikpur, P.O. Najafgarh Dt. Delhi | Killed in action near Palel |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1942. NIKA RAM | Jem | 5/2 P.R. | Lieut | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1043. NACHHITTAR SINGH | Sep | Bengal Sappers & Miners | L/NK | 15 Coy. 3rd Bn. Inf. Regt |
| 1044. NAMBIAR, P. S. | Civilian | — | Hav | HQ No. 2 Dn. |
| 1045. NAGANATHAN, S. | Local Audit Supdt | | Accts. Officer | HQ No. 3 Dn. |
| 1046. NIKHIL NATH ROY CHAUDHURY | Frontier Force Bn | Lashio Burma | — | S. S. Squad |
| 1047. NARAIN SINGH BISHT | Hav | 5/18 RGR | 2/Lt | Trg Centre |
| 1048. NANAK SINGH | Sep | 5/2 P.R. | Naik | 2/3 Grla Regt |
| 1049. NAYAR, N. M. | Civilian | — | Steno | — |
| 1050. NARAIN SINGH | Hav | 5/18 RGR | Hav | 3rd Bn |
| 1051. NARAIN SINGH | NK | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 1052. NARAIN SINGH | L/NK | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1053. NATHI SINGH | Sep | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 1054. NARANJAN SINGH | —do— | 5/14 PR | NK | Int. Group |
| 1055. NARAW SINGH | L/NK | — | L/NK | Parachute Bn. |
| 1056. NATHA SINGH MINSHA | Jem | 5/2 P R | Capt | — |
| 1057. NANAK CHAND BHARDWAJ | —do— | 44 IBT Coy | Lieut | Reinf. Gp. |
| 1058. NARAIN SINGH | Hav | 5/18 RGR | Hav | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1059. NARAIN SINGH | L/NK | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 1060. NATHU SINGH | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1061. NANAK SINGH | —do— | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 1062. NOOR MOHD | Jem | Kapurthala Inf. | Lieut | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1063. NAUBAT RAM | Sep | — | Sep | Reinf. Gp |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Vill & P O. Alampur Dt Kangra | Killed in action |
| Vill Galalikhurd, P O Sheipra Kalan Dt Ludhiana | —do— |
| Vill Thavath, P O Cherukunnu Dt Malabar North (Madras) | —do— |
| 754 Perumal Koil Street Puddu Kotah State (SI) | Killed in action at Ipoh in 1945 |
| 18/A, H K Tagore Square Taltola, Calcutta | Killed in action |
| Vill Musasu, Mawalsyun P O Pipali, Dt Garhwal | Killed in action in bombardment |
| Vill & P O Parlo Mahni Dt Ierozepur | Died during withdrawal |
| Vill & P O Nemmona via Kollengode | Died in hospital |
| — | Died of disease |
| — | —do— |
| — | do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in action at Kohima |
| — | do— |
| — | Died |
| — | Died in Tiddam Hospital on 5 8 44 |
| — | Died of disease at Inclaug in 1944 |
| — | —do— at Yezin in 1944 |
| — | Died at Yeu in 1944 |
| — | Killed in action on 31 3 44 |
| — | Killed in Air Raid at Kalewa in 1944 |
| — | Died |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1064. NIRANJAN SINGH | Cook | 5/2 PR | Sep/Cook | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1065. NASIR AHMED | Hav | 14 PR | 2/Lt | — |
| 1066. NAZAR SINGH | —do— | S. & M. | Lieut | Int. Gp. |
| 1067. NASIB SINGH | Sep | 2/17 Dogra Regt | Sep | M.P. |
| 1068. NIHAL SINGH | — | Hy. A. A. Regt | Naik | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1069. NEKI RAM | Sep | —do— | Sep | A/Tk Coy |
| 1070. NAKAT SINGH | —do— | 7/6 Raj. Rifles | —do— | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1071. NIHAL SINGH | Hav | 1/8 P.R. | S.O | —do— |
| 1072. NAUKA RAM | Sep | 4/19 Hyd. Regt | Sep | —do— |
| 1073. NARAINAN | Civilian | — | Propaganda Deptt. 1. I. League, Rangoon | |
| 1074. NATHU SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1075. NAND KISHORE | —do— | A.M.C. | — | Hospital |
| 1076. NAHAR SINGH | —do— | HKSRM | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1077. NET RAM | —do— | 2/9 Jat Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 1078. NATHA SINGH | —do— | 5/11 Sikh Regt | —do— | X-Regt |
| 1079. NEJASON | —do— | Signals | —do— | —do— |
| 1080. NAND SINGH | —do— | 5/11 Sikh Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 1081. NARASIMAN | —do— | 10 Fd Coy S. & M. | — | German Front |
| 1082. NATHU RAM SINGH | — | — | Sep | —do— |
| 1083. NANHE KHAN | W/C | MT/ASC | Gafrator | —do— 1st Bn |
| 1084. NIRANJAN SINGH | — | — | — | —do— |
| 1085. NARASIMNA REDDY | Spr | 61 Fd Coy S. & M. | — | —do— |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| — | Died in Burma in May, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action at Tamu in Aug, 1944 |
| — | Died |
| V & P O Buichwal Dt Hoshiarpur | Died in Burma |
| — | Killed in action in Burma |
| V & P O Palra Dt Rohtak | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V Nursingpur P O Shalpur Dt Gurgaon | —do— in Arakan Hills |
| V Badli, P O Mulpani Dt Agra | Killed in action near Prindong in April 1944 |
| — | Killed in Air Raid in Myang Hospital in February 1945 |
| V Jawi, P O Jhoghu Jmd State | Killed in bombardment at Pawnee in February 1945 |
| — | Killed in bombardment at Yeu on 3344 |
| — | Died near Kildwa in July, 1944 |
| — | - do |
| — | Killed in Air Raid at Yezun in March 1945 |
| — | Killed in bombardment at Haka in August 1944 |
| — | Died of disease at Kildwa in Aug 1944 |
| — | Killed in mines explosion in Holland in July 1944 |
| — | Died in Holland |
| — | Killed in action in Germany |
| — | Killed in mines explosion in Holland in July 1943 |
| — | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1086. NARASIMHAN | Spr. | 1AOC | — | German Front 1st Bn |
| 1087. NARASIMKALU | —do— | 10 Fd Coy S. & M | — | —do— |
| 1088. K. NAGIAH | — | — | Sep | Int. Gp. |
| 1089. NIHAL SINGH | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | L/NK | —do— |
| 1090. NAND RAM | — | — | Sep | 4/3 Grla Regt |
| 1091. NAR SINGH | — | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1092. NAZAR SINGH | Sep | Kapurthala Inf | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1093. NARAJAN SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1094. NLK MOHD | —do— | 2/9 Jat Regt | S O. | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1095. NABI BAKHSH | NK | Kapurthala Inf | —do— | 2 —do— |
| 1096. NIZAM DIN | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1097. NARAIN DASS | Civilian | — | — | I. I. League A. H. Dal |
| 1098. NANAK SINGH | — | — | L/NK | — |
| 1099. NASIB SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1100. NOOR MOHD | Sep | — | Sep | — |
| 1101. NAND SINGH | L/NK | — | L/NK | — |
| 1102. NAZAR SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 1103. NAZAR SINGH | — | B S & M | Hav | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1104. NANAK CHAND | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1105. NARANJAN SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1106. NOOR MOHD | — | — | — | — |
| 1107. NOOR HUSSAIN | — | — | Sep | — |

THIRTEEN]

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| — | Killed in mines explosion in Holland in July, 1943 |
| — | Killed in action in Germany |
| — | —do— in Kaladan Front |
| V. & P.O. Gokalpu Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| V. Jarmal, P.O. Janguli Dt. Almora | —do— |
| V. Jalwandi, P.O. Kapurthala Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| V. Wadala —do— | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Babali Dt. Hissar | —do— |
| V. Mainwan, P.O. Kapurthala Dt. Jullundur | —do— near Imphal |
| — | Died of disease in Neesoon Hospital, Singapore |
| — | Died near Imphal |
| V. & P.O. Mina Dt. Ferozepore | Killed in firing |
| V. & P.O. Binewal Dt. Hoshiarpur | Died of dysentery at Kalewa |
| V. Kanwal, P.O. Lillay Dt. Jhelum | Died in Hospital in October, 1944 |
| — | Died near Imphal |
| — | Hanged by the British Government at Delhi |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| V. Makhan Bela P.O. Ush Sharaf | Killed in Mineladown Camp in Air Raid |
| — | |
| V. Kani, P.O. Bukhas Sharaf Dt. Campbellpur | Died of dysentery at Singapore in November 1944 |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1108. NARANJAN SINGH | — | — | L/NK | |
| 1109. NATHURAM | L/NK | 7/8 PR | Naik | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1110. NAND KISHORE | Sep | M. T. Coy A. S. C. | Sep | Int. Gp. |
| 1111. NANWAN RAM | —do— | 7/8 PR | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1112. NATHI SINGH | —do— | 1/8 PR | L/NK | —do— |
| 1113. NATHA RAM | L/NK | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 1114. NARAYAN PATROV | —do— | 1220 SPC A. S. C. | —do— | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1115. NATHU RAM | Sep | 7/8 PR | Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1116. NANDA SINGH | - do - | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1117. NARAIN TAVDL | — | R B S & M | — | No. 1 Engr Coy |
| 1118. NAGINDER SINGH | - | Bengal S & M | NK | —do— |
| 1119. NATHI RAM | -- | 7/8 PR | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1120. NARAIN RAM | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1121. NARWAN RAM | do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1122. NARAIN, K. | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1123. NANDRAJAN, V. | —do— | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1124. NAND LAL | —do— | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1125. NIHAL RAM | — | 1/8 PR | Hav | — |
| 1126. NIHALA RAM | — | 2/9 Jat Regt | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1127. NAROTAM SINGH | — | — | — | 2nd Inf. Bn. |
| 1128. OGADU SAWANT | — | — | Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1129. PRABHU RAM | Sep | 18/17 Dogra Regt | —do— | 2 Grla Regt |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|---|
| V. Manjeri, P.O. Tegaon Dt. Gurgaon — | Killed in action near Kalewa in July, 1944 Killed in action —do— |
| V. Ajpur, P.O. Phakawaja Dt. Meerut Dt. Gurgaon — | do— —do— —do— |
| V. & P.O. Jaipur Dt. Korapur Vill. Badalpur, P.O. Dhoon, Dt. Bulandshahr — — | —do— —do— —do— —do— |
| Dt. Ludhiana | —do— |
| Vill. Chhatanga, P.O. Jewat, Dt. Bulandshahr Vill. Kharora, P.O. Khetri, Dt. Almora Vill. Ghata, Dt. Bharatpur — — — | —do— —do— —do— —do— —do— |
| Vill. Narsingpur, P.O. Badshahpur, Dt. Gurgaon Vill. Matan, Dt. Rohtak | —do— —do— |
| Vill. Khanoor, Jammu State — | —do— Died |
| Vill. Dharar, P.O. Bharesi, Dt. Kangra | Died at Imphal Front |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP. I]

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1130. PRATAP CHAND MEHTA | N/Sep | I A M C | N/Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1131. PHUL SINGH | Sep | 2nd HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1132. PIARE LAL | —do— | RIASC Supplies | Hav | Bahadur Group |
| 1133. PRABHU SINGH | —do— | 2nd HKSRA | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1134. PRITAM SINGH | Constable | Singapore Police | —do— | —do— |
| 1135. PHLAD SINGH | Sep | 2nd HKSRA | —do— | —do— |
| 1136. PARSA SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1137. PAHLAD SINGH | Sep | 1/8 PR | Naik | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1138. PANAIAH, G M | Civilian | — | M O. | Trag. Camp T Ramhuttam |
| 1139. PALTU RAM | Sep | 1/8 PR | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1140 PAN SINGH BISHT | —do— | 5/18 RGR | —do— | —do— |
| 1141 PRITAM SINGH | Policeman in Malaya | | | |
| 1142. PASULAN | Civilian | — | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1143 PRABHUDAS GHILA BHAI | Civilian | — | — | A. H. Dal |
| 1144 PRITAM SINGH | Policeman | — | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1145. PREM LAL | Civilian | — | Sep | 5 —do— |
| 1146. PAKHAR SINGH | Civilian | — | Sep | — |
| 1147. PAKKIMI SAMY | Civilian | — | Sep | — |
| 1148 PILLAI, G. R. | Civilian | — | 2/Lt | Med. Unit |
| 1149 PARTAP SINGH | Sep | 5/18 RGR | Sep | 3rd Bn. |
| 1150. PADAM SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1151. PANCHMOO | Sweeper | —do— | L/NK | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| Vill. & P.O. Kasiala, Dt. Jhelum | Died at Tamu |
| Vill. Deola, P.O. Rajond, Dt. Karnal | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Dhakla, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| Vill. Pandwan, P.O. Dalnua Dari, Dt. Mohinder Garh | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Mahra, Dt. Ferozepore | Died at Tamu |
| Vill. & P.O. Baroda, Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Sandaur, Dt. Ludhiana | Died at Penang |
| Vill. & P.O. Badarpur, Dt. Delhi | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. 1/41 Kutcheri Road Luz Mylapore (Madras) | Died in Malaya |
| Vill. Majri, P.O. Tijara, Dt. Alwar (Rajasthan) | Killed in action in Burma Front |
| Vill. Jukhani Talwari P.O. Gualdam, Dt. Garhwal | Died in accident |
| Vill. & P.O. Hiran, Dt. Ludhiana | <i>Court-martialled and shot by British Indian Govt.</i> |
| Vill. Nerkuppai Dt. Ramnad (Madras) | Died in Singapore |
| Vill. Bhagwantpur, P.O. Mahuria Narasari, B. B. & C. I. Rly. | Was killed by the Burmese in Burma |
| Vill. Hoshiarpur P.O. Sialaswas Majra, Dt. Ambala | Died in Bidadari Hospital |
| Vill. Dihipura, P.O. Palpa, Thana & Rly. Stn. Nawtune, Nepal State | Died of T.B. contracted in INA |
| Vill. & P.O. Samrari, Dt. Jullundur | While withdrawing, fell sick and died |
| Thethakudy, Vill. Eddakku, P.O. Sethi, Dt. Tanjore (Madras) | Killed in action |
| Vill. Kandiur Kouathumedu P.O. Tirvadi, Dt. Tanjore (Madras) | Killed in operation |
| — | Died of disease |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1152. PURAN SINGH | Sep | 5/18 RGR | L/NK | 3rd Bn |
| 1153. PAHLAD SINGH | Jem | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Lieut | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1154. PADAM SINGH GUSAIN | —do— | 5/18 RGR | —do— | —do— |
| 1155. PARAN SINGH | NK | S & M | 2/Lt | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1156. PRIIAM SINGH | -- | 8 P R | Lieut | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1157. PAN SINGH | -- | — | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1158. PRIM DALL | Sep | — | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1159. PAN SINGH BISHI | Jem | 4/19 Hyd Regt | 2/Lt | General Mohan Singh's Party |
| 1160. PARTAP SINGH | Sep | A M C | L/NK | Medical |
| 1161. PRM BAHADUR | L/NK | A M C | Hav | Hospital |
| 1162. PANDEO | do — | — do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1163. PARSHOTAM RANADAY | Sep | — | Sep | Int. Gp. |
| 1164. PURAN SINGH | Sep | 5/2 P R | L/NK | — |
| 1165. PRIIAM SINGH | —do — | 7/8 P R | Sep | X-Regt |
| 1166. PAKHAR SINGH | — do— | —do | Naik | —do— |
| 1167. PRIIAM SINGH | —do — | —do — | L/NK | —do— |
| 1168. PREM CHAND | Hav/Clerk | 1/13 FF Rifles | S O. | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1169. PATIL, K. M. | Naik | — | Naik | Int. Group |
| 1170. PIARA SINGH | Sep | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1171. PATRO, R. N. | Sep | — | Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1172. PIRTHI SINGH | —do— | 2 HKSRA | —do— | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1173. PANDU NEMARE | —do— | 2 ML Inf. | — | German Front |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| Vill. Khairi, P.O. Rudarparyag, Dt. Garhwal | Died of disease |
| — | Killed in action at Tarawan |
| — | Missing—believed killed by British Guerillas |
| — | Killed in action at Haka in 1944 |
| Vill. Kherakat, P.O. Tarsikha Dt. Amritsar | Died in Burma in April, 1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of disease at Ye-u in August, 1944 |
| Vill. Dhone, P.O. Ganat, Dt. Almora | Missing from Timor. Sent there for propaganda |
| — | Killed in bombardment in June, 1944 |
| — | Died of disease at Kandek in July, 1944 |
| — | —do— at Maymyo Hospital on 9.9.44 |
| — | Died accidentally by falling in Arakan on 4.4.44 |
| — | Died at Kalewa in July, 1944 |
| — | Died of disease at Maymyo Hospital |
| — | Killed in Air Raid at Yezin on 3.4.45 |
| — | Drowned in river near Haka in August, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in Burma |
| — | Killed in action in Burma |
| — | Died of disease at Kalewa in August, 1944 |
| — | Died |
| — | Died near Kalewa |
| — | Killed in action in France in Sept., 1944 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1174. PHUL SINGH | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | — | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1175. PETTER | Spr | — | — | German Front |
| 1176. PRITAM SINGH | —do— | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | — |
| 1177. PRITAM SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | — |
| 1178. POLHO | —do— | 3 Cavalry | — | — |
| 1179. PANJTAN | Sep | MT ASC | Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1180. PREM BALLAV | —do— | — | Hav | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1181. PAN DLV | —do— | — | —do— | 2 —do— |
| 1182. PARBHU SINGH | —do— | 4/1 Heavy A A. | Sep | 3 —do— |
| 1183. PARBHU SINGH | L/NK | —do— | Hav | —do— |
| 1184. PAKHAR SINGH | Sep | Kapurthala Inf | Sep | —do— |
| 1185. PREM SINGH | —do— | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 1186. PARTAP CHAND | —do— | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 1187. PAWAN | — | — | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1188. PEM RAJ | — | HKSRA | — | — |
| 1189. POORAN SINGH | Sep | Kapurthala Inf | Sep | —do— |
| 1190. PYARA SINGH | — | — | L/NK | German Front |
| 1191. PIARA SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1192. PRITAM SINGH | Sep | RB S & M | —do— | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1193. PUNU RAM | — | — | — | — |
| 1194. PIHURE SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1195. PUNNU RAM | — | — | Sep | — |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| — | Killed in action near Kalewa |
| — | Killed in action in Germany |
| Vill. Kaurianwalachak P.O. Bagsar, Dt. Ferozepur | Died of disease in July, 1944 |
| Vill. Bajonwala | —do— |
| Vill. Nadeni, Jind State | Killed in action |
| Hyderabad | —do— |
| Vill. Chatalgaon Mali P.O. Dewalkhal, Dt. Almora | —do— at Tamu |
| Almora | —do— at Tavoy |
| Vill. Palri, P.O. Thoju Kalan, Jind State | —do— at Ye-u |
| Vill. Lahawana, P O Dalmia, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— near Imphal |
| Vill. Tabban, P.O. Kapurthala Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| Vill. Kheri Khummar P.O. Thajjar, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| Vill. Shivkooj, Dt. Almora | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Kasoochal P.O. & Dt. Kapurthala | Died of disease in Singapore Hospital |
| Vill. Raniwala, P.O. Bhalampur | Died in France |
| — | Died near Imphal |
| — | —do— |
| Kangra | Killed in action |
| — | Died in Moulmein in 1945 |
| Vill. Nikkian, P.O. Mirpur, Dt. Lyallpore | Killed in bombardment at Rangoon Hospital |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1196. PITAM SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1197. PIRPHU SINGH | — | 44 I B.T. Coy | —do— | —do— |
| 1198. PURAN SINGH | Sep | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1199. PARTAP SINGH | —do— | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 2 —do— |
| 1200. PIRBHU RAM | —do— | 1/8 PR | —do— | 3 —do— |
| 1201. PIYAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1202. PIYAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1203. PEHLAD SINGH | Jem | 2 HKSRA | Capt | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1204. PARBHATI BARATE | NK | 31 GPT Coy | Hav | 1 MT Coy |
| 1205. PEHLAD SINGH | Sep | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1206. PEHLAD RAM | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1207. PIAYA SWAMY | Civilian | — | —do— | Int. Gp. |
| 1208. PRITAM SINGH | — | Bengal S & M | NK | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1209. PARMAL | — | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1210. PURAN RAM | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1211. PELANI PAN | Civilian | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1212. PURAN SINGH | Sep | 4/9 Jat Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 1213. PANDIYA | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1214. PILAI | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1215. PERIANAN | — | — | — | — |
| 1216. PIRTHI RAM | Sep | 1/8 PR | — | — |
| 1217. PARBHU RAM | — | — | Sep | 3/3 Grla Regt |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Vill. Bitwada, Muzaffarnagar | Died |
| Vill. Tikli, Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| V. Chausi, Dt. Bulandshahr | Killed in action |
| V. Ahmedpur, P.O. Sadpore Dt. Bulandshahr | —do— |
| V. Kaimri, P.O. Hindowne Jaipur State | —do— |
| V. Baragaon, P.O. Hindowne | • —do— |
| V. Lonooli P.O. Hindowne | —do— |
| V. Seria, P.O. Dojana Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Surjapur, P.O. Udtara Dt. Sahasra, Bombay | —do— |
| V. Bisnoli, P.O. Dadri Dt. Bulandshahr | —do— |
| V. Kota Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | do— |
| V. Jawali, P.O. Chiroi Dt. Meerut | —do— |
| V. Chasi, P.O. Ahar Bulandshahr | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of disease in Hospital |
| V. Aliganj, P.O. Bhogal Delhi | Killed in action |
| V. Nempara Dt. Gurgaon | Died |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1218 PIARE LAL | — | — | Hav | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1219 QATAL AHMED BAKHSI | — | — | Naik | Bahadur Group |
| 1220 RAM SARUP | Gunner | HKSRA | Sep | M P. |
| 1221 RICHCHHPAL SINGH | Gunner Naik | 4/1st Hvy AA Regt, RIA | Hav | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1222 RAMPAT SINGH | Hav | 2/9 Jat Regt | Capt | 6th Bn. Azad Regt |
| 1223 RAMA SHANKER RAI | Civilian | — | Lieut | 3rd S S Group |
| 1224 RAM CHANDRA ₄ | Gunner | 4/1st Hvy AA Regt RIA | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1225 Roy S K | N Sep | 1 AMC | N Sep | 3/1st Grla Regt |
| 1226 RANJIT SINGH | L/NK | 45 IBT Coy | Naik | Azad Trg School |
| 1227 RAMU THAYER | Civilian | — | — | S S Group |
| 1228 RATI RAM | Hav | 2nd HKSRA | Lieut | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1229 RAGHBIR SINGH | Sep | 1st Bahawalpur Infantry | Sep | —do— |
| 1230 RAGHBIR SINGH BEDI | UDC | 1 A C C | Capt | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1231 RISAL SINGH | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 7th Bn Nehru Regt |
| 1232 RATIAN SINGH | GNR | No 2 HKSRA | L/NK | — |
| 1233 RAM CHANDER | GNR | —do— | Sep | 1st Grla Regt |
| 1234 RAM SARUP | Gunner | —do— | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1235. RAM SINGH | Gunner | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1236. RAM KARAN | Sep | 4/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 5th Grla Regt |
| 1237 RAM SARUP | Sep | 2/9 —do— | Sep | 3 —do— |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| Dt. Rohtak | Died |
| — | Died |
| V. Malikpur, P O. Narnaund Dt. Hissar | Killed in action |
| V. Jonawas, P O Nandrapur Dt Gurgaon | —do— |
| V. Sunari Kalan P O. & Dt. Rohtak | • —do— |
| V. Tiha Mohdpur, P O Bahalganj Dt Gorakhpur (U P) | Killed in action at Imphal Front on 19 8 44 |
| V. Rata Kalan, P O. Ateu Mandi Dt Mohindra Garh (Pb) P 40A, Raja Basanta Roy Road Calcutta-29 | Died of wounds sustained in Burma operation Died in Hospital in Burma |
| V. Baroda, P O Uchana Mandi Dt. Patiala | Died in Rangoon in Air Raid |
| V. Thumpadakhai Kottai P O. Rajasingalam Dt. Ramnad (Madras) | Executed on July 7, 1944 |
| V. & P O. Bhaproda Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action at Kelewa |
| V. Jahar, P O Nahar Dt. Rohtak | Died at Tamu (Burma) at the time of general retreat |
| H No T/165 Bhalera Bazar Rawalpindi City | Killed in action |
| V. Dehkora, P O Sampla Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Kair, P.O. Bahadurgarh Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Badalabas, P O. Khandakheri Dt. Hissar | Died of T. B in Hospital |
| V. Khanda, P.O. Khanda Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Madina Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Bhurawas, P.O. Salhawas Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Sunehri Kalan P.O. & Dt. Rohtak | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1238. RATHINDRA NATH RAHA | Civilian | — | Civilian Reconstruction Deptt. I.I.L. | |
| 1239. RUR SINGH | Constable | Shanghai Police | Sep | I.I.L. Shanghai |
| 1240. RAWEL SINGH | Naik | 5/11 Sikh Regt | S.O. | — |
| 1241. RAM SINGH | Sep | 5/2 P R. | — | — |
| 1242. RATTAN SINGH | Sep | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | — |
| 1243. RAN SINGH | Gunner | 2nd HKSRA | Sep | 3rd Garla Regt |
| 1244. RAM SARUP | Sep | 2nd Jat Regt | Sep | —do— |
| 1245. RAJA GOPALAN, S | — | — | Sep | Komi Kaze Brigade |
| 1246. RAMA NATHAN K. R. alias SOCKAL-LINGAM | Civilian | — | Sep | 5/3 Grla Regt |
| 1247. RAKHA SINGH | Sep | 3/16 P R | Sep | No. 2 Gandhi Grla Regt |
| 1248. RISAL SINGH | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | — |
| 1249. RAGHBIR SINGH | Sep | 3rd Cavalry | Sep | Reinf. Grp. |
| 1250. RAMANATHAN R. | Civilian | — | Sep | AHIF Trg Camp, Kuala Lumpur |
| 1251. RAGHBIR SINGH | Naik | 2/12 F.F.R. | Lieut | Reinf. Group |
| 1252. RATI RAM | Sep | 2nd HKSRA | Sep | 3rd Grla Regt |
| 1253. RAM SINGH | Hav | — | — | — |
| 1254. RAM KANWAR | Sep | 2nd HKSRA | Sep | 2nd Grla Regt |
| 1255. RAMASAMI ONDIR- IYAR | Civilian | — | Spl. Br. | S. S. Grp. |
| 1256. RICHPAL SINGH | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | Azad Regt |
| 1257. RASIL SINGH | — | — | Hav | — |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|---|
| 11/13, Gopal Bose Lane Calcutta | Died in Burma operation |
| V. Alamwala, P.O. Bagha Purana Dt. Ferozepur | Died at Shanghai |
| V. Jhingran Kalan, P.O. Dasuya Dt. Hoshiarpur | Died at Burma Front |
| V. Jhalian, P.O. Rupar Dt. Ambala | Died of dysentery and fever in a Hospital at Burma Front |
| V. Jindowal, P.O. Banga Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action |
| V. Kair, P.O. Bahadurgarh Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action near Imphal in 1944 |
| V. & P.O. Narela Dt. Delhi | Died at Kalewa Front |
| — | Died in Hospital at Madras |
| — | Died |
| V. Majri, P.O. Rumun Dt. Ambala | Killed in action |
| V. Milakpur, P.O. Najafgarh Dt. Delhi | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Mandothi Dt. Rohtak | Died in a Japanese Hospital at Singapore |
| V. Puthakaram, P.O. Enangudi Dt. Tanjore (Madras) | Killed in action |
| V. Sidhpur Ghar, P.O. Bhaïmar Dt. Kangra | Died in Hospital |
| V. & P.O. Rithal Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| — | Died at Arakan Front |
| V. Chuli Bagarian, P.O. Bhathu Kalan Dt. Hissar | Died in Issardy operation |
| V. Tirumangalak Kottaividile P.O. Vadaseri Mannugudi Dt. Tanjore (Madras) | Landed in India, was caught and <i>hanged</i> |
| V. Dewawas, P.O. Jhumpa Dt. Hissar | Killed in action |
| V. Makran, P.O. Parmahani Dt. Kangra | Died of illness in Burma |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1258. RAM SARUP | Cook | HKSRA | Sep | 3rd Grla Regt |
| 1259. RAM SUNDER SINGH | — | — | Sep | Gandhi Bde. |
| 1260. RAWAT SINGH | Hav/Major | 5/18 RGR | Lieut | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1261. RANJIT SINGH | Sep | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 1262. RAI SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1263. RANJIT SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1264. RAGHBIR SINGH | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1265. RUDAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1266. RAI CHAND | Water Carrier | 2/18 RGR | —do— | —do— |
| 1267. RAHIM M. A | Jem | Mysore Inf | Lieut | Bahadur Group |
| 1268. RAM SINGH | L/NK | 5/2 PR | Hav | 5/2 PR |
| 1269. RANGA RAO BABER | —do— | Mysore Inf | L/NK | Int. Group |
| 1270. RAMHE NAIDU | —do— | —do— | Hav | —do— |
| 1271. RAJINDER SINGH | Hav | 5/2 PR | —do— | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1272. RATI RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | M. Police |
| 1273. RANG ELAHI | — | HKSRA | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1274. RAM KHELAWAN | — | C G.H A M C | —do— | —do— |
| 1275. RAM SINGH | NK | 2/17 Dogra Regt | — | 1st Inf. Bn. |
| 1276. RANGI LAL | Sep | — | Sep | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1277. RAM RAKHA | —do— | — | Hav | —do— |
| 1278. REHMAN N. S. | L/NK | — | —do— | Int. Grp. |
| 1279. RANA DEY | Sep | — | L/NK | —do— |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I.N.A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| V. Nindana, P.O. Meham Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| V. Satraon, P.O. Barahoj Dt. Gorakhpur | Killed in action at Kalewa Sector (Burma) |
| — | Killed in action in July, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in 1944 |
| — | Died of disease |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died |
| — | Killed in action on 18.3.44 |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died in Miyang Hospital on 11.10.44 |
| — | Died at Mandalay |
| — | Died in Burma |
| V. & P.O. Dhurkna Dt. Jhelum | —do— |
| Uttar Pradesh | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— December, 1943 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in action in Arakan Hills |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1280. RAMDEV SINGH | Sep | 16 Fd Amb A.M.C. | Sep | Int. Grp. |
| 1281. RATI RAM | —do— | 4/9 Jat Regt | Sep | M.P. |
| 1282. RICHHPAL SINGH | —do— | Heavy AA Regt | —do— | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1283. RAM PATT | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1284. RUP SINGH | Sep | 7/6 Raj Rifles | —do— | —do— |
| 1285. RAM SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1286. RAM RAKHA | —do— | — | —do— | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1287. RATIAN SINGH | —do— | — | —do— | 3 —do— |
| 1288. RAM SINGH | —do— | 1/8 PR | —do— | —do— |
| 1289. RAM SINGH | —do— | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1290. RAM SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1291. RABI DATT | —do— | A M C | —do— | Medical |
| 1292. RATIAN SINGH | Hav | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Lieut | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1293. RAM SINGH | Sep | A M C | Sep | Medical |
| 1294. RAM SINGH | —do— | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1295. RANJIT SINGH | —do— | HKSRA | Sep | 2 —do— |
| 1296. RANBIR SINGH | —do— | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 1297. RISAL SINGH | —do— | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1298. RAM KARAN | —do— | 7/8 PR | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1299. RAMJI LAL | —do— | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Naik | Int. Grp. |
| 1300. RAM SARAN | —do— | — | Sep | 2nd Bn. German Front |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| P.O. Sohawal Dt. Faizabad | Killed in action in Arakan Hills |
| — | Killed in action in Burma in June, 1944 |
| — | Died |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Kandha Dt. Almora | Killed in action at Ye-u on 7.7.44 |
| V. Rind, P.O. Hindowne City, Jaipur State | —do— |
| V. Bambar P.O. Tegaon, Dt. Almora | Killed in Air Raid at Pyinmana in February, 1945 |
| V. & P.O. Askat Dt. Almora | —do— |
| — | Killed in action at Ye-u on 3.3.44 |
| — | Missing |
| — | Died in bombardment at Ye-u on 7.7.44 |
| — | Missing from Tamu in May, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action at Kalewa |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Kumarya Dt. Hissar | —do— at Tamu |
| V. & P.O. Dahina Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| — | —do— in Italy |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1301. RABNAWAZ KHAN | Sowar | — | U/Off | German Front |
| 1302. RAM SARUP | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1303. RAM DEV | Sapper | — | — | German Front |
| 1304. RAM CHANDAR | Sep | 1/8 PR | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1305. RAM BAHADUR THAPA | — | Burma F.F. | — | Trg Centre |
| 1306. RAMA SWAMI | -- | — | Sep | Int. Grp |
| 1307. RAI SINGH | Sep | 4/9 Jat Regt | — | — |
| 1308. RISAL SINGH | Gnr | HKSRA | — | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1309. RUP SINGH | L/NK | 2/17 Dogra Regt | Hav | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1310. RAM SINGH | — | — | —do— | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1311. RAM RAKHA | Sep | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1312. RAM SINGH | Hav | Jat Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 1313. RATTAN SINGH | Sep | — | — | — |
| 1314. RATTAN SINGH | — | — | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1315. RAM PAL | — | 7/8 PR | Hav | —do— |
| 1316. RAM BILAS | Sep | 4 Hy AA Regt | Sep | —do— |
| 1317. RASAN SINGH | Hav | Kapurthala Inf. | S.O. | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1318. RANDHIR SINGH | L/NK | HKSRA | NK | —do— |
| 1319. RAM BHOJ | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1320. RAJINDER SINGH | NK | 2/12 F.F. Regt | — | — |
| 1321. RAFI MOHD | Sep | 4/9 Jat Regt | — | — |
| 1322. RASHAUR SINGH | | | S.O. | |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| — | Killed in action in France in September, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action near Kalewa |
| — | —do— in Germany |
| V. Bilon, P.O. Kama Dt. Bharatpur | Killed in bombardment in Arakan area in April, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in Chindwin River in February, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in Kaladan Sector |
| V. & P.O. Dighal Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action |
| V. Kila Zafargash Dt. Rohtak | Died of disease |
| Vill. Bariwala Chowk Ladraul—Simla | Killed in action in Imphal operation |
| — | Died of disease in Arakan Hills in 1944 |
| Hoshiarpur | Killed in action |
| Hissar | —do— |
| Vill. Chankaur, P O Ben, Dt. Almora | —do— |
| Vill. Kana, P.O. Bageshwar, Almora | —do— |
| Vill. Rithod, P O Sahana, Dt. Gurgaon | —do— at Imphal |
| Vill. Begpur, P.O. Atlu, Dt. Almora | Died of disease at Manewa Hospital |
| Vill. Khera, P.O. Kapurthala, Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Madil, P.O. Salawas, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. & P.O. Baliah, Dt. Hissar | —do— |
| Kapurthala State | Died in Hospital |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| Name | Indian Army | | I. N. A. | |
|----------------------|-------------|------------------|----------|--------------------|
| | Rank | Unit | Rank | Unit |
| 1323. RAM DASS | — | — | NK | — |
| 1324. RATI RAM | — | — | — | — |
| 1325. RAWEL SINGH | — | — | Lieut | — |
| 1326. RAM SINGH | — | I A M C | — | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1327. RAM DITTA | Sep | 5/2 PR | Sep | 2 Inf. Bn |
| 1328. RAGHUBIR SINGH | — | — | Hav | — |
| 1329. REAIA S. | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1330. RAM SARUP | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1331. RAM KARAN | —do— | 7/8 PR | —do— | 3 —do— |
| 1332. RAM DHAM | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1333. RAM HANS | —do— | 1/8 PR | L/NK | —do— |
| 1334. RAM KUMAR | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1335. RAGHUBIR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1336. RAGHUBIR SINGH | —do— | 1/8 PR | —do— | —do— |
| 1337. RANDHIR SINGH | Hav | 9 Jat Regt | 2/Lt | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1338. RAM SUNDAR | N/Sep | 36 Fd Amb AMC | N/Sep | —do— |
| 1339. RAGHUBIR SINGH | Sep | 2 HKSRA | Sep | 2 —do— |
| 1340. RANADY P. S | —do— | 12 IGH/AMC | —do— | Int. Grp. |
| 1341. RAM SARUP | Hav | 2 HKSRA | Lieut | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1342. RAM KALA | Sep | —do— | Sep | 4 —do— |
| 1343. RAN SINGH | NK | 4/9 Jat Regt | S.O. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1344. RAM SINGH | Sep | 2 HKSRA | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|-----------------------------|
| — | Died in Italy in July, 1944 |
| Vill. Gola Paner, P.O. Nalagarh Simla | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Jhinger, Dt. Hoshiarpur | —do— |
| Vill. Kharkala, P.O. Sunarawal, Dt. Almora | Died in Shanghai |
| Vill. Khidra, P.O. Biyhari, Dt. Kangra | Killed in action |
| Vill. Kot Jhanda Singh Dt. Sialkot | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Deroli Nagal P.O. Mohindargarh, Patiala | —do— |
| Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| Vill. Gapooli, P O Hindowne, Jaipur State | —do— |
| Vill. Dewran | —do— |
| Vill. Panchala, P.O. Hindowne, Jaipur State | —do— |
| Vill. Rind, P.O. Hindowne Jaipur State | —do— |
| Vill. Nangla, P.O. Chhoulas, Dt. Bullandshahr | —do— |
| Dt. Rohtak | • Killed in action |
| Vill. Bharatpur, Dt. Faizabad | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Berar | —do— |
| Vill. Khanda. P.O. Kharkalu, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| Meerut | —do— |
| Vill. Kharman, P.O. Mandauthi, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| Vill. Kair, P.O. Bahadurgarh, Delhi | —do— |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1345. RAGHUNATH RAM PATIL | Sep | RB S & M | S.O. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1346. RUKMAJI GOVIND PARADH | —do— | 28 IBT Coy | Sep | 4 Grla Regt |
| 1347. RUMAL RAM | Hav | 1/8 PR | Hav | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1348. RAM RAM | Sep | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 —do— |
| 1349. RAMU KHANDKAR | —do— | RB S & M | —do— | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1350. RAM CHANDAR MORE | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1351. RAMA RIDDY | —do— | Madras S & M | —do— | —do— |
| 1352. RAJU M. | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1353. RAMA RAO | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1354. RUP SINGH | — | RB S & M | L/NK | —do— |
| 1355. RAMA RAO BHONSLE | — | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1356. RAM CHANDAR CHOWDHARY | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1357. RAMA | — | 7/8 PR | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1358. RAGHUBIR SINGH | — | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 1359. RAM SINGH | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1360. RICH PAL | — | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1361. RAM CHAND | Sep | —do— | — | — |
| 1362. SHABRATI KHAN | Jem | 45 IBT Cov/ASC | Lieut | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1363. SHER BAHADUR BHANDARI | Hav | 2/9 GR | Capt | —do— |
| 1364. SHER SINGH | Hav | IAMC | Hav | — |
| 1365. SRI EDILARAN | L/NK | S & M | | A.H.Dal |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| Vill. Padwal, P.O. Maheru, Dt. Poona | Killed in action |
| — | Committed suicide |
| Vill. Fatchpur, P.O. Tegaon, Dt. Gurgaon | Killed in action |
| Vill. Jal, P.O. Sikandrabad, Dt. Bulandshahr | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Missing - believed killed |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Tali, P.O. Sikandrabad, Dt. Bullandshahr | Killed in action |
| Vill. & P.O. Suklu, Dt. Rawalpindi | —do— |
| Dt. Meerut | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Bedode, Dt. Bharatpur | —do— |
| Vill. Devli, Dt. Ajmer | Killed in action in Burma in 1944 |
| Vill. Ballupur, Dt. Dehra Dun | Died of disease in Hospital in 1944 |
| Kumaon | Was captured in Arakan Front and joined INA. Was killed in action near Buthedong in February, 1944 |
| Mudakkar Vila House Mayyanad, Travancore | Killed in action |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| Name | Indian Army | | I. N. A. | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| | Rank | Unit | Rank | Unit |
| 1366. SYED ALVI | Sep | W/Shop IAOC | Hav | 1 Bhadur Group |
| 1367. SULTAN SINGH | —do— | 2 HKSRA | Sep | M.P. |
| 1368. SURJAN SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1369. SAMPURAN CHAND | Hav | RIASC | Hav | Int. Group |
| 1370. SOHAN SINGH | Civilian | — | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1371. SHIV SINGH | Sep | 3/18 RGR | Sep | German Front |
| 1372. SURJA SINGH | Hav | 2/9 Jat Regt | Capt | HQ Supreme Command |
| 1373. SUKHBIR SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | Body Guard Bn. |
| 1374. SAHI RAM | —do— | —do— | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1375. SARDOOL SINGH | Flect. | 9/W-Shop Coy A.O.C. | Lieut | Fd Prop Dept |
| 1376. SAHI RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1377. SOBAN SINGH RAWAT | Sep | 5/18 RGR | Sep | 1/3 Grla Regt |
| 1378. SHIB LAL | NK | 4/9 Jat Regt | Lieut | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1379. SANTA SINGH | Sep | — | Sep | — |
| 1380. SAMPURAN SINGH | NK | 3/16 PR | Hav Clerk | — |
| 1381. N. SEN | Civilian | — | Asstt. Director, Reconstruction Deptt., A. H. Dal | |
| 1382. SARDARA SINGH | Sep | 3/16 PR | — | S.S. |
| 1383. SHAM SHER SINGH MAVI | Hav Clerk | 6/1 PR | Lt | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1384. SUNDER SINGH | Sep | S & M | Sep | No. 1 Engr Coy |
| 1385. SHEO KARAN | Sep | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1386. SARDARA SINGH | Sep | Ind. Signals | L/NK | 1 Div. Sig. |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| — | Killed in action near Buthedong in May, 1944 |
| V. Mandela, P.O. Najafgarh Dt. Delhi | Killed in action near Imphal in June, 1944 |
| V. Jharada Kalan, P.O. Najafgarh Delhi | —do— near Palel |
| V. Khanpur, P.O. Kharar Dt. Ambala | —do— in Arakan Hills |
| V. Kot Karor Kalan, P.O. Darolibhai Ferozepore | —do—at Palel |
| V. Khariti, P.O. Dada Mandi Garhwal | Died of T.B. in Irwin Hospital • Delhi on 12.5.46 |
| V. Kair, P.O. Bahadurgarh Delhi | Killed in Singapore |
| V. Patti Gopi, P.O. Baoli Dt. Meerut | Killed in action |
| V. Dhakli, P.O. Kosli Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| | Died of starvation and hardship in Pacific Islands |
| V. Kirara, P.O. Nopora Bikaner State | Killed in action |
| V. Jagdhar, P.O. Kainjoli Tehri-Garhwal | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Mandothi Dt. Rohtak | Died in INA Hospital at Mandalay |
| V. Chehru, P.O. Phagwara Dt. Jullundur | Died in motor accident while performing I. N. A. duties |
| V. Jaitauli, P.O. Kilaraipur Dt. Ludhiana | Killed in action |
| 102/A, Ballygunge Place Calcutta | Died in French Hospital at Bangkok on 27.9.45 |
| V. & P.O. Bhopalwala Dt. Sialkot | Hanged by British at Calcutta on 23.3.45 |
| 52/34 Lakshmi Kund Benares | Died near Kalewa in August, 1944 |
| V. & P.O. Dhaban Singh Dt. Sheikhpura | Killed in air raid at Sitang in August, 1944 |
| V. Bhutpur, P.O. Bansur Alwar State | Killed in air raid in Burma |
| V. & P.O. Bharwal Dt. Gujrat | Died |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1387. SAWARN SINGH | Sep | S & M | — | — |
| 1388. SUKHMAR RAM | Sep | Mytikma Bn BFF | L/NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1389. SAYDUR REHMAN | Il/Clerk | 6 IBT Coy | Hav Clerk | — |
| 1390. SARDARA SINGH | Sep | 3/16 PR | Sep | 3/3 Grla Regt |
| 1391. SARDARA SINGH | Sep | 5/2 PR | Naik | — |
| 1392. SANTA SINGH | Sep | 3/16 PR | Sep | 4 Grla Regt |
| 1393. SATYENDRA NATH ROY | — | — | — | Azad Hind Dal |
| 1394. SHIV NATH KAPOOR | UD S Keeper | W/Shop Coy A O C | Licut | 4 Grla Regt |
| 1395. SADULLAH KHAN | Naik | 5/14 PR | 2/Lt | 2 —do— |
| 1396. T. SUPPAH | Civilian | — | Sep | —do— |
| 1397. SHARBAT KHAN | Sep | RIASC (MT) | Hav | 2 M. T. Coy |
| 1398. SUCHA SINGH | Sep | 3/16 PR | Sep | X-Regt |
| 1399. SHEO LAL | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1400. SHAHI RAM | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | L/NK | —do— |
| 1401. SARDARA SINGH | Sep | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | —do— |
| 1402. SIHARAM SHEVALE | Sep | R B S & M | Sep | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1403. SADALU KOIRI | — | — | — | — |
| 1404. SHIV RAM | — | — | Major | HQ 2 Div. |
| 1405. SAJAWAL KHAN | — | — | Sep | 1st Inf. Bn. |
| 1406. SAYED GAFFUR | L/NK | Ind Artillery | Hav | R J R. |
| 1407. SHLR SINGH NLGI NK | | 2/18 RGR | Lieut | 4 Grla Regt |
| 1408. SARJIT SINGH | Sep | 22 IBT Coy | Sep | 1 MT Coy |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|---|
| V. Chahewal, P.O. Bagikalan Dt. Hoshiarpur Mytikina Bazar Burma | Died in Malaya in December, 1941 |
| V. & P.O. Titabar Assam | Died |
| V. Mandi Moron, P.O. Apra Dt. Jullundur | Killed in action |
| V. Jhingran, P.O. Mukundpur Dt. Jullundur | Died in Burma Front |
| Bullohi Chowk No. 30 Pattoki, Lahore | Killed in action near Imphal |
| V. & P.O. Gokarna, Dt. Tipperah, Bengal | Died in Burma Front |
| Gujrat | Died near Kalewa |
| Ibrahimzai, Kohat | Died in Burma |
| Alagapuri South St. Devakattai, Ramnad | Killed in Imphal Front |
| V. & P.O. Ziarat Kaka-Sahib Peshawar | Died |
| V. Sadoopur, P.O. Lohian Khas Dt. Jullundur | Died in Burma |
| V. Jaipur, P.O. Subana Dt. Rohtak | Died at Yezin Basti near Pyinmana, Burma |
| V. Bhakli, P.O. Kosli Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action during Imphal Battle |
| V. Mari Mustafa P.O. Bagha Purana Ferozepore | Died in Burma |
| V. Ghogaon Jelgaon, P.O. Karad, Satara Peshawar | Killed in action |
| V. Tihamahmedpur P.O. Barhalganj, Dt. Gorakhpur | Died of dysentery near Kohima |
| V. Agra Chak, P.O. Rambirsingpura Jammu & Kashmir | Died |
| V. Dhok Maira, P.O. Sihala Dt. Rawalpindi | —do— |
| 6, South Kuvam Road Madras | —do— |
| V. Kalaun, P.O. Chipalghat Garhwal | Died on 14.11.46 |
| | Died |
| | Killed in action at Ziawadi in April, 1945 |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1409. SHER SINGH | NK | 5/18 RGR | Hav | 3rd Bn |
| 1410. SUNDER SINGH | L/NK | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 1411. SHIV SINGH | W/Cr | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1412. SATEH SINGH | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1413. SHIV SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1414. SHER SINGH | —do— | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 1415. SHYAM SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1416. SATEH SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1417. SUDAMA | —do— | 2/18 RGR | —do— | —do— |
| 1418. SHIAM SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1419. SUNDRAM | — | — | 2/Lt | Int. Gp. |
| 1420. SOHAN LAL (VIR- E-HIND) | Jem | 4/9 Jat Regt | Major | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1421. SANSAR SINGH | — | — | Hav | A. H. Dal |
| 1422. SANTAN SINGH | Hav | 5/18 RGR | S.O. | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1423. SHAMBOO SINGH | —do— | Raj. Rifles • | S.O. | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1424. SURJAN SINGH | —do— | 1/13 FF Rifles | Lieut | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1425. SANGAT SINGH | —do— | 5/2 PR | —do— | —do— |
| 1426. SEN, S. G. | —do— | — | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1427. SINGHARA SINGH | L/NK | — | NK | Reinforce- ment Group |
| 1428. SAHIB JAN | Sep | 120 Pioneers Corps | Sep | 1 Inf. Bn. |
| 1429. SHANKAR RAM | —do— | 33 Mtn. Bty. RA | Sep | Reinf. Gp. |
| 1430. SHER SINGH KUMONI | —do— | Fd Amb | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |

THIRTEEN]

MARTYRS OF THE I N A.

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| — | Killed in action |
| — | Died of disease |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in Air Raid in 1944 |
| — | Died of disease in 1944 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in action at Kohima |
| V Matan, P O Mandootla Dt Rohtak | Died of disease |
| — | Died |
| — | Died near Lamu in July, 1944 |
| — | Killed in bombardment in Pande in 1944 |
| — | Killed in action at Ye u in 1944 |
| Chak No 38, P O Pattoki Lahore | —do— in Burma |
| — | Killed in Air Raid in February 1945 |
| — | Died in Burma on 3 4 44 |
| — | —do— on 12 3 45 |
| — | —do— in August, 1944 |
| — | Killed in Air Raid at Tamu in August, 1944 |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1431. SHELO RAM DOGRA | Sep | 5/14 PR | NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1432. SUBARAM | NK | 5/2 PR | Hav | —do— |
| 1433. SAWAD BAX | — | — | NK | 1 Bahadur Grp. |
| 1434. SILAH ZAMIR | L/NK | 1/14 PR | S O. | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1435. SAWAL SINGH | Cook | 22 IBT Coy | — | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1436. SADHU RAM | Sep | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1437. SHER MOHD | L/NK | 3 Fd Coy S & M | Hav | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1438. SARGAND ALI | Sep | 5/14 PR | Sep | 1 —do— |
| 1439. SAIDULLAH KHAN | NK | —do— | 2/Lt | 3 —do— |
| 1440. SURAM SINGH | Sep | 2/17 Dogra Regt | Sep | G.M.P. |
| 1441. SURI RAM | —do— | 11KSRA | —do— | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1442. SINGH RAM | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1443. SARDAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | Hav | A/Tank Coy |
| 1444. SANG SINGH | —do— | 7/6 R R. | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1445. SANGAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1446. SHIMBHU SINGH | Hav | —do— | 2/Lt | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1447. SAGRAM SINGH | Sep | —do— | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1448. SHITAL BAHADUR | Sep | Gurkha Rifles | Hav | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1449. SUKHDEO SINGH | NK | — | Hav | Int. Gp. |
| 1450. SHER SINGH | Sep | — | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1451. SHIR SINGH | —do— | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 1452. SHIR SINGH | —do— | 2 MT Coy | —do— | 3 MT Coy |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| — | Killed in Burma in August, 1944 |
| V. Kakar, P.O. Hamirpur | —do— |
| — | Died |
| — | , Died in Burma in April, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in Burma in August, 1944 |
| — | Died |
| — | Died in Maymyo Hospital in Aug., 1944 |
| V. & P.O. Asizai Kohat (NWFP) | Died in Burma |
| — | —do— in July, 1944 |
| V. Baliwal, P.O. Dehra Doshiarpur | Killed in action in Burma in June, 1944 |
| — | * —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Killed in hand to hand fighting in Burma in August, 1944 |
| — | Died |
| — | Killed by aerial action at Pynmana in February, 1945 |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— at Ye-u on 3.2.45 |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1453. SOBAN SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1454. SOBAL SINGH | —do— | A.M.C. | —do— | Medical |
| 1455. SURJA SINGH | Barber | HKSRA | Barber | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1456. SUBE SINGH | Sep | —do— | L/NK | —do— |
| 1457. SURAT SINGH | —do— | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1458. SAUDAGAR SINGH | —do— | 3/16 I'R | —do— | Int. Gp. |
| 1459. SANT SINGH | —do— | 44 IBT Coy | —do— | X-Regt |
| 1460. SARDARA SINGH | —do— | 7/8 PR | —do— | —do— |
| 1461. SARDARA SINGH | —do— | 2/16 PR | —do— | —do— |
| 1462. SHER SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1463. SANSARI RAM | Carpenter | 1/14 PR | —do— | A.H.Dal |
| 1464. SIRI CHAND | Sep | 4/9 Jat Regt | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1465. SUNDER SINGH | —do— | HKSRA | —do— | —do— |
| 1466. SAWHNEY M. R. | I D.C. | IAOC | Lieut | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1467. SHEIKH DASTGIR | Sep | II Div TT Coy | NK | —do— |
| 1468. SHAH A. A. | Lieut | 43 FA/A M.C. | Major | 1 Div HQ |
| 1469. SHER SINGH | Sep | 2 Burma Rifles | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1470. SAMB SIVAN | — | 2 Fd Regt R.A. | Sep | 2nd Bn Ger- man Front |
| 1471. SALLAHUDDIN | — | — | — | — |
| 1472. SHER BAHADUR | — | — | — | — |
| 1473. SIRI RAM | — | 7/8 P.R. | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1474. SIRI PHOOL | — | 1/8 P.R. | —do— | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| Vill. Gargaon, P.O. Dightar, Almora | Killed in Air Raid at Pegu on 9.10.44 |
| Vill. Nankuri, P.O. Didihal, Almora | Died of disease at Kandek in July, 1944 |
| — | Died at Kalewa |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died of disease and wound in Burma |
| — | Killed in Air Raid at Itaka on 4.6.44 |
| — | Died of disease in Burma in May, 1945 |
| — | Killed in action in Burma in July, 1944 |
| Vill. Buana, P.O. Narcla, Del | Died of disease in Singapore |
| — | Killed in Air Raid near Imphal |
| — | Killed in Burma in May, 1944 |
| — | —do— in Air Raid at Mejintha on 30.3.44 |
| — | Killed in action at Tamu |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died in hospital in Germany |
| — | Committed suicide at Breston, Germany on 24.12.45 |
| — | —do— on 26.12.45 |
| Vill. Arsi, P.O. Nagar, Bharatpur | Killed in action in Burma in April, 1944 |
| Vill. Salempur, Jaipur | —do— near Imphal in May, 1944 |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1475. SURAJ MAL | Sep | 4/9 Jat Regt | Sep | — |
| 1476. SIRI CHAND | — | HKSRA | —do— | — |
| 1477. SOWARN SINGH | NK | 5/8 PR | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1478. SUNDER SINGH | Sep | 2/17 Dogra Regt | L/NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1479. SURAJ MAIL | —do— | 1/15 P. R. | — | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1480. SARDAR SINGH | Gnr. | HKSRA | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1481. SHIR SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | 1 —do— |
| 1482. SHANKAR DATI | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1483. SHIR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1484. SHIR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1485. SHEOKARAN SINGH | — | —do— | Hav | —do— |
| 1486. SURENA | Sweeper | — | Sep | 3 —do— |
| 1487. S R. MOGHAM | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1488. SOBHA CHAND | NK | HKSRA | Hav | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1489. SHANKAR SINGH | — | Kapurthala Inf. | Capt | 2 —do— |
| 1490. SAROOP SINGH | — | —do— | 2/Lt | — |
| 1491. SOHAN SINGH | — | —do— | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1492. SUKH BIR SINGH | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | L/NK | 3 —do— |
| 1493. SHIB SINGH | — | —do— | Hav | —do— |
| 1494. SOHAN SINGH | Sep | A. M. C. | N/Sep | —do— |
| 1495. SADA RAM | —do— | 4/19 Hyd Regt | L/NK | —do— |
| 1496. SUKHI RAM | —do— | —do— | Sep | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| Vill. & P.O. Dighal, Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action in Burma in May, 1944 |
| — | Died of disease at Mandalay |
| Vill. Badialan, Hoshiarpur | Died |
| Bariwala Chowk, Simla | Died |
| — | Died |
| V. & P.O. Patla Dt. Meerut | Killed in action near Imphal |
| V. Tali, P.O. Pithorgarh Almora | Killed in action |
| Almora | —do— |
| V. Wakhal, P.O. Kanalicchia | —do— at Ye-u |
| V. Kaliani P.O. Wada, Dt. Almora | —do— at Tamu |
| Patti Rukarban P.O. Lohaghat, Dt. Almora | —do— at Chalagaon |
| — | —do— near Imphal |
| V. Manglam Ramanathapuram | —do— |
| V. Dhansari, P.O. Badhra Jind State | —do— at Mandalay |
| V. & P.O. Panchita Jullundur | Killed in action |
| V. Tibba, P.O. Talwandi Chandhrian, Jullundur | —do— |
| V. Beharepore, P.O. Kapurthala Jullundur | —do— |
| V. Khanpur, P.O. Bant Muzaffaranagar | —do— |
| V. Hiranman-Ka-Nangal P.O. Kiraoli, Dt. Agra | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. Khoma Neshar P.O. Farakhnagar, Gurgaon | —do— |
| V. Chandhera P.O. Mohindargarh, Patiala | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.]

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1497. SUKH DARSHAN SINGH | Sub. | 2/12 FF Regt | — | — |
| 1498. SURAJ BHAN | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1499. SUTTAN SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1500. SINGORA RAM | —do— | 2/17 Dogra Regt | —do— | —do— |
| 1501. SULEMAN | —do— | Kapurthala Infantry | Naik | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1502. SHAH MOHD | —do— | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1503. SHAH DIN | L/NK | —do— | Naik | —do— |
| 1504. SHAH DIN | Hav | —do— | Hav | Ipoh Trg Centre |
| 1505. SHAH MOHD (Wrestler) | Sep | Kapurthala Inf | L/NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1506. SAUDAGAR SINGH | NK | —do— | Hav | —do— |
| 1507. SHAM SINGH | Sep | —do— | 2/Lt | 4 Grla Regt |
| 1508. SAYEED | -- | 7/6 Raj Rifles | Hav Clerk | — |
| 1509. SURAT SINGH | -- | — | Lieut | — |
| 1510. SAID ZAMAN | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1511. SURJAN SINGH | — | — | S. O. | — |
| 1512. SADIQ MOHD. | — | — | Hav | — |
| 1513. SURI NARAIN | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1514. SHER SINGH | Sep | 2 HKSRA | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1515. SUCHA SINGH | — | Bombay S & M | —do— | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1516. SHER SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1517. SADHU SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1518. SURAT SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| — | Killed in action |
| V. Nangal Jatusana | —do— |
| Dt. Gurgaon | —do— |
| V. Saiga, P.O. Narnaul | —do— |
| Khetri | —do— |
| — | —do— at Imphal |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| - | Missing |
| -- | Missing—believed killed between |
| - | Imphal and Ye-u |
| --- | Died of disease at Singapore Hospital |
| --- | Killed in bombing at Myingyn |
| --- | Killed in Malaya |
| --- | Died in jail in Attock due to hunger |
| Poonch | Killed at Haka |
| Kapurthala | Died in hospital |
| Mohalla Jaunhi, Bharatpur | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| V. Mohim | Died in hospital |
| Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. Chhatar, P.O. Jasimpur | Died in Maymyo Hospital |
| Kangra | Killed in action |
| V. Ajhla | —do— at Tamu |
| Kapurthala | |
| Amritsar | |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1519. SANSAR SINGH | — | Bombay S & M | L/NK | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1520. SHAM SINGH | — | — | Lieut | — |
| 1521. SULTAN ALI | — | — | S. O. | — |
| 1522. SHIV RAM GURPARA | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1523. SARDAR SINGH | — | — | — | — |
| 1524. SADAU SINGH | — | — | Lt | — |
| 1525. SHIV SINGH | — | — | L/NK | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1526. SANTA SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1527. SAUDAGAR SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1528. SANTA SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1529. SADHU SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1530. SURAM CHAND | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1531. SURYA SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1532. SULTAN SHAH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1533. SARDARA SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1534. SHANKAR SINGH | — | — | —do— | — |
| 1535. SUNDAR SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1536. SULTAN | — | 1 Bahadur Group | — | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1537. SAHEB JAHARI | — | — | — | — |
| 1538. SULTAN MOHD | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1539. SURAIN SINGH | — | — | L/NK | — |
| 1540. SOHAN SINGH | — | Bombay S & M | Sep | 1 Engr Coy |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| V. Harsaridari, P.O. Jawali Kangra | Killed by bombardment at Maymyo Hospital |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Ferozepore | —do— |
| — | —do— in July, 1944 |
| V. Rajpur Rahote, P.O. Umar Dt. Hoshiarpur | —do— |
| V. Karhian, P.O. Tanda Hoshiarpur | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Mikhowali, Dt. Sheikhpura | —do— |
| V. Sadh, P.O. Sharakpur Dt. Sheikhpura | —do— |
| V. Majra Kalan P.O. Jodhla | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Binewal Dt. Hoshiarpur | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. Ara, P.O. Shah Sultan Muzaffargarh | Killed by bombardment at Mingladon Camp |
| V. Kanji Majra P.O. Maric Majra, Dt. Ambala | Killed in action |
| V. Kudhar, P.O. Ulli Dt. Kangra | —do— |
| V. Gareo, P.O. Saikaghat Kangra | Killed in action |
| V. Hosas, P.O. Barha Jind State | —do— |
| — | Died at Sitang |
| V. & P.O. Kalinjar Dt. Hazara | Died in Myang Hospital |
| V. & P.O. Thatian Dt. Gurdaspur | Died of dysentery at Kalewa in August, 1944 |
| V. & P.O. Manakla Dt. Lahore | Killed in action |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1541. SANSARI RAM | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1542. SHEOTAJ SINGH | — | 45 MT Coy | L/NK | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1543. SIRI RAM | Sep | 1/8 PR | Sep | 3 —do— |
| 1544. SHIV DAYAL SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1545. SURAJ MAL | —do— | —do— | NK | —do— |
| 1546. SULTAN SINGH | —do— | 2 HKSRA | Sep | —do— |
| 1547. SOHAN SINGH | L/NK | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Hav | —do— |
| 1548. SUNEHRİ SINGH | Sep | 7/8 PR | Sep | —do— |
| 1549. SOOLK J. K. | Civilian | — | —do— | Int. Group |
| 1550. SWAMI K. M. | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1551. SUBH RAM | Sep | 1st Heavy AA Regt | — | — |
| 1552. SURJA RAM | —do— | 2/9 Jat Regt | Sep | 4 Grla Regt |
| 1553. SUBE SINGH | — | —do— | —do— | 3 —do— |
| 1554. SHIV RAM BHOSLE | — | R. B. S & M | L/NK | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1555. SADHU GAIKWAD | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1556. SAKA RAM CHAWAN | — | —do— | — | —do— |
| 1557. SHIB RAM SAPKAL | — | —do— | — | —do— |
| 1558. SIDU SEWALE | — | —do— | — | —do— |
| 1559. SEWA SINGH | — | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1560. SOHAN KHAN | — | Bengal S & M | —do— | —do— |
| 1561. SHINGARA SINGH | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1562. SITA RAM JAGTAP | — | R. B. S & M | —do— | —do— |
| 1563. SIRI CHAND | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| V. Pindari Phrgte | Died of dysentery in Myang Hospital |
| P.O. Shamchaurasi, Hoshiarpur | in August, 1944 |
| V. Asiya-ki-Panchar | Killed in action |
| P.O. Nandrampur, Gurgaon | |
| V. & P.O. Bharatpur | —do— |
| V. Rind, P.O. Hindowne | —do— |
| Jaipur | |
| V. Kaimri, P.O. Hindowne | —do— |
| V. Bhok | • — do— |
| Dt. Rohtak | |
| V. Surjanwas, P.O. Mohndragarh | —do— |
| Patiala State | |
| Gurgaon | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | -- do— |
| Gurgaon | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. Rasoi, P.O. Kheiri Mahri | —do— |
| Dt. Rohtak | |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Govindgarh | —do— |
| Chuk No. 12, Sheikhpura | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Missing—believed killed |
| — | —do— |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1564. SIRI CHAND | — | 7/8 PR | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1565. SHEO RAM | — | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1566. SIMRU | — | 7/8 PR | —do— | —do— |
| 1567. SHIV MURTI | — | IAMC | —do— | —do— |
| 1568. SHADA NANDAN | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1569. SUPPANJA, M. | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1570. SHET PANDE | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1571. SURAJ BHAN | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1572. SAMSIWAN | Civilian | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1573. SOHAN SINGH | — | — | —do— | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1574. SARDAR SINGH | — | 4/19 Hyd Regt | —do— | 1/3 Grla Regt |
| 1575. SAYA SINGH | — | 2/9 Jat Regt | Lieut | O.T.S. |
| 1576. SANT RAM | — | 3/16 PR | — | 2nd Inf. Bn. |
| 1577. SHAILO SINGH | — | 5/14 PR | — | —do— |
| 1578. TEJ SINGH | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 4 Grla Regt |
| 1579. THAKUR SINGH | Civilian | — | —do— | — |
| 1580. TIRKHA RAM | Sep | 2/9 Jat Regt | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1581. TULJA RAM | —do— | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1582. THAIYAL, M. | Civilian | — | Sep | 8 Grla Regt |
| 1583. TAJ MOHD | Hav | 5/14 PR | 2/Lt | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1584. TEJ NARAIN MISRA | Civilian | — | Interpreter | — |
| 1585. TRILOK SINGH | Sep | 5/18 RGR | Sep | 3rd Bn |
| 1586. TARA SINGH | Sep | HKSRA | —do— | 1 Grla Regt |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|--|--|
| V. & P.O. Jhajjar Rohtak | Killed in action |
| V. Bhirona Dt. Meerut | —do— |
| Gurgaon | —do— |
| Vill. Anwali, P.O. Bila Raingarh, Partapgarh | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| Vill. Kote Karor, P.O. Durli Bu, Dt. Ferozepore | Died |
| — | Killed in action |
| Vill. Kair, P.O. Bahadurgarh, Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| Vill. Chanaur, P.O. Delra | —do— |
| Vill. Batala, P.O. Bhenibar, Dt. Mirpur | —do— |
| Vill. Naoranga, P.O. Hemdagarh, Dt. Bulandshahr | —do— in Burma in April, 1944 |
| Vill. & P.O. Chhajal Dadi Dt. Amritsar | Killed in action |
| — | Died of dysentery at Moliak |
| Vill. Chhochhi, P.O. Dighal, Dt. Rohtak | Died |
| Vill. Nallore, P.O. Kallapan, Dt. Tanjore | Killed in action |
| Vill. Gojar Garh's Nurakhel Dt. Mardan | Died of T.B. at a hospital at Lucknow in December, 1946 |
| Vill. Bhulapur, P.O. Barhaj, Dt. Gorakhpur | Killed near Kalewa in 1944 |
| | Died of disease |
| | Killed in action at Prome |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1587. TELJ SINGH | Jem | 7/6 PR | Lieut | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1588. TRILOK NATH SINGH | L/NK | RIASC | NK | Int. Gp. |
| 1589. TEK CHAND | — | Hy AA Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1590. TAKAT SINGH | NK | 7/6 Raj Rifles | NK | 1 Bahadur Group |
| 1591. TARA CHAND | Sep | HKSRA | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1592. TULSA RAM | —do— | HKSRA | Sep | —do— |
| 1593. TEHAL SINGH | —do— | 7/8 PR | —do— | X-Regt |
| 1594. THAKUR SINGH | —do— | 1 Bahawalpur Inf. | —do— | —do— |
| 1595. TEJA SINGH | —do— | 8 P.R. | —do— | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1596. TEJPAL SINGH | — | HKSRA | | -- |
| 1597. THUKADA | Sapper | 61 Fd Coy S & M | — | — |
| 1598. TRIVINI KISHORE SINGH | | — | S. O. | Int. Gp. |
| 1599. TEGH SINGH | | 3/18 G. Rfls. | Gftr. | — |
| 1600. TARA SINGH | | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1601. TEJA SINGH | - | Kapurthala Inf | Sep | 2 —do— |
| 1602. THALA SINGH | - | | Hav | -- |
| 1603. THAKUR SINGH | Sep | — | Sep | -- |
| 1604. TARA SINGH | | | — | |
| 1605. TEJA SINGH | - | — | Sep | — |
| 1606. THAKUR SINGH | — | | — | -- |
| 1607. TILAK NATH | Sep | 17 CGH AMC | NK | Int. Gp |
| 1608. TULSA RAM | Hav | HKSRA | Capt | 2 Grk Reg |
| 1609. TEK RAM | L/NK | 7/8 PR | NK | 3 —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|---|
| -- | Killed in action at Papun in May, 1945 |
| — | —do— in Arakan Hills |
| -- | —do— in Burma |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died near Kalewa |
| -- | Killed in action near More |
| | —do— at Yezin on 3 4 45 |
| | Died of disease in Burma in May, 1945 |
| | Died in Burma in April, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action at Palel in May, 1944 |
| — | Killed in action in Germany |
| V. & P.O. Khorore Dt. Arrah | —do— in Kaladan Front |
| — | Killed by Terrorist in France |
| Jhulaghat Dt. Almora | Killed in action in Burma |
| V. Tibban, P.O. Kapurthala Dt. Jullundur | —do— |
| V. Mathri Buldwara, P.O. Mandi Mandi State | Died of disease in Bidadhari Hospital on 21 5.44 |
| V. & P.O. Gandiwind Dt. Amritsar | Killed in action |
| Dt. Sialkot | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Noshera Punwa Dt. Amritsar | —do— |
| V. Chhagalwadi Dt. Amritsar | —do— by bombardment |
| Dt. Azamgarh | Killed in action |
| Dt. Jaipur | —do— |
| V. Norang, P.O. Danker Bulandshahr | —do— |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1610. THANAJ POWAR | Sep | R. B. S & M | Sep | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1611. TEJA SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1612. THAKUR SINCH | —do— | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1613. TEJ PAL | — | 7/8 PR | L/NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1614. TEJA RAM | — | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1615. TURTI RAM | Cook | 2/9 Jat Regt | — | —do— |
| 1616. TULSI RAM | — | 3/16 PR | — | —do— |
| 1617. TARA CHAND | Sep | 1/9 Jat Regt | —do— | — |
| 1618. UJALA RAM | L/NK | 2/9 —do— | NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1619. UMRAO SINGH | Sep | 5/8 PR | Sep | — |
| 1620. UJAGAR SINGH | L/NK | 5/2 PR | Hav | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1621. UJAGAR SINGH | Sep | 5/11 Sikh Regt | Sep | —do— |
| 1622. UJAGAR SINGH | —do— | Sikh Regt | 0/Gftr | 2 Bn. German Front |
| 1623. UMED SINGH | — | 3/18 RGR | Gftr | —do— |
| 1624. UDE SINGH | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 1 Grla Regt |
| 1625. UJAGAR SINGH | — | — | NK | — |
| 1626. UDE RAM | Sep | 4/19 Hyd Regt | Sep | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1627. UJAGAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | — |
| 1628. UJAGAR SINGH | —do— | —do— | —do— | — |
| 1629. UDMI RAM | —do— | 7/8 PR | —do— | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1630. UDMI RAM | — | — | —do— | —do— |
| 1631. UMAR MOHD | — | AMC | NK | —do— |
| 1632. UMRAO SINGH | — | — | Sep | —do— |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|---|--|
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Dhaba Singh Chak-13 Sheikhupura | —do— |
| V. Tilapta, P.O. Dadri Bulandshahr | —do— |
| V. Chittar, P.O. Dadri Dt. Bulandshahr | —do— |
| Dt. Karnal | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | Died |
| V. & P.O. Bahrana Dt. Rohtak | Killed in action by bombing in Burma |
| — | Died of disease at Yezin |
| V. & P.O. Nangal Dt. Hoshiarpur | Died of disease at Kalewa in July, 1944 |
| — | Died |
| — | Killed by bullet shot fired by chance by Sep. Sucha Singh |
| — | Killed by Terrorist in France |
| Almora | Killed in action at Ziawadi |
| V. Burji Chand Singh P.O. Begawal, Sialkot | Killed at Kalewa in August 1944 |
| V. Nayagaon, P.O. Dojaria Nahar State | Killed in action |
| V. Hubawal, P.O. Beniwal Dt. Hoshiarpur | Died in Singapore Hospital |
| V. Thapi, P.O. Tugarwala Dt. Ludhiana | Killed in action |
| V. & P.O. Sikandrabad Dt. Rohtak | —do— |
| V. Sekupura, P.O. Hansi Dt. Hissar | —do— |
| V. Jhamka P.O. Sekta | —do— |
| V. Dongar, Dt. Gurgaon | Died |

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

[CHAP.

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Indian Army</i> | | <i>I. N. A.</i> | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---|-----------------|
| | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> | <i>Rank</i> | <i>Unit</i> |
| 1633. UDE CHAND | — | 6/14 PR | — | 2nd Inf. |
| 1634. UJAGAR SINGH | — | — | Sep | — |
| 1635. UMRAO SINGH | L./NK | 1/8 PR | NK | 3 Grla Regt |
| 1636. UDE RAM | Sep | 7/6 Raj Rifles | Sep | 4 —do— |
| 1637. UDMI RAM | —do— | 7/8 PR | —do— | 3 —do— |
| 1638. VERMA C. L. | Hav | RIASC | S.O. | Int. Gp. |
| 1639. VASDEV POHOO- MULL HASRAJANI | Civilian | — | | A. H. Dal |
| 1640. VELUKUTTY K. | — | — | Sep | 2 Grla Regt |
| 1641. VEERAPPAN | Civilian | — | Sep | 3 —do— |
| 1642. V. VEERAIYAN | Civilian | — | Sep | —do— |
| 1643. VIROT SINGH | Hav | 7/6 Raj Rifles | S O. | 1 —do— |
| 1644. VELLU S. | Civilian | — | Rect | Reinf. Group |
| 1645. VITHAL PAWAR | — | R. B S & M | L./NK | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1646. VASU JADHO | — | —do— | Sep | —do— |
| 1647. VISHRA NATH KHADRE | — | —do— | —do— | —do— |
| 1648. VIR SINGH | | Bengal S & M | —do— | —do— |
| 1649. WARYAM SINGH | — | R. B. S & M | —do— | —do— |
| 1650. WARIS KHAN | Sep | — | Sep | — |
| 1651. WALAIT SHAH | —do— | — | —do— | — |
| 1652. YELLAPA B. | Civilian | — | Minister in the Provi- sional Govt. of Azad Hind A.H.F. | |
| 1653. YARVANKAR | — | Bombay S & M | L./NK | 1 Engr Coy |
| 1654. ZAHUR AHMED | — | — | Sep | — |

| <i>Home Address</i> | <i>Remarks</i> |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Kangra | Killed in action |
| V. Dhaliwal, P.O. Kapurthala | —do— |
| Dt. Jullundur | |
| Dt. Jaipur | —do— |
| V. Gaota, P.O. Chirwa | —do— |
| Dt. Jaipur | |
| V. Kota, P.O. Tawaru | —do— |
| Dt. Gurgaon | |
| V. & P.O. Gangola-Mahalla | Died of disease at Maymyo Hospital in |
| Almora | September, 1944 |
| Main Bazar Saraf Chowk | Killed in action near Imphal |
| Hyderabad, Sind | |
| V. Villayil Veedu | Killed in action |
| P.O. Odayam Varkala | |
| V. Edair Kadu, P.O. Vadakku Seflu- | Died |
| Marudur, Dt. Tanjore | |
| V. Katharipulam-Kovil Kuthagai | Died |
| P.O. Sombodai | |
| — | Died of disease at Moulmien Hospital |
| — | in June, 1945 |
| — | Died at Bangkok on 15.12.45 |
| — | |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| — | —do— |
| V. & P.O. Nahan Singh Chak | Died of disease at Haka in Aug, |
| No. 13, Dt. Sheikhpura | 1944 |
| — | Killed in action |
| — | |
| — | Killed in Germany |
| Chilimchi Garden | Killed in action |
| Mangalore | |
| — | Missing—believed killed |
| V. Jahur Mukhlial | |
| P.O. Sangla Hill, Sheikhpura | Hanged on 23.8.43 |

Other Fate

It is very difficult at this stage to say anything about the number of men killed outside the battle grounds in connection with the *Azad Hind Fauj*. On February 8, 1946, the Military Secretary to the Government of India stated that "twenty-seven military members of the I.N.A. had died in custody." Another two, viz., Capt. Maghar Singh and Lt. Ajmer Singh "died from self-inflicted gunshot wounds and that *nine* had been hanged."

Verification of the statement is not possible at all. Some names of the executed heroes will be available from the foregoing list. The respective serial numbers are: (i) 83, (ii) 284, (iii) 292, (iv) 306, (v) 307, (vi) 380, (vii) 488, (viii) 516, (ix) 1034, (x) 1102, (xi) 1141, and (xii) 1382.

In addition to the above, it is definitely known that (18662 Sepoy) Chattar Singh (5/8 Punjab Regiment) and (28896 I. O.) Jemader Keshri Chand Sharma (RIASC) were executed in Delhi on July 29, 1944, and May 3, 1945, respectively.

Some civilians were also executed for their participation in the I.N.A. activities. Names of some of them appear in the list above. The respective serial numbers are: 718, 754, 787, 876, 1227 and 1255. Three other persons, of whom two have already been mentioned outside the list, one other, viz., Boriface B. Pareira is known to have been executed in the Alipore Jail.

There are a few other names of civilian population alleged to have been executed, but these have been omitted for the present for want of confirmation.

About some cases of suicide serial numbers 24, 526, 549, 606, 884, 964, 1346, 1471, and 1472 may be consulted.

Fulfilment

The trial of three top-ranking heroes of the I. N. A. was started on November 5, 1945. The world had just a glimpse of what happened, particularly in the psychological plane, behind the scene. There was a chorus of condemnation on the conviction of the accused and the clamour for their release was so insistent and irresistible that discretion prompted the C-in-C to release them on January 3, 1946.

The motive of these great fighters, the head of the *Azad Hind Fauj* not excepted, was roundly assailed from the very start. On April 13, 1942, Jawaharlal Nehru, in reply to a question put to him in Calcutta, said that in spite of "his past friendship with Subhas Bose" he would not hesitate to proclaim "that the way he has chosen is utterly wrong, which I not only cannot accept but oppose it." The Communist Party of India called him a 'fifth columnist'. Mahatmaji declared at Contai, Midnapore, on January 2, 1946, that "the people of India cannot attain independence by the sword." The Political Department of the Government of India under Vallabhai Patel issued an order for removal of all portraits wherever found of Subhas Bose from the Army barracks of India.

It would be well to remember that the spirit of the I.N.A. affected the minds of the Royal Indian Navy personnel who revolted in Bombay resulting in the death of some 'rebels' from military firing. The Air-Wing of the Army, it became apparent, was also deeply touched though there was no outward incident.

History will some day come out with unvarnished truth for the enlightenment of the future generations. It is publicly known that Sir C. Auchinleck, the C-in-C of the Indian Army wrote to the Viceroy on November 26, 1945,

"... I am not in doubt myself that a great number of them (I.N.A.) especially the leaders, believed that Subhas Chandra Bose was a genuine patriot and that they themselves were right to follow his lead. There is no doubt at all from the mass of evidence we have that Subhas Chandra Bose acquired a tremendous influence over them and that his personality must have been an exceedingly strong one"

He did not stop there. He elaborated his despatch on January 22, 1946, with the following words:

"... I know from my long experience of Indian troops how hard it is even for the best and most sympathetic British Officer to gauge the inner feelings of the Indian soldier, and history supports me in this view. I do not think any senior British Officer today knows what is the real feeling among Indian rank regarding the I.N.A. I myself feel, from my own instinct largely, but also from the information I have had from various sources, that there is a growing feeling of sympathy for the I.N.A.... It is impossible to apply our standards of ethics to this problem or to shape our policy as we would, had the I.N.A. been men of our own race" (*Source: Jaya-rec, Chaitra 1371*)

This happened to be the true picture of the whole situation. The under-current had eaten away the hard rock on which the mighty edifice of the British Indian Empire was built up brick by brick. Michael Edwardes in his book, *The Last Years of British India* (p. 93), has written :

"...It slowly dawned upon the Government of India that the backbone of British rule, the Indian Army, might no longer be trustworthy. The ghost of Subhas Bose, like Hamlet's father, walked the battlements of the Red Fort, and his suddenly amplified figure over-awed the conferences that were to lead to independence"

The mind of the masses had been drawn away by Mahatmaji from the glamour of pageantry and show of power, the 'paper tiger', that was Indian administration. When both the militia—land, sea and air forces—and the masses refused to lend any further support to what was from all aspects detrimental to national interest and derogatory to the self-respect of a resurgent nation, the British statesmen wisely left the shores of India carrying with them the mounting bitterness of popular resentment while leaving behind a lasting good-will of a thankful race.

The 'Outlaws'

Through the sleepless watch of the firing squad of the police and the military mobilized in stately array for guarding the uncharted forest of dense vegetation of mighty thorns, of turbulent streams, lofty mountains and gaping ravines, the home of ferocious carnivora and deadly reptiles—the Warriors of the Indian Struggle maintained their resolute onward march.

With a clear Vision of the Beacon Light glimmering in the ever-receding landscape, they extended the most receptive ear to the resonant Call of the Immortal Rishis of the old, a Voice that lured them out of their loving homes, unmindful of the cares and caresses of the nearest and the dearest, and initiated them in the art of self-immolation:

uttisthata jagrata prapya baran nibhodata

Arise! Awake! and stop not till the Goal is reached.

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ABINASH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA—*yurope bharatiya biplaber
sadhana*
ANANDA PRASAD GUPTA—*chattagramer bidhroho kahini*
AUROBINDO GHOSH—*kara-kahini*
ISHAN CHANDRA MAHAPATRA—*saheed Prodyotkumar*
UPENDRA NATH BANDYOPADHAYA—*nrbasiter atmakatha*
KALIPADA BAGCHI—*saheed Prafulla Chandra*
GANGANARAYAN CHANDRA—*abismaraniya*
GIRIJA SANKAR RAY CHOWDHURY—*Sri Aurobinda o bangalar
swadeshi jug*
GOKULESWAR BHATTACHARYA—*swadhinatar rakta-kshayee san-
gram*
CHARU BIKASH DATTA—*chattagram astragar lunthan*
JITENDRA NATH LAHIRI—*biplaber tapasya*
JIBANTARA HALDAR—*anusilan samitir samkshipta itihasa*
TARINI SANKAR CHAKRABARTI—*biplabi bangla, 1757-1912*
NARENDRA NATH BANDOPADHYAYA—*rakta biplaber ek adhyaya*
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PURNA CHANDRA CHAKRABARTI—*se juger agneya path*
PURNANANDA DAS GUPTA—*biplaber pathe*
PRABHAT GANGOPADHYAYA—*biplabi juger katha*
BARINDRA KUMAR GHOSH—*atma-kahini*
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BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA (DR.)—*bharater swadinata sangram
ba aprakasita rajnitik itihasa*

MATILAL RAY—*amar dekha biplab o biplabi*
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